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ANALOGICAL IMPERFECTS AND THE FATE OF IBERIAN VERBAL MORPHOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICAN SPANISH*

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ABSTRACT. This paper examines the interaction of language-internal and language-external triggers in the formation of Latin American Spanish varieties. The focus of the paper is a scarcely studied morphological variant, namely the non-standard imperfects of the 2nd- and 3rd-conjugation: comer 'to eat' → comiba-, caer 'to fall' → caiba-, traer 'to bring' → traiba-, etc. The study first features a comprehensive dialectal and historical survey of these forms in Spain and Latin America. Later, it focuses on the factors that contributed to their success in traditional Latin American Spanish dialects vs. their relative infrequency in Spain. It will be argued that these forms spread as a result of the simultaneous effect of the intrinsic morphological instability of a particular verbal subclass in Spanish and sociodemographic factors specific to these traditional varieties. This study offers a rationale for the reassessment of the models of dialect contact traditionally applied to Latin American Spanish from the perspective of morphological variation.

1. INTRODUCTION. This paper discusses historical factors accounting for the presence of non-standard analogical imperfect indicative forms in the 2nd and 3rd conjugations in a variety of Latin American Spanish (henceforth LAS) dialects: *tener* 'to have' → *teniba-*, *salir* 'to go out' → *saliba-*, *traer* 'to bring' → *traiba-* (cf. standard *tenía-*, *salía-*, *traía-*). Although these non-standard forms are

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recorded in some rural varieties of Spanish on the Iberian Peninsula (henceforth PS) and quite frequently in LAS dialects, they have been largely ignored in the literature. More significantly, their geographical prevalence in the Americas is poorly accommodated by the current accounts of the formation of LAS, which stress the role of dialectal leveling and the elimination of minority variants among those brought from Spain.

The present analysis combines dialectal, sociohistorical and documentary evidence to offer the first comprehensive account of analogical imperfects (henceforth AIs) to date. It will be argued that their success in LAS is the result of a combination of grammatical triggers and sociodemographic factors that were specific to the colonial environment. Overall, the survival of minority morphological variants in the resulting dialects sheds light on the conditions of dialect contact during the colonial period. It also complicates the picture of the historical development of verbal morphology in LAS, and calls for the reassessment of the models that have been proposed in the past.

This study is organized as follows: section 2 provides a formal description of the imperfect indicative forms in Spanish, both standard forms and AIs, and a sketch of their historical origins. In section 3, a dialectal survey of AIs is presented, and in section 4 the archival evidence is traced for historical attestations of AIs. Section 5 addresses the inadequacy of the traditional models in the literature on LAS to account for the observed patterns for use of AIs. An alternative model based on multiple causations is presented in section 6, and sections 7, 8 and 9 elaborate on the demographic, morphological and acquisitional evidence providing support for this model. Section 10 sketches a general social scenario accounting for the success of forms like AIs in traditional varieties of LAS. Section 11 concludes this study.

2. AIs: FORMAL DESCRIPTION AND HISTORICAL ORIGINS. Spanish has inherited from Latin an imperfect tense, which indexes past tense and imperfective aspect. Table 1 shows the forms for Latin 1st conjugation *cantāre* 'to sing' and 2nd conjugation *bibēre* 'to drink', with their standard Spanish equivalents *cantar* and *beber*. The imperfects of the Spanish 3rd conjugation are isomorphic with those of the second, and there is only one fully irregular verb, which was already irregular in Latin: *ser* 'to be' → *era*[1]:

[1]The commonly assumed irregularity of two other verbs in the imperfect is only synchronic: *ir* 'to go' → *iba* preserves the etymological /b/ of the imperfect that all other 3rd conjugation verbs have lost in the standard language, while *ver* 'to see' → *veía* is only marginally irregular historically (cf. more on this verb in this section below).

	1st conjugation		2nd conjugation	
Person	Latin: cantāre	Spanish: cantar	Latin: bibēre	Spanish: beber
1st s	cantābam	cantaba	bibēbam	bebía
2nd s	cantābās	cantabas	bibēbās	bebías
3rd s	cantābat	cantaba	bibēbat	bebía
1st p	cantābāmus	cantábamos	bibēbāmus	bebíamos
2nd p	cantābātis	cantabais	bibēbātis	bebíais
3rd p	cantābant	cantaban	bibēbant	bebían

TABLE 1: *Imperfect tense paradigm for 1st and 2nd conjugation in Latin, and reflexes in Spanish*

The standard Spanish form for the 1st conjugation (*-ar* verbs), based on a tense affix /ba/, is a direct reflex of its Latin counterpart. 2nd conjugation (*-er*) and 3rd conjugation (*-ir*) forms are a reflex of Lat. *-ība-*, an alternative for the etymological imperfect form *-iēba-* of the Latin 3rd and 4th conjugations (*-ĕre, -īre*). The reasons for the loss of /b/ (/'i:ba/ > /'ia/) are not entirely clear, but it may have been caused by dissimilation in certain verbs (Lloyd 1993:273-4, Penny 2002:198). In Latin, regular imperfect forms were always paroxytonic. The same rule applies for Spanish, except for 1st and 2nd person plural forms, which are proparoxytonic.

Alongside standard forms, an alternative set of variants exists for 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs, characterized by a /ba/ segment identical to that of the 1st conjugation. For reasons that will become clear below, it is practical to consider consonant-final stems and vowel-final stems separately. I will hereafter refer to these two sets of forms as TYPE A and TYPE B imperfects, respectively. The most common dialectal realizations of TYPE A forms for *comer* 'to eat' and *salir* and TYPE B forms for *creer* 'to believe' and *traer* 'to bring,' along with their standard equivalents, are shown in Table 2.

The sources consulted in this study do not present any specific constraints on the formation of TYPE A forms from consonant-final stems in the dialects where they occur. In contrast, it is not clear whether TYPE B forms are equally available for all vowel-final stems. Table 3 shows the forms recorded in the classical descriptions of two traditional dialects where the use of these forms is described as widespread; one is in New Mexico (Espinosa 1946) and the other in San Luis province in Argentina (Vidal de Battini 1949).

Person	TYPE A forms: comer, salir	STANDARD VARIANTS	TYPE B forms: creer, traer	STANDARD VARIANTS
1st s.	comiba, saliba	comía, salía	creiba, traiba	creía, traía
2nd s.	comibas, salibas	comías, salías	creibas, traibas	creías, traías
3rd s.	comiba, saliba	comía, salía	creiba, traiba	creía, traía
1st p.	comíbamos, salíbamos	comíamos, salíamos	créibamos, tráibamos	creíamos, traíamos
2nd p.	comíbais, salíbais	comíais, salíais	créibais, tráibais	creíais, traíais
3rd p.	comiban, saliban	comían, salían	creiba, traiba	creían, traían

TABLE 2: *Imperfect tense paradigm for non-standard /ba/ forms of the 2nd and 3rd conjugation.*

Verb	Attested TYPE B form, 1st s.
caer 'to fall'	caiba (NM, SL)
creer 'to believe'	creiba (NM, SL)
leer 'to read'	leiba (NM, SL)
oír 'to hear'	oiba (NM, SL)
reír 'to laugh'	reiba (SL)
roer 'to gnaw'	roiba (NM)
traer 'to bring'	traiba (NM, SL)

TABLE 3: *Attested TYPE B forms in New Mexico and San Luis, Argentina (Espinosa 1946:61, 77-82; Vidal de Battini 1949:129-32).*

A few differences between the two dialects can be observed. Among the imperfect variants presented by Espinosa (1946:80) for *reír*, no TYPE B form appears (cf. *riía, riyía, ría* instead). TYPE B forms are not attested for *roer* in San Luis either, maybe because Vidal de Battini (1949) does not present the specific paradigm for this verb. The same can be said for other potential candidates on formal grounds in both dialects (e.g. *freír* 'to fry', *raer* 'to scrape, to fray'). Both studies explicitly treat the conjugation of *–uir* verbs like *juir* (standard *huir*) 'to flee', but do not note TYPE B forms (instead, Espinosa notes *juyía*, with

epenthetic /j/ (1946:82). Also see section 8 below. A form **juiba/huiba* is completely unattested in the literature consulted). Neither of these two works nor other sources consulted are clear about whether TYPE B forms are also available for polysyllabic stems: e.g. *contraer* 'to contract' → *contraiba* (?), *disminuir* 'to diminish' → *disminuiba* (?), *poseer* 'to have, to own' → *poseiba* (?). As learned and less frequently used verbs, their treatment in the literature on traditional dialects is less thorough, but informal internet searches do uncover TYPE B forms for these stems that appear to be produced by native speakers.[2] For the moment, it seems safe to establish that the common dialectal pattern corresponding to TYPE B forms is consistently applied to monosyllabic vowel-final verb stems in the 2nd and 3rd conjugation, possibly with some peripheral lexical areas (*reír* in New Mexico, *huir* cross-dialectally, etc.).

So far these forms have been explained either as direct reflexes of the old Latin forms via preservation of the etymological /ba/ tense affix common to all Latin conjugations (Zamora Vicente 1967:338, Alvar and Pottier 1983:240-1) or as analogical creations by the leveling of the 1st conjugation /ba/ to the other two conjugations (Henríquez Ureña 1938:317, Espinosa 1946:61, Rosenblat 1946:236-8, Menéndez Pidal 1958:307 n1, Lapesa 2005:450). Several facts seem to go against the first explanation. First, as Alvar (1952:45, n22) and Lloyd (1993:273) note, the /ba/ in the imperfect outside of the 1st conjugation has been lost in several Romance varieties where the loss of intervocalic /b/ is not the rule, which suggests that this process may already have been operative in the late spoken Latin of some areas. Even more significantly, the regular outcome of the imperfect for *–ēre/-ere* Latin verbs (i.e. the 2nd and 3rd conjugations (from which the Spanish 2nd conjugation derives) should be *-eba-*, not *–iba-* (i.e. *tener* → *teneba* vs. *teniba*). The attested 2nd conjugation TYPE A forms with *-iba-* in most PS and LAS dialects point toward analogical leveling rather than to Latin etymological /ba/ as their source.

