

The Use of Past Tenses in the Spanish of Lima: Variation in a Situation of Contact

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1. Introduction

During the last sixty years the population of Lima has shifted as a consequence of migration from the provinces of Peru; the population of Lima grew from approximately 600,000 inhabitants in 1940 to 6.5 million in the early 1990s. (Klee & Caravedo, 2005). This migration has brought many changes to the city, among them the creation of new economic systems and cultural manifestations. Migration to Lima has affected the linguistic situation of the city as well; specifically, the dialect of the new inhabitants, Andean Spanish, has come into contact with Limeño Spanish, a coastal dialect.

Andean Spanish has characteristics that reflect its contact situation with Quechua. Some of these characteristics are: the use of the archimorpheme *lo*, *leísmo*, the use of the double possessive (*su hijo de usted*), the use of the present perfect and the past perfect in narrative clauses where standard Spanish uses preterite, and at the phonological level the assibilation of multiple vibrants, among others. Many of these characteristics are recognized by the native population of Lima and differ in several ways from the more prestigious Limeño dialect, a variety of coastal Spanish. Some of the linguistic features used by the migrant population are stigmatized, as are their indigenous languages. The first generation of migrants from the Andean Region usually learned Spanish as their second language, in some cases at the time they arrived in Lima. The second generation of migrants typically did not speak an indigenous language and had minimal or no comprehension of their parents' first language.

This migrant population came to the capital to seek better economic opportunities and in the 1980's, and early 1990's migration increased due to violence provoked by Shining Path and the military in the rural areas of Peru. Once in Lima, they occupied the outlying areas of the city and created settlements, known as shantytowns. Most migrants in this group share the same low socio-economic status, characterized by low levels of education and extreme poverty. This process of migration is perceived by traditional Limeños as an invasion and/or a contamination of the capital and its Spanish. As a consequence, the migrants' sociocultural and linguistic characteristics are highly stigmatized by the majority of Limeños (Klee & Caravedo, 2005). However, the traditional Limeños and migrants have established intense contact in several areas since some of them share a similar marginalized economic situation.

After sixty years of contact between the Spanish of traditional Limeños and migrants, some mutual influence is to be expected, including the possible creation of hybrid forms that reflect the characteristics of both groups. Previous studies have approached this dialect in contact situation to examine the degree of change in traditional Limeño Spanish as well as in the Spanish of the migrants and their adult children (Klee & Caravedo, 2005, 2006). The focus of these studies have been the archimorpheme *lo*, the use of *leísmo* and phonological features such as the assibilation of multiple vibrants, the maintenance or loss of the lateral palatal and the deletion of syllable final /s/.

As has been documented, the verbal system in Andean Spanish differs from the standard one of coastal Spanish, due to the influence of Quechua (Klee & Ocampo, 1995; Escobar 1997, Stratford, 1991; Mendoza, 1991). Taking this into consideration, the aim of this paper will be to examine the use of past tenses in the narratives of three different groups of inhabitants of Lima. This analysis will attempt to determine whether the use of past tenses by first and second generation migrants maintains characteristics of the Andean Spanish system, and if this system has influenced the verbal system of coastal Limeño Spanish.

Prior to an analysis of the verbal system in narratives, a brief synopsis of the findings related to the contact situation in Lima will be presented, followed by an introduction to some of the previous research on verbal tenses in the Andean and Limeño Spanish. The analysis of narratives included here will follow the parameters established by Labov, 1972; Silva-Corvalán, 2001 and will take into account previous studies on the verbal system in different standard Spanish dialects (Howe & Schwenter, 2003; Schwenter, 1994a; Schwenter, 1994b; Serrano, 1994; Westmoreland, 1988). Afterward, the characteristics of the verbal system in these narratives will be described and an attempt will be made to ascertain the degree of influence that Andean Spanish exerts on the coastal Spanish verbal system.