The case of TYPE B forms is less straightforward than the case of TYPE A forms. The imperfects in Table 3 could in principle be derived from the original Latin forms via regular phonological change: cf. Lat. *cadere* 'to fall' → *cadēbam* [ka'de:bam] > [ka'deba] > [ka'ðeβa] > [ka'eβa], with dissimilation in

[2] *mi voz **disminuiba** y pedia ayuda pero nadie me escuchaba* 'my voice was diminishing and I asked for help but nobody was listening to me" (*Yahoo España Respuestas*, ¿por que mi cuerpo se paraliza?, posted 3/25/2009, viewed 7/26/2012); *Como me desempeñaba en la Division Operativa CONCORDIA, **poseibamos** acceso a los distintos empalmes y enlaces [...] ferroviarios de Latinoamérica* 'Since I was employed at the CONCORDIA Operational Division, we had access to the different railroad connections and links of Latin America' (*Ferrocarril de Antofagasta, Cambio de trocha*, posted 10/10/2010, viewed 7/26/2012).

the hiatus giving rise to the trisyllabic forms [ka'iβa] (*caíba*), and subsequent diphthongization creating the more common disyllabic forms ['kaiβa] (*caiba*). In assessing this possibility, the case of *ver* 'to see' warrants some discussion. Derived from Latin *vidēre*, medieval *veer* was akin to other verbs with /e/-final stems, for instance *seer* 'to be', *creer*, *leer*. *Se(e)r* always had a strong suppletive imperfect indicative *era-* from Latin, which historically seems to have largely blocked the creation of alternative forms. In the case of *ve(e)r*, as shown by Rini (2001), forms based on a short stem corresponding to the assimilated infinitive *v-* were eventually preferred to those with the old full stem *ve-*, with the exception of the present indicative ve-*o* 'I see' and the whole present subjunctive ve-*a* 'I see'. The standard imperfect indicative ve-*ía* still uses the old full stem, but a well-established dialectal competitor *vía* (*v-er* → *v-ía*) also exists (504-9). If TYPE B forms were retentions from Latin, we would expect to find /ba/ variants for historically analogous *ve(e)r, creer* and *leer*. As it turns out, whereas TYPE B *creiba-* (← *creer*) and *leiba-* (← *leer*) are solidly attested, **veiba-* (← *ve(e)r*) is virtually unattested.[3] While those verbs that have preserved vowel-final roots license TYPE B imperfects, for *ve(e)r*, remodeled mainly on the basis of its *v-* root during the late medieval period, the TYPE B alternative is unavailable. The absence of this form shows that TYPE B imperfects are synchronically motivated, rather than retentions from Latin.

Further evidence for the analogical origin of both TYPE A and TYPE B imperfects is provided by the attested dialectal distribution of these forms in LAS and especially in PS, to which we now turn.

3. AIs: DIALECTAL DISTRIBUTION. To date, no systematic survey of AIs has been attempted, besides Rosenblat (1946:236-8), who locates these forms in several areas of the Americas including parts of Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, as well as Spain (Castile, Aragón, Andalusia, Asturias), as well as in Sephardic Spanish. Rosenblat's short survey reveals that these forms are far more frequent than suggested by their neglect in the literature on LAS and PS. Since patterns of geographical distribution in Spain have frequently been used as evidence for importation of linguistic features into LAS and dialectal speciation (Menéndez

[3]I have found one attestation of *véiba* in the dialectal literature (Mangels 1926, quoted in Rosenblat 1946:237 as used only occasionally), in contrast to a plethora of TYPE B forms for other verbs. An informal internet search uncovers some extremely occasional uses of *veiba-* seemingly by native speakers, but much more seldom than would be expected for such a high-frequency verb if a TYPE B variant were a historically well-established feature.

Pidal 1962a, Lapesa 1984, Granda 1994), it is legitimate to wonder whether any such patterns can be identified for AIs.

In order to answer this question, information may be extracted from a variety of sources, including not only linguistic atlases and dialectal studies, but also literary representations of dialects. This corpus is necessarily heterogeneous—for reasons that will become clear below; it is not practical to trace the dialectal presence of AIs by resorting to one single type of source, even if such a strategy would be ideal for data consistency. For the most part, these methodological limitations also prevent us from finding other desirable data, such as frequency of use of AIs vs. other variants in the dialects where they are attested. Despite these limitations, the available data allow us to establish certain generalizations with a high degree of certainty.

3.1. AIs IN SPAIN. Alvar and Pottier (1983:240) note that AIs are found infrequently in Castile, but more frequently in the Leonese and Aragonese areas (including Murcia for the latter). To assess the accuracy of this statement, a preliminary overall survey of AIs in PS was performed by looking for attestations in two large bodies of data: the online version of Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica (ALPI, cf. Heap 2003) and those materials from Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural (COSER) (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005-2012) available online as of 2012. It was assumed that the combined analysis of these two sources may offer a highly reliable view, even if not an exhaustive one, for the dialectal presence of AIs in 20th century rural varieties of PS. Their data span most of the 20th century and were collected among rural and mostly elderly speakers in a large number of locations (over 500 for ALPI, and 33 for the online COSER materials). ALPI locations corresponding to Galician, Portuguese and Catalan-speaking areas were excluded.

Significantly, this survey revealed no cases of AIs except for a consistent cluster of TYPE A and B formations in northern Aragón (ALPI locations in Huesca #605-615). In the case of ALPI, only a few interview items targeted imperfects of the 2nd and 3rd conjugations,[4] which may have thwarted the likelihood that AIs would surface. For those few items, however, the results are consistent over hundreds of locations. COSER materials surveyed include hundreds of tokens of the variable, but AIs are never the variant of choice. These results seem to be anything but coincidental—on the contrary, they are a loud statement that AIs were minority forms in 20th century Spanish varieties outside of northern Aragón.

The picture offered by ALPI and COSER data was refined by analyzing the following regional linguistic atlases: ACyL (Atlas lingüístico de Castilla y

[4]Specifically, interview items 340, 370, 371 and 372.

León, Alvar 1999), ALEA (Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Andalucía, Alvar 1961-1973), ALEANR (Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y La Rioja, Alvar 1978-1983), ALECMan (Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Castilla-La Mancha, García Mouton and Moreno Fernández 2003) and ALEICan (Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de las Islas Canarias, Alvar 1975-1978). The data from the atlases were supplemented by a large body of dialectal studies on regional and local varieties, referenced in the following paragraphs.

In the eastern dialects (including Aragón, eastern New Castile, western Valencia, Murcia and possibly eastern Andalucia) TYPE A imperfects are easy to find in these sources. They have been attested in different locations of Aragón, especially in the north (Menéndez Pidal 1958:307, Zamora Vicente 1967:266, ALEANR maps #1656, 1673), in eastern Guadalajara and Albacete (ALECMan maps #410, 213, 309, 412) and in Murcia (Zamora Vicente 1967:237). As noted, in northern Aragón TYPE A forms for *–er* verbs typically preserve /e/ after the stem. TYPE B imperfects are also attested in these eastern varieties: in northern Aragón (Zamora Vicente 1967:266), Murcia (Zamora Vicente 1967:237), Teruel (Laguna Campos 2008:258), Cuenca (ALECMan map #408) and eastern Castellón (Nebot Calpe 1986:134). TYPE B forms with epenthetic /j/ are found in northern Aragón: *trayer* → *trayeba*, *cayer* → *cayeba* (Zamora Vicente 1967:266-7 and ALEANR maps #1634-1656). Geographically, these eastern AI forms exhibit a fairly compact pattern which is also more frequent than the ALPI and COSER data suggest. Their presence in areas reconquered by the Crown of Aragón between the 10th and 13th centuries suggests a connection between eastern AIs and the resettlement of the new reconquered territories.

In contrast, the geographical distribution of AIs outside of these eastern dialects appears to be much spottier, despite Alvar and Pottier's proposed parallelism between the Aragonese and the Leonese areas. TYPE A forms are scarcely recorded. They have been found in Salamanca (Lamano Beneite 1915:60, Menéndez Pidal 1958:307, Llorente Maldonado de Guevara 1947:147), in the Maragatería region of León (Alonso Garrote 1909:251, quoted in Rosenblat 1946:237) and in northern Cáceres (Velo Nieto 1956:104). In Andalusia, TYPE A forms have been recorded very occasionally in the west, and more frequently in the east (ALEA maps #1790, 1791), perhaps as a result of a dialectal connection to the eastern PS forms surveyed above. Outside of this small cluster of western varieties and in the Aragonese area, TYPE A forms seem to be largely unattested in PS, although, according to García de Diego (1961:229), they could be heard in several areas in unlearned speech 'en la lengua vulgar' and occasionally throughout Extremadura (Carmona García 2011: personal communication).

TYPE B forms in western PS dialects are also exceptional, although they seem to be somewhat less rare than their TYPE A counterparts. They have been recorded in a very scattered fashion in Asturias (Rato y Hevia 1891:38), La Rioja (Zamora Vicente 1967:338), Salamanca (Menéndez Pidal 1958:307, Lamano Beneite 1915:60), Extremadura (Carmona García 2009:65, 2011: personal communication; specifically for northern Cáceres, Velo Nieto 1956:104) and Madrid (Moreno Fernández 1996:223, 224). In Andalusia, the ALEA records TYPE B forms in several locations, primarily (as was the case with TYPE A forms) in the eastern provinces (map #1791). Other Andalusian TYPE B forms are recorded in Zamora Vicente (1967:331) and Müller (1925, quoted in Rosenblat 1946:237). AIs found in Cantabria conform to the TYPE A/B pattern to varying extents: cf. *veniba* 'I came', *triba* 'I brought' (Nuño Álvarez 1996:189), and *cugiaba* 'I took', *riba* 'I laughed', *triba* 'I brought' (Penny 1969:128-9).

A similar picture is provided by literary dialectal representations. Several collections of 20th-century folk literature originating in western PS areas were surveyed: Espinosa (1946-1947), Cortés Vázquez (1979), Espinosa, Jr (1987-1988), and Flores del Manzano (1998). Although these collections include a vast array of non-standard forms, only one example of AIs was found, recorded in the eastern Andalusian province of Granada:

(1) *[...] sacó er rey tres orejone que* ***traiba*** *y empezó a asalo*
'The king took out three pieces of dried fruit (?) that he had with him and started to roast it' (Espinosa 1946-1947:10)

It is critical to note that the vast majority of dialectal works describing western PS varieties do not include any examples of AIs. These studies include the following: for Cáceres, Fink (1929), Cummins (1974) and Montero Curiel (1997); for Salamanca and Zamora, Llorente Maldonado de Guevara (1986) and Herrero Ingelmo (1996); and for León, Fernández González (1959), Millán Urdiales (1966) and Aguado Candanedo (1984), to name but a few. Even classical studies that document much of the variation attested in later works among western PS varieties, such as Hansen (1896), Menéndez Pidal (1962b) and Krüger (1914), do not mention AIs.

Overall, this body of literature confirms the assessment advanced by the ALPI and COSER data: by the 20th century, in most Spanish-speaking Iberian regions outside of the eastern area, AIs were only occasionally heard or virtually absent. When they do occur, they are usually described as a recessive feature (Alvar and Pottier 1983:240), or only present in the speech of the elderly (ALEA note to map #1790). This areal sociolinguistic profile is highly reminiscent of RELIC AREAS: 'a linguistic feature [that] exists in two or more

parts of the region but those parts are separated from one another [...], such a pattern indicates a late stage in the displacement of a formerly widespread linguistic feature' (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:94). While nothing indicates that AIs were once a widespread variant in central and western PS dialects, this evidence does suggest that they may have been more geographically prevalent in earlier times than they are today.

Before turning to LAS, it should be noted that AIs have been attested in the Canary Islands. The ALEICan records TYPE B forms but no TYPE A forms, in the Tenerife locations Guía de Isora and Arafo (map #1132), and they have also been recorded in the Güímar valley in Tenerife (Sosa Alonso 2002:90-1). Additional examples for Tenerife and La Gomera are given by Catalán (1966:477, 487-8, n86). These findings largely coincide with the overall lack of attestations on the Iberian mainland—when it appears, the analogical leveling of /ba/ tends to occur only in vowel-final stem verbs.

3.2. AIS IN LAS. Unfortunately, no single source comparable to the ALPI or COSER covering all of Spanish-speaking Latin America exists, but several national and regional linguistic atlases have been published. The following such works were surveyed: Navarro Tomás (1948) on Puerto Rico, ALM (Atlas lingüístico de México, Lope Blanch 1990-2000), ALEC (Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Colombia, Flórez 1981-1983) and ALESuCh (Atlas lingüístico del sur de Chile, Araya 1973). None of these works contain any examples of AIs. However, the imperfect indicative of the 2nd and 3rd conjugation is not among the variables mapped in any of these atlases. Similarly, the country-by-country chapters in Lispki (1994) and Alvar (1996) do not contain any references (with the exception of Quesada Pacheco 1996), but this is also not surprising given the summarized, survey-based format of dialectal country descriptions in these publications.

Additional evidence was therefore sought in a corpus of studies on traditional varieties, representing the following areas: New Mexico (Espinosa 1946), Louisiana isleño (MacCurdy 1975), Jalisco (Cárdenas 1967), Guanajuato (Boyd-Bowman 1960), coastal Oaxaca (Rosas Mayén 2007), Mexico City (Marden 1938), Tlaxcala, México (Nykl 1938), and the whole country (Castillo Nájera 1936, Henríquez Ureña 1938), western El Salvador (Barrientos 2003), the Dominican Republic (Henríquez Ureña 1940), Panama (Robe 1960), Venezuela (Van Wijk 1946), Peru (Benvenutto Murrieta 1936), San Luis province (Vidal de Battini 1949), Río de la Plata (Cuervo 1901), and Chile (Oroz 1966).

In this body of data, TYPE A imperfects are rather infrequent and thus behave in a similar way as in most PS varieties. Even when they occur, they are consistently described as extremely low frequency constructions. They are only attested in Louisiana Isleño (MacCurdy 1975:59), Jalisco (Cárdenas 1967:120),

Oaxaca (Rosas Mayén 2007:113) and Peru (Benvenutto Murrieta 1936:140). Vidal de Battini (1949:129) records these forms also in San Luis, but occurring mostly among children.

By contrast, TYPE B forms are almost ubiquitous. Among the studies surveyed, only Robe (1960) and Henríquez Ureña (1940) do not record these forms. Attestations can be found in Colorado and New Mexico (Espinosa 1946:77-82), Louisiana isleño (MacCurdy 1975:59), Jalisco (Cárdenas 1967:120), Guanajuato (Boyd-Bowman 1960:1971), coastal Oaxaca (Rosas Mayén 2007:113), Mexico City (Marden 1938:124), Tlaxcala (Nykl 1938:220) and elsewhere in Mexico (Castillo Nájera 1936:164, Henríquez Ureña 1938:317), western El Salvador (Barrientos 2003:200, 206, 210); Venezuela (Van Wijk 1946:163), Peru (Benvenutto Murrieta 1936:140), San Luis province (Vidal de Battini 1949:129) and Río de la Plata (Cuervo 1901:50) in Argentina and Chile (Oroz 1966:327). Additional attestations of TYPE B AIs for other varieties are also abundant, including Chicano Spanish (Lozano 1976:16), Texas (Cerda et al 1953:37-8, 234), El Salvador (Canfield 1953:33) and elsewhere across Central America (Quesada Pacheco 1996:110), and in the Tenza valley of central Colombia (Monsalve Parra 2006:209, 270, 453-457). The contrast between this corpus of literature on LAS, where most studies acknowledge the use of AIs in traditional varieties, and the corpus used for PS, where most studies do not, is obvious.

These forms also populate dialectal literary representations in LAS throughout the 20th and the early 21st century. Attestations were located in two collections of oral literature (Rael 1977 for Colorado and Nuevo Mexico, and Vidal de Battini 1980 for Argentina) and two large diachronic corpora that include substantial amounts of Latin American literature with a local focus: CORDE (Corpus diacrónico del español, Real Academia Española 2012) and Corpus del español (Davies 2012). In these two corpora, searches were limited to post-1900 texts. A short selection of examples of AIs in these sources follows. (2) is a TYPE A form, while (3—7) are TYPE B forms:

(2) *En los simbronasos le* ***saliban*** *las monedas brincando del bolsillo de la blusa*
'Every time the reign was pulled back, the coins would spill out, jumping out of the pocket in his shirt.'
(Carlos Reyles, *El gaucho florido*, 1932, Uruguay—CORDE)

(3) *le dijo el puertero que no se entraba hasta que no vieran qué* ***traiba***
'the doorkeeper told him that he would not go in until they would see what he was bringing'
(Rael 1977:15, New Mexico)

(4) *No estaban aquí más que doce; pero anoche* ***traiban*** *mucho miedo*
'Here there were not more than two; but last night they were very scared [lit. *they brought a lot of fear*]'
(Mariano Azuela, *Los de abajo*, 1916, Mexico—CORDE)

(5) *Cuando hablaba se* ***oiban*** *como campanas de corazón*
'When he spoke, it sounded like heart bells'
(Salvador Salazar Arrué "Salarrué", *Trasmallo*, 1954, El Salvador—CORDE)

(6) *le paresió que alguien se* ***raiba****, y ya mitad de rabia y miedo saltó al esplayao*
'he thought that somebody *was laughing*, and both because of anger and fear he jumped to the clearing.'
(Ricardo Güiraldes 1915, Cuentos de muerte y de sangre, Argentina—Corpus del español)

(7) *Era en una aguada ande* ***caiban*** *los animales al agua*
'It was a water hole where animals would fall into the water.'
(Vidal de Battini 1980 (II, #246):32, Catamarca, Argentina)

In the pool of texts surveyed, TYPE A forms are virtually absent, except from isolated examples like (2). In contrast, TYPE B forms appear in many texts (Tiscornia 1930 for attestations in Martín Fierro from Argentina), including several from regions identified in the dialectal literature as presenting AIs (New Mexico, Argentina, Central America). They also match the formal pattern of AIs in LAS described in the dialectal literature, with TYPE B forms appearing much more frequently than TYPE A forms, and disyllabic TYPE B forms (e.g., *caiba, traiba*) much more often than trysillabic variants (*caíba, traíba*).

Although this body of texts and dialectal sources is admittedly heterogeneous, the consistency with which AIs are attested in traditional LAS varieties vs. the infrequency in PS varieties outside the eastern area cannot be attributed simply to non-dialectal factors such as the inadequacy of the sample or methodological differences between studies of LAS and PS varieties. If that were the case, it would be difficult to understand why AIs should be so sparsely attested in PS varieties, despite the wealth of dialectal studies available, often surveying the same areas at different times throughout the 20th century (1st half of the century: ALPI, mid-century: regional atlases, late 20th century: COSER). By contrast, over a much larger geographical area, LAS varieties generally enjoy a much lower degree of dialectal description than PS, but even so, AIs are pervasive. The picture painted by the literature surveyed in this section is unequivocal: AIs, especially TYPE B forms, were a staple of many 20th century traditional LAS varieties, but not of most PS varieties. This asymmetrical distribution in itself poses a challenge to historical dialectologists.

In order to account for these differences, historical factors need to be addressed. In the next section, historical data from a variety of sources will be surveyed in order to shed light on this dialectal puzzle.

4. HISTORICAL ATTESTATIONS OF AIs. As it turns out, the picture offered by the historical evidence is a complex one. Although it is usually agreed that AIs are not new forms (Rosenblat 1946:238, Canfield 1953:33, Alvar and Pottier 1983:240-1), the truth is that the archival record for these forms before the 19th century in most PS varieties or in LAS is very weak. The paucity of historical attestations makes the geographical prevalence of these forms in 20th century LAS even more intriguing.

A preliminary search for pre-1900 attestations of AIs in the following diachronic corpora was performed: for PS, ADMYTE (Archivo digital de manuscritos y textos españoles, Marcos Marín et al 1999), CODEA (Corpus de documentos españoles anteriores a 1700, GITHE 2012) and the Digital Library of Old Spanish Texts (Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies 2011); for LAS, the colonial texts in Sanz (2009) from New Mexico, Kania (2000) from New Galicia (Mexico) and Company Company (1994) from central Mexico. CORPUS DEL ESPAÑOL and CORDE, comprising both PS and LAS, were also included. Despite the massive amount of text included in these corpora (the last two corpora combined comprise approximately 350 million words of text), very few attestations were found, with no attestations at all prior to 1600.[5] In order to gain a better understanding of the historical patterns of use of these forms, this initial body of texts was supplemented with literary texts and references in the literature to historical attestations of AIs. The combined results of this search yielded some interesting information.