2. Literature review

2.1. *Some characteristics of the dialect contact situation in Lima*

In order to observe the impact of the dialect contact situation on both the Spanish of Andean Speakers and on Limeño Spanish, Klee and Caravedo (2006) analyzed data collected from three different groups of speakers in Lima. These groups include migrants from an Andean region, i.e. first generation migrants, adults born in Lima whose parents are Andean migrants, and Limeños born and raised in traditional neighborhoods in Lima like their parents.

For this study, they analyzed several phonological and morphological features usually associated with Andean Spanish. The phonological features analyzed were: (1) the distinction or lack of distinction between the palatal lateral /ɲ/ and the non-lateral /y/, in cases such as [póyo] and [pólo] (*pooyo* and *pollo* respectively), (2) the assibilation or not of multiple vibrants and, (3) the aspiration vs. elision of sibilants. The first two characteristics differentiate Andean Spanish from Limeño Spanish and the last one is associated with coastal Spanish. On the morphological level they consider *leísmo* and the archmorpheme *lo*, two features that have been documented as part of the Andean dialect.

After analyzing these features in the three different groups, Klee and Caravedo (2006) found that at the phonological level, first and second generation migrants tend to adopt the more prestigious coastal forms, more specifically the non-lateral and non-assibilated variants, and they have adopted the deletion of sibilants which is associated with lower class Limeños. These findings show that at least at the phonological level migrants are the ones accommodating to the Limeño dialect, adopting characteristics of the lower class Limeños with whom they interact most often.

At the morphological level, this study shows that *leísmo* occurs in the speech of first and second generation migrants and with less frequency in the speech of Limeños. Since this feature is less stigmatized than the phonological variables typical of Andean Spanish and it occurs with some verbs in the Spanish of Lima, the authors concluded that the contact situation might contribute to a higher frequency of *leísmo* among second generation migrants, and may possibly spread to other Limeño speakers, a point to be confirmed in later research. In the case of archmorpheme *lo*, only first generation migrants maintain its use, while second generation migrants use a hybrid system. Limeños do not use this archmorpheme, leading the authors to believe that the hybrid system is not likely to be transmitted to later generations. Despite the fact that it seems that migrants adapt their dialect to the coastal one, Klee and Caravedo affirm that it is not possible to ascertain that Andean Spanish is not affecting coastal Spanish. Pragmatic and other syntactic features should be analyzed, since features not perceived as Andean Spanish at a conscious level, like the phonological variables, are more likely to be adopted by Limeños. One of the features mentioned by them (Klee & Caravedo, 2006) is the verbal system. This paper will attempt to describe this subject; however, the Limeño Spanish verbal system and the Andean system must be explained first.

2.2. *The verbal system of Limeño Spanish*

In order to examine the verbal system of Limeños, we have to bear in mind that the standard for this population presents certain uses of the present perfect that differ from other Spanish dialects in Latin America. The use of present perfect in this dialect has extended to semantic domains where the preterite occurs in more traditional dialects, such as remote past events. This linguistic phenomenon has been widely documented, and it is considered part of a grammaticalization process where the

present perfect replaces the preterite in most of its uses. This grammaticalization has occurred in other Romance languages such as French and Italian (Schwenter, 2004b).

According to Howe and Schwenter (2003) there is a widespread impression that the present perfect and the preterite in the Spanish of Lima overlap, however, they sustain that both tenses have different uses. The preterite is favored when reporting foregrounded events in narratives, while the present perfect is used to report perfective situations that are not part of the foregrounded sequence. Another context in which the present perfect is used, that seems to be particular to this dialect, is after a series of events to provide a summary of the story.

2.3. *The verbal system in Andean Spanish*

Andean Spanish use of present perfect and past perfect differ from the uses in other standard Latin American Spanish dialects. In most Spanish dialects the past perfect refers to an action in the past that occurred previous to another one (*había llegado*). In contrast, the uses of present perfect present a wider variation across dialects in the Spanish speaking world. Among other functions it is usually used to report an action that just occurred or that occurred in a recent past but still has relevance in the present (Howe & Schwenter, 2003). The main difference between present perfect and preterite is temporality. In the Quechua verbal system, as in Aymará, not only temporality shapes the system, but also evidentiality (Stratford, 1991; Klee & Ocampo, 1995; Escobar, 1997). These languages have verbal markers that indicate whether the speakers witnessed or experienced the event narrated or whether they received the information from other sources or when not completely conscious.