In PS, the dialectally more prevalent eastern forms also exhibit an earlier and more robust historical pattern than in other areas. Thus, AIs are attested in very early medieval texts (e.g., 13th-century Razón de Amor, Alvar 1952:43, 45), in Aragonese *aljamiado* texts of the 16th century (Pietsch 1912:171-2), in early Sephardic literature by Aragón-born authors (Quintana 2005:516-7) and

[5]CORDE includes the following 16th-century Mexican attestation: *me haga merçed que se* ***trayba*** *juntamente con mi sobrina Maria de Aldana a su hermana*. (CORDE, Carta de Alonso López de Aldana a su sobrino, 1573). The syntactic context clearly justifies a present subjunctive (*me haga merced que se traiga*), not an imperfect indicative, which indicates that this attestation is probably the result of a misspelling or a transcription error.

in other early modern texts (Ana Abarca's Octavario in 1679; Zamora Vicente 1967:266). These forms are usually TYPE A imperfects matching the usual eastern three-conjugation pattern.

Elsewhere in PS, these forms appear to be virtually unattested before the 17th century. The presence of AIs in Sephardic Spanish (section 3 above), to which eastern varieties contributed heavily in demographic terms (Penny 2000:174-93), cannot be taken as an indication of their frequent use in other pre-1492 PS varieties. The following examples illustrate the earliest attestations in PS:

(8) ***Cheriba*** *un ochavo de oro*
'I wanted a golden coin [lit. an eighth-of-an-ounce coin]'
(Góngora, *Por qué llora la Isabelitica*, 1600 - CORDE)

(9) *Madre: Angelito, mis ojos, / no vayas a la Corte, así yo viva, y te daré confites. Niño: No* ***cheriva****. / Madre: ¿Qué gracia, y qué* ***cheriva*** *[...]?*
'Mother: Little angel, my life [lit. 'my eyes'], / don't go to the court, for the sake of my life, and I will give you candy. Boy: I didn't want [any] / Mother: What [are these] cute tricks, and this I didn't want [...]?'
(Quevedo, *Entremés del Niño*, 1622 - CORDE)

(10) *raro se halla que no diga estogamo, dimpués,* ***trahiba****, diendo, trempano, Grabiel, catreal*, etc.
'it is unusual to find somebody who doesn't say *estogamo* ['stomach'], *trahiba* [= *traiba*], *diendo* ['going'], *trempano* ['early'], *Grabiel, catreal* ['cathedral'], etc.'
(Alemany, *Tercera parte de la Vida del Gran Tacaño*, ca. 1760, 1922:94-5).

(11) *¡Pues si yo* ***creiba*** *que era de burlitas!*
'But I thought that it was done in jest!'
(Ramón de la Cruz, *Teatro o colección* [...], 1791:352)

Examples (8-9) are representations of children's or childish talk, so they are not necessarily dialectally informative. Examples (10) and (11) are particularly interesting from the diachronic point of view. In (10), *trahiba* is mentioned in a description of the speech of Zamboanga, in the Philippines. It appears in a novel by a Jesuit missionary to the Philippines from the province of Alicante in Spain born in 1729 (Alemany 1922:6-7), so that this dialect description is probably a reflection of actual forms used in the Spanish of the Philippines at the time. In (11), a TYPE B form is used to represent the speech of characters in an undetermined rural location of the south of Spain in the late 18th century. These attestations suffice to document the existence of these forms in PS from the late

years of the early modern period, while also bearing witness to their dialectal or socially marginal nature.

The general picture for colonial LAS is quite similar. The following examples are among the very few that could be obtained:

(12) *me lo dixaron para que lo aprendira de aprindés, dispoés di quando lo* ***sabíbamos*** *on poco di algo di intalladura, me lo fui a ondi istava con el mi hirmano.*
'they left me so that I would learn as an aprentice, after I knew [lit. "we knew"] a little about sculpting, I went to be with my brother.'
(Francisco Tito Yupanqui, *Relación*, late 16th cent., Bolivia, included in Cerrón Palomino 2003:162)

(13) *porqui el toirto* ***traiba*** *on nicro/ in so mola*
'because the one-eyed man was bringing a black [slave] on his mule.'
("Causa que se fulminó en el Parnaso [...]", Juan del Valle y Caviedes, 1690s, Peru, quoted in Reedy 1984: xxvi)

(14) *dijo que en el corral de los soldados vido a Joseph Trugillo que* ***traiba*** *vn beserro de Salbador Garcia [...]*
'he said that in the soldier's pen he saw Joseph Trujillo, who was bringing one of Salvador Garcías calfs'
(Anonymous, Spanish Archives of New Mexico 643, 1r (15)- 1v (2), 1769, included in Sanz 2009:628)

(12-13) illustrate the speech of Spanish-Quechua bilinguals, and (14) comes from New Mexico. These attestations confirm that AIs were already present in colonial LAS from at least the late 16th century in some communities, both monolingual and bilingual.

Starting around 1800, it becomes easier to find attestations in LAS. The following is a representative selection of 19th century examples:

(15) *¿qué figura haria en la culta ciudad de Montevideo un hombre que dice áspota por déspota, urupeo por europeo,* ***traiba*** *y* ***caiba*** *por traía y caía?*
'What place could there be in the cultured city of Montevideo for a man that says *áspota* for *déspota* (despot), *urupeo* for *europeo* (European), *traiba* and *caiba* for *traía* and *caía*?'
(Anon., "El protector nominal de los pueblos [...]", 1818:27)

(16) *habias perdido esperansa, /* ***creibas*** *que ya para siempre / habias de ser bestia mansa*

'You had lost [your] hope, you believed that for ever more you were to be a tame beast'
(Fernández de Lizardi, "El indio y la india del pueblo de Actopán," 1820, in McKegney 1971:259)

(17) *al ver que una en la cabeza / **traiba** un escarmenador / que era capaz de espantar / al famoso Napolión* [...]
'seeing that one [woman] wore on her head a comb that would be able to scare famous Napoleon'
("Paulino Lucero," Hilario Ascasubi, 1853 - CORDE)

(18) *Il día que Giacumina si paraba inta puerta di la fundita, **caiban** lu merchanti cume mosca á la asucar. Ella se **reiba** con todos, se dicaba agarar la manito [...]*
'On the days when Giacumina would stand by the door of the inn, the merchants *would fall* like flies to sugar. She *would laugh* with all of them, she would take their hand'
("Los amores de Giacumina," 1886; in Conde 2009:18)

(19) *segun informes fueron dos presos y afuerza los **traiban***
'According to reports they were two prisoners and they were bringing them in by force'
(Letter from Gabriel Ortega of Colipa to the mayor of Misantla (Veracruz, Mexico); 5/6/1886; in González de la Lama 1989:518)

(15) is a pejorative characterization of the uncultivated-sounding speech of Uruguayan independence hero José Artigas, born in 1764. (16) appears in a portrayal of the Spanish spoken by bilingual Mexican Indians (McKegney 1971:285). (17) illustrates the frequent use of AIs in the *gauchesco* literature of the second half of the 19th century in Argentina and Uruguay, which depicted the speech of the rugged cattle herders in the River Plate backcountry. (18) documents the use of these forms in *cocoliche*, i.e. the literary dialect reflecting Italian-Spanish contact varieties in the late 19th and early 20th century in Buenos Aires. (19) is a late 19th-century epistolary example from northeastern Mexico. Additional 19th-century LAS attestations can be found in other areas, including California (Blanco 1971:328) and Texas (Martínez 2000:255).

All of these examples confirm the prevalence of TYPE B over TYPE A forms described above for 20th-century LAS varieties. They also provide documentary evidence for the use of analogical forms as early as the late 16th century in Peru, and they occur frequently in other distant varieties (New Mexico, California, Mexico, Uruguay, Argentina) starting in the 18th century. Their status as socially stigmatized forms and their seemingly sudden proliferation in the archival evidence from several distant areas starting around 1800 make it legitimate to

hypothesize that their scarcity in the early modern documentation is due more to the low degree of linguistic representativeness of the archival evidence than to purely linguistic factors.

So far, we have established that AIs, especially TYPE B forms, are quite common in many rural varieties of LAS, but far less common in most of PS. Historically, they are attested from the 17th century in PS outside of Aragón and from the late 16th century in LAS, although their subsequent historical profile is much stronger in the former. Despite their pervasiveness, these forms have been ignored by and large by diachronic accounts of LAS up to this day. As will be seen in the next section the exclusion of AIs and other morphological LAS traits from historical studies severely hinders our understanding of the process of dialect contact in LAS.

5. IN SEARCH OF MODELS: AIS AND IBERIAN MORPHOLOGY IN LAS. In principle, two main scenarios could be invoked to account for the presence of AIs in LAS traditional dialects. These forms could have (a) been the result of independent innovation or DRIFT (Sapir 1921, Trudgill 2004:129-47) in all of these dialects or (b) they could have been imported from Spain during the early colonial period, surviving the initial stage of dialect contact and mixture.

An important factor that seems to provide some support for the drift hypothesis is that, as analogical forms, AIs may be justified as internally-motivated innovations not requiring any external trigger. Drift was indeed the basic argument of ANTI-ANDALUCISTAS, who believed that the parallels between LAS and southern PS varieties were not the result of importation from Spain but independent colonial developments (See Guitarte 1991 for a summary of the controversy between andalucistas and anti-andalucistas; and Lispki 1994:42-4 for additional drift-based arguments). However, this type of account is unsatisfactory in several respects. First, if language internal propensities independent of external factors were all that were needed to trigger the development and spread of AIs, we would expect them to be present in all areas, and we would expect these forms to be similarly prevalent in PS and in LAS. As discussed above, this is far from being the case. Also, the fact that all of these forms have been recorded in PS, although insufficient to prove the role of importation as a decisive factor, is significant enough to be addressed by any diachronic narrative considering the presence of these forms in LAS.

Importation, on the other hand, was traditionally defended by andalucistas as the main factor explaining dialectal parallelisms between the south of Spain and Latin America, but it hardly suffices to explain why AIs should have become so much more prevalent in traditional dialects of LAS than in most of PS. In essence, the dichotomy between drift and importation is admittedly a

simplistic hermeneutic framework that is not likely to capture factors critical to the spread of these forms. Therefore, it seems necessary to search for a more sophisticated account that incorporates language-external facts together with possible language-internal motivations.

A potential account that may shed light on the success of AIs in LAS is koinéization theory, developed from the observation of new dialect formation via dialect contact in newly settled areas. A classical formulation of koinéization is Trudgill (1986), who identifies two main processes at work in koinéizing environments: *leveling*, which favors forms used in a majority of contributing dialects, and *simplification*, which favors inventories that are more reduced, more regular, less marked or more transparent. Most of the more recent approaches to new dialect formation via dialect contact coincide in assigning simpler or more regular forms an advantage in surviving dialect leveling (Kerswill and Williams 2000:84-5, Kerswill 2002:676-7, Howell 2006:216-7). Insofar as koinés are made up by surviving features from the contributing dialects, classical koinéization accounts are fundamentally importation-based (but see INTERDIALECT FORMS as innovations in koinés by Trudgill 2004:94-9). A classical koinéization account would only be applicable to AIs, which seem to have been a demographically weak variant in most of Spain historically, if it can be shown that they were somehow structurally simpler than other alternatives for the imperfect. I return to this point below.

In the case of LAS varieties, the traditionally most prevalent account for their origin is that their basic phonological and morphological traits were shaped during the initial phase of dialect mixture among Peninsular varieties during the early colonial period (Catalán 1958, Menéndez Pidal 1962a, Lapesa 1984. However, also see Lipski (1994); Rivarola (2005). Theoretical confirmation for this account has been sought precisely in the classical koinéization model (Fontanella de Weinberg 1992; Granda 1994; Parodi 1995, 2001; Hidalgo 2001). In this body of literature, it is customary to hypothesize an early homogeneized variety as the basis for subsequent dialectal diversification (ESPAÑOL KOINÉ Granda 1994, ESPAÑOL AMERICANO NIVELADO Parodi 1995, KOINÉ AMERICANA Parodi 2001). In this variety, leveling and simplification are assumed to have already operated to select several of the basic traits of LAS based on demographic strength or grammatical simplicity. Additional factors, such as dialectal reinforcement exercised by specific PS varieties (Catalán 1958, Menéndez Pidal 1962a, Fontanella de Weinberg 1992, Parodi 2001), contact with native languages (Escobar 2000, Granda 1994:104-32; 314-68, Lispki 1994:63-92, Parodi 2001) and African-based influence (Granda 1994:154-88; Lipski 1994:93-115, 2005) are also credited as having played a role in dialectal speciation in some areas.

One common denominator of this diachronic body of literature, especially koinéization-based accounts, is the focus on phonetics and phonological features.

The only morphological features mentioned are those that are common to all or the vast majority of varieties of LAS. This practice is clearly connected to the traditional vision of LAS as a fundamentally uniform and homogeneous linguistic entity (Lope Blanch 2000:21-50 for a critique of this vision) and it results in a reductionist view of the facts of dialectal variation of LAS that is comfortably accommodated by the single colonial koiné argument: if it is assumed the sociodemographic conditions of dialect contact during the colonial period were similar across the Americas, it would seem unsurprising if differences among the new dialects were minimal and, when present, should be unproblematically explained as the consequence of equally universal patterns of differentiation (i.e. contact with urban areas, degrees of geographical isolation, etc.).

A close analysis of the facts of verbal morphology presented in the descriptive dialectal literature on LAS reveals a much more diverse formal landscape than usually assumed. LAS traditional dialects (primarily those in rural areas) exhibit a wide variety of non-standard phenomena that are by-and-large ignored in diachronic accounts. These include, besides AIs, *-ates*, *-ites* endings for the 2nd person singular of the preterite (standard *–aste, -iste* or common non-standard *–astes, -istes*), the coalescence of the 2nd and 3rd conjugation paradigms in the 1st person plural of the present indicative (*salemos* 'we leave', standard *salimos*), the shift of *–mos* to *–nos* as the 1st person plural affix in all proparoxytonic verb foms (*comeríanos* 'we would eat', standard *comeríamos*) and the proparoxytonic stress pattern in the 1st person plural of the present subjunctive (*véngamos, vénganos* 'we come', standard paroxytonic *vengamos*), among many others (for a more complete review of non-standard LAS morphology, Rosenblat (1946) and Sanz 2009:387-402). This type of non-universal LAS morphological variation, including the distribution and use of AIs, poses a serious challenge to the traditional uniformity view and, consequently, to the common colonial koiné narrative. We therefore need to look elsewhere for a model of dialect contact that adequately addresses the dialectal and diachronic facts of forms like AIs.

6. BEYOND DRIFT, IMPORTATION AND KOINÉIZATION: MULTIPLE CAUSATION. Similarities involving the use of non-standard forms like the ones mentioned in the previous section among distant regions are often striking (as for instance, between New Mexico and the Argentinian pampas (Sanz 2009:395-8), but they seem to share a similar sociolinguistic embedding: they are usually found in rural areas, far from large urban centers and typically exhibit low population density, organized in the form of mostly self-sufficient communities. These correspondences are a close match to those observed by Andersen (1988) in PERIPHERAL COMMUNITIES, 'characterized by a lower density [of networks of communication] and more clearly defined orientation of lines of inter-

community communication than central dialects' (74). These dialects are not necessarily conservative—on the contrary, they may be a fertile ground for local innovations that are kept in check in more central areas (77), instead becoming part of new local norms. These innovations tend to originate in areas of the grammatical system where there exists a propensity for change, and their generalization is propelled by factors such as child language acquisition and the strength of local social networks (60). Andersen's version of drift stresses the sociodemographic conditions necessary for the spread of these innovations.

As it turns out, the monogenetic aim of the drift vs. importation dilemma, present in most of the diachronic literature on LAS, obscures the sociolinguistic dynamics of dialect change in many communities. As explained by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2003:209), dialect change 'may simultaneously include both retention and innovation', so that 'it is not always possible to draw sharp dividing lines between the maintenance of founder or donor dialect features [...], diffusions from outside varieties, and internal innovations'. For a similar argument see Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1994). Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2003:224) propose a CONVERGENT EXPLANATION that incorporates the combined role played by language-internal and language-external factors in explaining the generalization of minority dialectal features. In interpreting the preservation of certain patterns of leveling of past-tense *be* for several coastal dialects of the Atlantic coast of the United States, they conclude that the parallel, independent intensification of minority regularization alternatives in disconnected peripheral dialect communities seems to depend on the historical availability of an alternative variant, a system-internal motivation for the change, and the social dynamics of nonmainstream, peripheral communities that can take advantage of unusual linguistic developments.

Their approach is markedly multi-causational: dialectal idiosyncrasies are justified both as changes with a system-internal motivation and as variants already present (if only marginally) in the original dialectal input, and their generalization is doubly boosted by their eventual identification as iconic forms in the community and by the lack of pressures from alternative norms, including the standard language (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2003:223). Three elements are specified as working collectively to favor the generalization of an idiosyncratic feature in a given dialect: (a) the availability of this feature as a minority variant in the original mix, (b) an internal systemic motivation towards the change, and (c) favorable social dynamics in the community. This proposal is fully compatible with some of the non-classical, less deterministic approaches to new dialect formation via koinéization, which admit for the selection and generalization of minority forms in the new dialect when these become symbolic of a new linguistic norm via language negotiation among older children and adolescents (Kerswill and Williams 2000).

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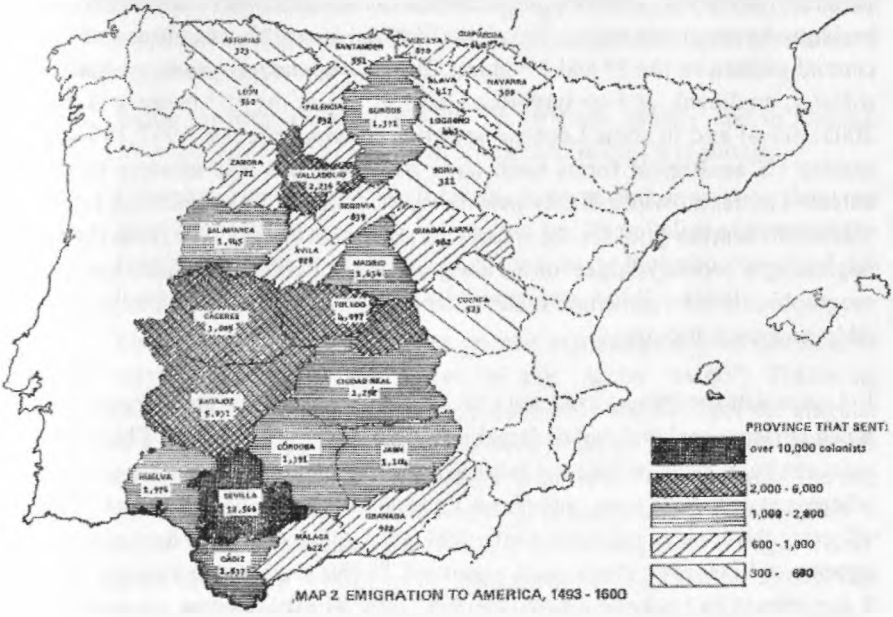
Overall, Andersen's and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes's proposals emphasize the interface between language-internal and language-external factors in determining the direction of dialect change in individual communities, rather than attributing dialect change to a single factor. The question then becomes whether these multicausational proposals can be used to accommodate the dialectal and diachronic evidence for AIs presented in this study. In what follows, the evidence presented in the preceding sections will be addressed to show that the presence of AIs in rural LAS varieties was favored by a combination of factors that closely matches the three-pronged model proposed by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes.

7. AVAILABILITY OF AIS IN COLONIAL LAS. The quantitative historical demographic evidence available summarized in Boyd-Bowman (1976) indicates that the larger share of the Iberian demographic input to the Spanish colonies during the early colonial period came from the western regions of the Iberian Peninsula, rather than from other areas to the east. Map 1 summarizes this distribution. The darker shaded areas correspond to the provinces furnishing the largest amounts of colonists.