Analyzing the narratives of bilingual speakers in Calca, a city situated 50 kilometers from Cuzco, Klee and Ocampo (1995) found that the Quechua verbal system has had an influence on the Spanish verbal system of these bilingual speakers. Bilingual speakers' use of the imperfect was usually very similar to the standard one. However, the authors found a few examples where the imperfect was used with a perfective value. These speakers also used the present perfect to express perfective events that took place in the past. Some uses of the present perfect occurred in the complicating actions of the narrative, where one would expect the preterite or the historical present to be used (Silva-Corvalán, 1983). According to the authors' analysis, past perfect was sometimes used to report events or actions in the narratives that had not been witnessed or experienced by the speakers, while the present perfect was used to narrate events that the speakers had witnessed or experienced. These two Spanish tenses are adapted to express the evidential difference required in Quechua.

A later analysis of bilingual speakers of Spanish and Quechua made by Escobar (1997) found similar results. According to this study, in the Spanish of these bilingual speakers the present perfect maintains the semantic value of present relevance, even if the event took place years before the moment of speech. Escobar maintains that if an event has relevance for the speaker, the present perfect is used no matter when the event occurred. Besides this use, which is also found in other Spanish dialects, she found two innovative uses of the present perfect that are associated with spatiality and evidentiality respectively.

In the first of these two uses of the present perfect, speakers would report events and actions that occurred in their hometowns in the preterite, and for events that occurred in Lima, their current location, they would use present perfect. The present perfect is associated with what Escobar refers to as the "here and now". Within this frame, it is possible to explain some uses of the preterite in her speakers' narratives that referred to Lima; these examples refer to an Old Lima that is not part of the speakers' "here and now".

The second finding is the use of present perfect as a marker of evidentiality. The present perfect brings events to the "here and now" context, showing not only its spatial closeness but also that the speakers witnessed them or experienced them themselves. The past perfect contrasts with the present perfect because it is the tense used to mention events that the speaker has not witnessed.

The use of past perfect to mark surprise or an event not personally witnessed by the speaker has also been found in Bolivian Spanish, which is in a contact situation with Aymará. In this dialect, the use of the present perfect has been extended to a point where it can refer to events in a remote past (Mendoza, 1991). Furthermore, Stratford (1991), found that the present perfect and preterite used in the Spanish of the Altiplano area is used to express personal knowledge or experience; this is in contrast to the use of the past perfect to express non personal knowledge. Once again, it can be seen in this dialect that temporality does not play the main role in the election of these two verbal tenses in this dialect. These tenses are reinterpretations of the Spanish use of present perfect and past perfect in more

standard dialects. Since this verbal feature is well documented as a characteristic of Andean Spanish, and because it plays a primary role in the construction of bilingual speakers' narratives, it raises the question as to whether the uses of past/present perfect are maintained in the migrants' system and are transmitted to future generations. Furthermore, has the Andean system modified the verbal system of Limeños? In the following section we will outline the research questions which address these topics.

3. Research questions

1. What are the characteristics of past tense use in the narratives of migrants, second generation migrants and Limeños?
2. Is this dialect in contact situation causing changes in the past verbal system of the Spanish of Lima?

4. Methodology

4.1. Data

The data used for this paper come from 108 interviews conducted by Klee and Caravedo in Lima in 1999-2000. The interviews were conducted in different areas of the city, including neighborhoods with large populations of Andean migrants. They interviewed migrants from the Andean region and adults born in Lima whose parents were migrants. They also conducted interviews in traditionally poor areas of Lima, where they interviewed non-migrant Limeños.