MAP 1: *Distribution of colonists in the period 1493-1600, by province of origin (Boyd-Bowman 1976:590)*

As shown in the map, a large number of those arriving in the colonies during this period originated in several of the areas in which AIs have been recorded recently: Andalusia, Extremadura, Salamanca. If, as seems likely, these forms were present in at least some of those western rural varieties during the early modern period, they can be expected to have participated in the morphological contact pools that formed in the colonies upon the arrival of colonists. In this respect, the survival of these forms in the Canary Islands (section 3.1 above) is relevant. The literature has traditionally stressed the degree to which the linguistic similarities between the Canary Islands and certain LAS varieties are a product of an equally similar process of demographic mixture (Catalán 1958, Penny 2000:129-31, Lapesa 2005:497-9).

An important further implication of the evidence pointing at dialect contact in the Spanish colonies is that conditions were conducive to highly polymorphic feature pools. In the case of the 2nd and 3rd conjugation imperfect indicative forms, these pools must have included a variety of systems, to wit: one matching the current standard for both consonant-final and vowel-final verbal roots, one featuring both TYPE A and TYPE B forms and one with only TYPE B forms analogous to the common present-day LAS and PS dialectal patterns. Additional variation must have also included other attested minority variants: forms on the basis of leveled /j/ (*traía* → *trayía*), variations in the accentual pattern in the 1st and 2nd plural forms (*traíamos—tráiamos / traíais—tráiais*), medieval *-ié / -íe* imperfects still in use in the 16th century (Lapesa 2005:303-4) and in some Leonese varieties (Zamora Vicente 1967:183-4), or eastern PS analogical forms must have participated in the mixture to some extent. The result was a highly polymorphic, 'diffuse' (Kerswill and Trudgill 2005:200) feature pool for the imperfect tense, which was thus from the very beginning a primary target for leveling via dialect contact. In addition to demographic factors, structural factors must also be addressed. The next section addresses such factors.

8. LANGUAGE-INTERNAL TRIGGERS OF AI. As noted above, TYPE B forms have a much stronger archival and dialectal presence than TYPE A forms. This contrast seems to be consistent with the historical profile of change in both verb classes: whereas vowel-final stem verbs have undergone a series of analogical changes affecting the form of the stem, analogical leveling in consonant-final stem verbs appears to have been much more restricted. In this section, the success of TYPE B imperfects in traditional LAS varieties will be explained as a consequence of language-internal principles of analogy tending to eliminate phonetically non-optimal vowel sequences and morphologically opaque forms. I draw from Wurzel's notion of SYSTEM-DEPENDENT MORPHOLOGICAL NATURALNESS (1984,

1987), as well as from frequency-based approaches (Bybee 1985, 2002; Bybee and Hopper 2001) to explain this historical language-internal motivation for TYPE B AIs.

Vowel-final stem verbs in Spanish are the reflexes of a relatively small group of Latin verbs that lost their stem-final consonants via phonetic lenition, and where the boundary between the verb stem and the thematic vowel came to be realized by V-V hiatus sequence: *caer* < Lat. *cad-ĕre*, *creer* < Lat. *cred-ĕre, leer* < Lat. *leg-ĕre, oir* < Lat. *aud-īre*, etc (Penny 2002:74-84). The standard language has preserved this hiatus in many forms (*ca-es* 'you fall' (pres. ind.), *tra-emos* 'we bring' (pres. ind.) and eliminated it in others by inserting morphologically motivated consonants (*le-yó* 's/he read (pret.)', *trai-gan* 'they bring (pres. subj.)' when the hiatus would have given rise to non-optimal combinations of vowels (Lloyd 1993:473, Penny 2002:175). Overall, vowel-final stem verbs occupy an extraneous position in the verbal system of Spanish; they constitute a small lexical sub-class, and they stand in sharp contrast to the overwhelming majority of verbs where the boundary between the verbal stem and the thematic vowel coincides with a consonantic syllabic onset.

A series of strategies targeting such combinations have been applied historically, especially outside of the standard language. Processes (a) and (b) result from the application of phonetic rules while (c) and (d) result from processes of morphological analogy:

a. Glide creation between vowels of different quality are in contact: *traemos* [tra'-e-mos] > ['trae̯-mos] (sometimes > ['trai̯-mos]).

b. Compensatory vowel lengthening or monophthongization between vowels of the same quality: *creen* ['kre-en] 'they believe (pres. ind.)' > [kre:n, kren]. Monophthongization may occur between vowels of different quality: *creo* ['kre-o] 'I believe (pres. ind.') > [kro].

c. The adoption of a velar insert present etymologically in the stem of certain Latin verbs (e.g. *dīc̲ere* 'to say', *fac̲ere* 'to do'). Following the Latin model, this insert only applied to the first-person singular in the present indicative (*tengo* 'I have') and all forms of the present-subjunctive (*tenga* 'I have', *tengas* 'you have', etc.). During the late medieval period, some vowel-stem verbs adopted this pattern (*caer* > *caigo* 'I fall' (pres. ind.), *caiga* 'I fall' (pres. subj.); *oir* > *oigo* 'I hear' (pres. ind.), *oiga* 'I hear' (pres. subj.), also *traer*). In other vowel-final stem verbs (*creer* > *creigo* 'I believe' (pres. ind.), *creiga* 'I believe' (pres. subj.); also *huir, leer*), the insert was eventually ousted from the standard language (Kania 2011:142-7).

d. Analogical insertion of a palatal glide ([j]) (Lloyd 1993:472-4, Penny 2002:174-5) that arose as a result of regular phonetic change in certain forms of some verbs (Lat. *audio* 'I hear' (pres. ind.) > OSp *oyo*, Lat. *fugio* 'I flee'(pres. ind.) > OSp *fuyo*). Outside the standard language, it has been subsequently leveled analogically to other vowel-final stem verbs, including *caer, traer, reír, se(e)r and ve(e)r*, thus yielding *cayo*, *trayo*, *riyo*, *seyo* and *veyo* in the present indicative, *caya, traya,* etc. in the present subjunctive, *cayí, trayí* in the preterit, etc.

In traditional varieties of PS and LAS, the typical historical variation in vowel-final stem verbs is still very much alive. New Mexican Spanish provides a good illustration. Table 4 lists the 1st person singular forms noted by Espinosa for the verbs *creer* and *oir* in this dialect other than AIs, ordered according to the four processes (a-d) listed above. Only the tenses with more than one variant have been included in the table:

Form	Process			
	Hiatus	**Glide or monopthong**	**/g/ insert**	**/j/ insert**
Infinitive	Uir	crer – uir, óir		creyer – oyer
Gerund	Creendo	óindo		creyendo – oyendo
Participle		óido, uido		oyido
Present indicative	creo – oo	cro, crió	creigo – oigo	creyo – oyo
Present subjunctive	crea – oa		creiga – oiga	creya – oya
Imperfect indicative	oía – uía		creiguía	creyía – oyía
Preterite indicative	creí – oí, uí			creyí – oyí, uyí

TABLE 4*: Forms of* creer *and* oir *recorded in early 20th-century New Mexican Spanish for selected tenses, by formal process (adapted from Espinosa 1946:80-2).*

The table admittedly does not capture the complex interaction of phonetic and morphological constraints at work, which can be seen in the fact that

many cells do not contain any attested forms. Even so, the big picture is that traditional dialects like New Mexican Spanish offer a large range of alternatives to the forms with etymological hiatus. Forms presenting the hiatus are either more optimal alternatives to the traditional ones (for instance, *uía* for *oía*, or *uí* for *oí*) or the least common variant for their variable.[6] Etymological forms with vowel hiatus in the boundary between the stem and the thematic vowel are clearly disfavored.

The relentless instability of this small verb class therefore appears to be a direct function of its exceptional formal profile, highly marked within the morphological system of Spanish. These facts are comfortably accommodated by Wurzel's model of system-dependent naturalness (1984, 1987). Morphological change will tend to respect language-internal systemic properties, even when they contradict other strong cross-linguistic principles (Mayerthaler 1987, Wheeler 1993). Inflectional classes that coincide with those systemic properties are therefore more resistant to language change, rather operating as diachronic attractors for other classes. The formal strength of a category is determined by its size within the language system, in turn a function of type frequency. As an example, Anderwald (2010) shows that the present-preterite-participle pattern of *swing-swung-swung* is attracting other verbs (*drink-drank-drunk* > *drink-drunk-drunk*) in non-standard English, because the identity between the preterit and the participle is a system defining property of English, shared by a small (albeit growing) group of strong verbs and (most critically) by all weak verbs. In the case of Spanish imperfects, the /ba/ affix is a system defining property, shared by all verbs in the 1st conjugation, of much higher type (and token) frequency than the other two (Eddington 2004:68).

An important consequence of the system-internal drive of analogy is that analogical patterns need not be rule-based, but may proceed according to output-to-output similarities. For instance, in the case of the strong preterits studied by Anderwald (2010:13), the *swing-swung-swung* pattern is attracting verbs that are only marginally similar in their present form, including /ɪ/-verbs (*drink*), but also /aɪ/-verbs (*strike*), /i:/-verbs (*sneak*) and /æ/-verbs (*drag*). This marginal similarity forms a basis to overgeneralize a pattern of preterit formation, i.e. a SCHEMA (Bybee and Slobin 1982). This non-rule based behavior of analogy

[6]Espinosa, a native speaker of New Mexican Spanish, meticulously ranked each form by other of frequency. He also includes occasional explicit comments on the frequency of some forms. For instance, *creendo* is *raro* (1946:81), *creo* is *muy raro* (67).

has subsequently been explained by usage-based models of morphological change (Bybee 1985) and by their more recent version, the linguistic version of exemplar theory (Bybee and Hopper 2001, Bybee 2002). According to these models, analogy proceeds stochastically according to frequency-sensitive connections in the mental lexicon of speakers among similar forms. The result is a series of highly interconnected EXEMPLAR CLUSTERS: for instance, within a given exemplar cluster, the infinitive *cantar* 'to sing' would be connected to forms such as *canto* 'song' (n.), *cantante* 'singer', but also *canté* 'I sang' (pret.), *cantaremos* 'we will sing' (fut.), as well as to other *–ar* verbs. As seen in Table 4, vowel-final stem verbs in traditional Spanish dialects present very prolific exemplar clusters. The organization of lexical forms in exemplar clusters affects the rate and the direction of language change because the more often a given form is repeated, the stronger its presence in the cluster and the more resistant to change. Schemas create cognitive ISLANDS OF RELIABILITY (Albright and Hayes 2003) that tend to be morphologically more regular than other paradigm areas. The directionality of analogy in strong verbs seen above in English is an example of the role of schemas in stabilizing highly irregular (marked) areas of morphology.

It will be argued that this theoretical apparatus can be used to explain the genesis of AIs of vowel-final stem verbs in Spanish. On the one hand, because this verbal subclass is formally marked in Spanish according to Wurzel's language-internal criterion, it is highly susceptible to the effects of analogy. On the other hand, the accentual pattern of the imperfect, with a stressed high theme vowel /i/ in the 2nd and 3rd conjugations, results in two syllabic boundaries between vowels: *tra-í-a*, *re-í-an* (V-V-V). I hypothesize that this additional peculiarity renders the imperfect tense of these verbs particularly vulnerable to analogical leveling. The gliding of the thematic vowel is a potential solution that does not seem to violate any phonetic well-formedness constraints: for instance, *traía* > *traya* [traˈi-a] > [tra-ja] (compare to *haya* 'there is (pres. subj.),' *vaya* 'I go (pres. subj.),' etc.). However, the result is an imperfect form that is highly opaque morphologically, homophonous with other forms in the paradigm verbs (e.g. present subjunctive *traya*) and is at odds with the accentual pattern of *–ía* imperfects of the 2nd and 3rd conjugation, all of which carry the stress on the thematic vowel /i/. Unsurprisingly, this solution is only marginally attested (*créia, óia, réia, tráia* Tiscornia 1930:151-3, Vidal de Battini 1949:130-2).

By contrast, TYPE B AIs show the application of an alternative strategy, namely the analogy with 1st-conjugation verbs. This analogy levels the /ba/ affix that characterizes 1st-conjugation imperfects to vowel-final stem verbs, while it preserves the stress on the syllable containing the thematic vowel characteristic of Spanish imperfects: *cantar* → *cantaba* [kaɲˈta-βa], *traer* → [ˈtraɟ-βa]. That 1st-conjugation verbs should be made the model of analogical

leveling is hardly surprising; they are the most frequent verbal class by type and token frequency, they are the most productive, and given the virtual lack of irregular forms in the imperfect tense in Spanish, they offer the only available analogical target outside of 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs. The only exception is *ir* 'to go' → *iba*, a very high token frequency verb with lexical and auxiliary uses that features precisely the same /ba/ marker for etymological reasons, and which could play a pivotal role in reinforcing the attracting power of the +/ba/ schema. For the sake of space, this hypothesis will have to be tested quantitatively elsewhere.

Thus, output-to-output similarities within the exemplar cluster of vowel-final stem verbs seem to be at the basis of this analogy. Note that TYPE B AIs are always identical in their first syllable to the 1st-person of the present indicative and all persons of the present subjunctive, which, as noted, have operated historically as a very strong morphological unit marked not just by the velar insert but also by a /(C)CVi/ sequence: *ca-er* 'to fall' → *cai-go* (1st present indicative), *cai-ga* (1st person subjunctive), *cai-ba* (1st person imperfect), and similarly *o-ir* 'to hear' → *oi-go, oi-ga, oi-ba*; *traer* → *trai-go, trai-ga, trai-ba*; etc. The strength of this /(C)Cvi/ sequence as a morphological attractor and the schematic (i.e. non rule based) nature of this process is shown by the fact that it also applied outside the standard language to paradigms that only showed a partial similarity with that of vowel-final stems, including *haber* 'to have' (auxiliary): subjunctive *haya* → *haiga* (compare to 1st person present *he*), and highly suppletive *ir* 'to go': subjunctive *vaya* → *vaiga* (but 1st person present *vo, voy*). Thus, the /(C)Cvi/ sequence acts as a diachronic MARKER (Anderwald 2010:12) bringing stability within a portion of the vowel-final stem exemplar cloud by linking several tenses of the indicative (present indicative, present subjunctive and imperfect).

By following this schematic pattern, TYPE B AIs conform to the system-defining formal properties of imperfects in Spanish, determined on the basis of 1st-conjugation verbs (type-frequency predominant, as required in Wurzel's approach), and thus increase stability within a historically unstable lexical class. This schema is realized in the following template:

([syllable(s)]) + [(C)CVi]{[+ tonic]}$_{stem}$	+ [/ba/]$_{tense/aspect\ marker}$	+ [person/number affix]$_{imperfect}$	
Traer → trai	+ ba	+ n	'they brought'
Leer → lei	+ ba	+ s	'you read'
Constituir → (Cons)(ti)tui	+ ba	+ Ø	'I/s/he constituted'

The same factors seem to explain why TYPE A imperfects should be so infrequent. Since consonant-final stem verbs have been largely unaffected by the phonetic processes obscuring morphological boundaries in vowel-final stems, they are morphologically more transparent. From the point of view of Wurzel's system-dependent morphological naturalness, regular 2nd and 3rd conjugation correspondences of the type of *com-er* → *com-ía, sal-ir* → *sal-ía* are much more natural than *tra-er* → *tra-ía,* so that consonant-final stem verbs have historically endured much less pressure to undergo the type of reshaping characteristic of TYPE B imperfects. Consequently, they exhibit much more static exemplar clusters than their vowel-final stem counterparts.

So far, AIs appear as excellent candidates to fulfill the first two of the necessary criteria for the multiple causation scenario outlined above. Valuable insight into the sociodemographic circumstances that justified the dialectal success of TYPE B imperfects in LAS varieties is furnished by the available data on the development of the Spanish verbal paradigm during its acquisition by children and in language contact situations.

9. LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND THE INTERFACE BETWEEN LANGUAGE-INTERNAL AND LANGUAGE-EXTERNAL FACTORS. Traditionally, a much-debated issue in the language change literature is whether child language acquisition may determine the direction of language change. Deterministic approaches (Kroch 1989, Lightfoot 1999) defend precisely this thesis. Some authors even propose that acquisition errors unsupported by adult targets may resist restructuration, eventually becoming part of adult grammars (Kroch 2012:40). However, this possibility is by no means a universally accepted tenant. Aitchison (2005:738) argues that child innovations 'fade away, and non-standard forms found in child language are mostly unlike those found in language change', so that 'imperfect learning by youngsters [as a source of long-term change] is possibly a mirage'. See also Bybee and Slobin (1982:287). Note that this skepticism rests on the assumption that acquisition errors in child language and innovations occurring at later stages of life are qualitatively different—but as will be seen below, this premise does not always necessarily hold.

In general, dialect contact studies have traditionally avoided attributing language change explicitly or exclusively to the acquisitional tendencies of children. At the same time, however, it is also a general assumption that dialects emerging in contact situations often favor grammatically simpler forms (Kerswill 2002:671), and the simplifying nature of new dialect formation has been attributed to the innate acquisitional tendencies among children born in a mixed dialectal environment, sometimes called THRESHOLD RIDER (Trudgill 2004:110-2). In some contact situations, it is possible to witness the generalization of what

appear to be child innovations, as observed in the town of Milton Keynes in eastern England (Kerswill 1996:188-90), where

> [...] it is likely that such changes will be facilitated by the lack of powerful adult norms. However, because these changes are spreading throughout the [surrounding] region, and because many non-developmental changes [...] are also in evidence, we cannot say that the persistence of immature forms is a cause of change; it may be merely a facilitator.

If it can be shown that child acquisition operates in tandem with other factors in dialect mixtures, then it seems reasonable to expect that forms already present in the adult input that may additionally be reduplicated spontaneously during acquisition may have an advantage. However, probably because of the difficulty in proving that a given variant was absent from adult input (Kerswill 1996:190), claims in the dialect contact literature about acquisition being the determining factor in the spread of specific variants are not frequent.

An exception is Tuten (2003), who characterizes the mechanism whereby child language acquisition may act as a facilitator of change as hinted at by Kerswill. Tuten argues that innovations stemming from imperfect dialect learning among adults may go uncorrected in a diffuse dialect contact situation and become part of the variation present in the linguistic pool (56). Children often apply principles similar to those applied by adults acquiring new dialects, and '[t]his is especially true of OVERGENERALIZATIONS, which are likely to survive in child speech if children encounter inconsistencies in adult usage and that of their peers' (Tuten 2003:57, my emphasis; also see Clahsen et al 2002, Clark 2009:254-78). In such cases, adult- and children-introduced innovations are formally indistinguishable. According to Tuten, the role of child language acquisition in contact situations must be acknowledged alongside that of adults 'because it is only the features that are consistently learned by succeeding generations of children that will survive to characterize a new koine' (62). Tuten's remarks call into question the sharp conceptual divide between child and adult phenomena proposed by Aitchinson, and require us to pay attention to child language acquisition as an ingredient in dialect contact situations. An example of this type of approach is Moyna (2009), who explains the order of social actuation of *voseo* (etymological 2nd person plural used in singular reference) forms in River Plate Spanish as a consequence of the natural order of child acquisition of Spanish verbal tenses. This scenario coincides fully with Tuten's – voseo already existed as a variant in adult input, but it did not become general in River Plate Spanish until it was generalized by children acquiring Spanish in a multidialectal environment.

It will be argued here that the advantage of AIs as interlanguage forms naturally occurring during first language acquisition boosted their chances of surviving leveling following dialect contact and promoted their generalization in traditional LAS varieties. It is has been shown (Clahsen et al 2002, Clark 2009:197-8) that verbal analogy is a mechanism of paradigm rearrangement often actuated in child acquisition. If the social circumstances of dialect contact often result in a heterogeneous input that children seek to regularize, it is legitimate to think that the spread of AIs in LAS may be linked to the circumstances in which children of the early colonial period acquired their native version of Spanish in a multidialectal environment.

Note that this hypothesis makes a strong prediction—we should be able to find evidence of AIs naturally occurring in the output of children acquiring Spanish in areas where these forms are not typical, i.e. where they can only occur as true acquisition errors. As it turns out, this evidence is available. Table 5 lists acquisition errors found in a variety of L1 acquisition corpora in several areas of the Spanish-speaking world that follow the basic TYPE A or B pattern.

Corpus	**Location**	**TYPE A-like forms**	**TYPE B-like forms**	**Ages covered by data**
Pereira and Singer (1984)	La Coruña (Spain)	*cobaba* (← **cober*) *crozaba* (← **crocer*) *llezaba* (← **llecer*)	*leiba* (← *leer*) *traeiba* (← *traer*)	3.0 – 6.0
Johnson (1995)	San Luis Potosí (Mexico), Madrid	—	*caiba* (← *caer*)	2.0 – 4.0
Díez-Itza and Pérez-Tora (1996)	Oviedo (Spain)	—	*creiba* (← *creer*)	3.0
Clahsen et al. (2002)	Madrid, Oviedo (Spain), Canary Islands, Mexico, Venezuela	*queriba* (← *querer*) *teniba* (← *tener*)	*creiba* (← *creer*)	1.7-4.7
Álvarez Angulo (2002)	Madrid (?)	*diciba, dicibas* (← *decir*) *hicibas* (← *hacer*) *saliban* (← *salir*)	*caiba* (← *caer*)	2.4-7.0

TABLE 5: *AIs as errors in first-language acquisition Spanish data from selected sources*

The data show that AIs occur frequently in the acquisition of Spanish by children when the 1st conjugation /ba/ imperfect indicative affix is generalized to the 2nd and 3rd conjugations. This overgeneralization is a function of the weight of type frequency over token frequency during the earliest stages of acquisition of morphology: children have been shown to prefer the affixes that are used with a largest number of stems over those that are used with a smaller number of stems (Clark 2009:184-5), thus regularizing irregular forms, and not vice versa (Clahsen et al. 2002:605). As a rule, these studies do not elaborate on whether any significant correlations exist between verbal class and error frequency, or between error production and age. According to Pereira and Singer (1984:209), error elimination is somewhat slower in the 2nd and 3rd conjugation, from which errors are not absent until age six.

We may conclude that the presence of AIs in the dialectal pool to which children growing up in at least some colonial areas were exposed can be traced back not only to dialectal importation in adult speech (section 7), but also to innovations typical of child acquisition. It therefore comes as little surprise that several among the earliest attestations of AIs presented above (#8 and 9) are intended as representations of child language. Note that this form of overgeneralization occurs regardless of whether the verb stem is consonant-final or vowel-final, thus yielding both TYPE A and TYPE B forms, even though it is only the latter that tend to be attested dialectally in LAS. I argue that the status of TYPE B forms as morphologically natural variants (section 8) minimized children's motivation to eliminate them from their grammars. Presented with a highly polyformic feature pool in the imperfect indicative, AIs had an added advantage both as forms present in adult input and as independently motivated forms via acquisition. By contrast, children found it easier to eventually approach adult targets for consonant-final stems, which from the beginning had more homogeneous exemplar clouds where positive evidence for TYPE A forms was scant. Comments in the dialectal literature about TYPE A constructions occurring primarily or exclusively in children (Benvenutto Murrieta 1936:140, Vidal de Battini 1949:129, Llorente Maldonado de Guevara 1947:147) confirm this analysis.

In addition, there is strong evidence that these forms have also been favored by adult speakers in language contact situations in the history of LAS. For instance, representations of *bozal* Spanish (i.e. L2 Spanish by L1 speakers of African languages) have also included AIs historically, as shown in several texts in the Afro-Hispanic anthology by Lispki (2005) (*disiba* 'he said' #48, *poniba* 'he put' #63). Again unsurprisingly, many of the examples of AIs quoted in section 4 appear as reproductions of non-native speakers of Spanish with a wide range of native languages, including Quechua (#12, 13), Mexican languages (#16) and Italian (#18). Unlike what is found in areas where language contact appears to

have been less pervasive, these contact varieties feature both TYPE A and TYPE B imperfects. The linguistic ecology of these areas, therefore, can be assumed to have played a critical role in supporting different morphological retentions from those typical of other varieties.

Language contact is not usually treated as having determined pervasive grammatical interference in native LAS varieties outside certain areas (Andes, Paraguay), but language contact effects elsewhere cannot be ruled out automatically. In fact, social contact between native and non-native speakers of Spanish seems to have been predominant in many areas of the colonial Spanish Americas for long periods of time. The case of Mexico, where bilingualism today is far from being the norm, is a clear example. Already during the colonial period, many children grew up exposed to languages such as Nahuatl and to non-native Spanish as heard from the lips of their caretakers, and a significant shift to Spanish monolingualism did not occur until the 18th century (Hidalgo 2001:72). Even as late as the early 19th century, about 60% of the population of Mexico was still estimated to have been monolingual speakers of languages other than Spanish (Parodi 2001:50). With ethnic and linguistic miscegenation as a component of everyday life, L2 approximations to native Spanish were also a part of the linguistic pool in which many children grew up and acquired language. The availability of L1 input, where TYPE A forms were not present or were only marginally used variants, seems to have thwarted the adoption of these forms in most areas. By contrast, TYPE B forms, simultaneously present in native adult input, non-native adult interlanguage and as child innovations due to normal morphological bootstrapping during acquisition, seem to have been favored for preservation and generalization. This scenario is highly reminiscent of those analyzed in Kerswill (1996), Tuten (2003) and Moyna (2009) where formal convergence between adult and child language phenomena are able to boost the chances of minority forms to survive the leveling of competing alternatives in the dialectal mixture.

The acquisitional factor thus seems to be a key piece in the puzzle of the diachronic morphology of LAS. Given the three intervening ingredients favoring the presence of AIs in the initial colonial feature pool analyzed so far (presence in native adult input, internal propensity towards analogical restructuring of vowel-final stem imperfects, and a sociodemographic context of dialect and language contact favoring the preservation of AIs as L1- and L2-interlanguage forms), the reason for the ultimate generalization of these forms in several varieties of LAS must be sought in the specific sociohistorical circumstances of dialect contact and focusing in which these varieties developed.

10. THE OUTCOME: THE SPREAD OF AIS IN LAS VARIETIES. Taking into account the evidence presented in the preceding three sections, we may now attempt

a reconstruction of the particular sociohistorical conditions that nestled the selection and preservation of AIs in many LAS varieties throughout the colonial period and beyond.

Initially, dialect contact resulted in a highly polymorphic linguistic pool which featured a series of variants for the 2nd and 3rd conjugation imperfect forms. Morphological overgeneralizations naturally occurring in the acquisition of Spanish and approximations to L1 targets by native speakers of languages other than Spanish exposed children and adult speakers to a much less homogeneous acquisition target than was the case anywhere in the Iberian Peninsula. Continued arrivals from Spain (Catalán 1958, Lipski 1994), sustained language contact and the settlement of new areas delayed dialect focusing, and this variation was not immediately eliminated. Both language-external and language-internal factors favored TYPE B over TYPE A forms from the beginning.

Subsequently, through a process of norm establishment via language negotiation by children and adolescents (Kerswill and Williams 2000, Kerswill 2002), these analogical forms started to emerge as part of new, local dialectal norms characterized by a novel combination of variants available from the original input, often in the direction of alternatives that offered structural advantages over other variants. The intricate combination of internal (paradigm configuration, acquisition processes) and external (presence of language contact phenomena, composition of the dialectal input, exposure to strong social norms) in different areas oriented the process in different directions. Minority features, such as AIs, were not universally favored, and their survival and adoption as staple features of certain areas only occurred as the byproduct of several simultaneous linguistic and extra-linguistic factors operating locally.

As the more socially peripheral areas developed into closed-knit, mostly self-sufficient communities with weak ties to other regions, these initially innovative norms became entrenched as part of each area's sociolinguistic tradition. This scenario matches the hypothesis presented by Parodi and Santa Ana (1997) and Parodi (2001) to explain the shared phonetic and morphological similarities among many rural Mexican varieties. In their view, many of these features became solidified as cattle herders (*rancheros*) settled the peripheral areas inhabited by speakers of languages other than Spanish in a slow process, but especially after the late 17th century. Racial miscegenation (*mestizaje*) and language contact were critical elements of this sociolinguistic environment (Parodi 2001:507). Parodi and Santa Ana (1997) include in this process a variety of rural, stigmatized forms which are used over large areas in variation with standard and other non-standard forms. As seen above, AIs largely fit this sociolinguistic and historical profile, and it is likely that this sociolinguistic scenario also obtained in many areas besides rural Mexico, thus giving rise to the linguistic

similarities among close and distant traditional LAS varieties noted in section 5. Even so, variation within the community was probably never eliminated, and access to outside norms, albeit limited, nurtured the availability of phonetic and morphosyntactic variants that survived as productive alternatives, thus explaining the radical polymorphic nature of these dialects.

It may be concluded that the combined effect of structural and social factors was at the root of the preservation and generalization of non-standard verbal morphology including ALS in a wide array of LAS dialects. Specifically, it was the particular social pattern of settlement of certain areas and their demographic, economic and social makeup during the colonial and early post-colonial period that allowed for the generalization of forms that were available from the beginning as structurally-motivated options in traditional dialects of LAS. The dialectal and historical profile of these forms can hardly be explained by the operation of a single linguistic or social element. On the contrary, a multicausative approach as the one developed in this study on the basis of Andersen (1988), Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1994) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2003) to account for the innovative nature of peripheral dialects has proven to be much more productive.

11. CONCLUSIONS. AIs constitute one of the most widespread linguistic features in rural varieties of LAS, but have remained largely unexplained. Through an analysis of the dialectal distribution of these forms, the available archival evidence, their internal morphological properties and the sociodemographic conditions that nestled the development of LAS varieties from the colonial period, it has been possible to determine that AIs generalized in these varieties most likely as a consequence of the interaction of several factors: their presence in adult input and as innovations in child and adult language during the acquisition phase, the inherent morphological instability of vowel-final stem verbs, and the social embedding of dialect contact in areas sharing a similar demographic profile. The present analysis thus allows us to understand the generalization of these forms in LAS despite their initial demographic disadvantage, as well as the conspicuous contrast with PS varieties, where AIs are much more infrequent. The fate of AIs in the Americas is an eloquent illustration of the challenges that dialectal data pose to the dialectal models so far proposed to account for the genesis of LAS varieties, especially as concerns morphology. It is also a reminder of the need to advance towards more nuanced, less generalizing explanations in the diachronic study of Latin American Spanish, so as to incorporate, rather than ignore, the lesser-known facts of Latin American Spanish dialectology.

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