For the purpose of this analysis only the extracts of the conversations that were narratives and their narrative clauses were considered. The fragments classified as narratives were recapitulations of past experiences in a sequence of verbal clauses that matches the series of events that are being described. (Labov, 1972; Silva-Corvalán, 2001).

In this paper the narratives of fifteen speakers were analyzed. This group includes six migrants, five children of migrants and four traditional Limeños from two different areas of the city. The following table, taken from Klee & Caravedo (2006), shows the speakers' social characteristics as well as the code that will be later used in the examples.

Table 1. Characteristics of Speakers

Speaker Code	Generation in Lima	Family Background	Neighborhood	Sex	1 st lng	Education	Occupation
3AG	1	Andean	Shantytown	M	Quechua	Some primary	Retired
4GT	1	Andean	Shantytown	M	Quechua	Primary	Retired market vendor
8FT	2	Andean	Shantytown	M	Spanish	Secondary	Military
9FA	1	Andean	Shantytown	F	Quechua	Some primary	Unemployed
10JG	1	Andean	Shantytown	M	Quechua	Some primary	Building caretaker
11BI	1	Andean	Shantytown	F	Quechua	Primary	Unemployed
12BM	1	Andean	Shantytown	M	Quechua	Some primary	Unemployed
13CC	2	Andean	Shantytown	F	Spanish	Some secondary	Unemployed
14EF	2	Andean	Shantytown	M	Spanish	Some secondary	Unemployed
15JF	2	Andean	Shantytown	F	Spanish	Secondary	Unemployed
16LS	2	Andean	Shantytown	F	Spanish	Some college	Factory worker
17MC	Non-migrant	NonAndean	Established Neighborhood	F	Spanish	Some college	Nurses' assistant
18JN	Non-migrant	NonAndean	Established neighborhood	F	Spanish	Secondary	Unemployed
19JE	Non-migrant	NonAndean	Established neighborhood	M	Spanish	Secondary	Unemployed
20JT	Non-migrant	NonAndean	Established neighborhood	M	Spanish	Secondary	Security guard

5. Results

In this section the uses of the past tenses by first generation migrants, second generation migrants and Limeños will be analyzed in detail both quantitatively and qualitatively. In view of the characteristics of Andean Spanish verbal system, which differ from the standard use of past tenses in Spanish narratives (Silva-Corvalán, 1983), the aims of this paper are to observe if these characteristics are maintained by first generation migrants, to see if they are transmitted to second generation migrants and to discover if Limeños in contact with these speakers adopt elements of the Andean verbal system.

5.1. Quantitative Analysis

After analyzing the fifteen sociolinguistic interviews from the three different groups, 98 narratives were found. These narratives were classified according to the use of verbal tenses made by the speakers in narrative clauses. Two categories were established. In the first category, the narratives included preterite (P), imperfect, historical present (HP) and/or past perfect (PP) as expected in standard Latin American Spanish dialects. The second category was alternation which refers to the use of present perfect (PP) where the preterite (P) or the imperfect is expected.¹ The alternation category does not include any innovative uses of the past perfect (PP), since there were no examples of this in our data. Table 1 presents the quantitative results of this categorization:

Table 2. Total of type of narratives by group

Type of narratives	First generation migrants	Second generation migrants	Limeños
Standard uses	37.7 % (21)	70.83% (17)	94.44 % (17)
Alternation P/PP or P/HP/PP	62.5 % (35)	29.17% (7)	5.56% (1)
Total	56 ²	24	18

It can be seen that for first generation migrants the alternation of past tenses in narrative clauses, more specifically the use of present perfect where the preterite or the imperfect would be expected, is quite common. More than half of their narratives (62.5 %) presented some use of present perfect in narrative clauses. The standard use of the past tenses preterite, imperfect and historical present occurred in 37.7 % of their narratives.

In the case of second generation migrants, their use of past tenses in narrative clauses is closer to standard usage. Seventy percent of their narratives can be considered to have standard uses of past tenses; while the use of the present perfect in narrative clauses was not as extensive as in the narratives of first generation migrants, it was found in almost a third of their narratives (29.17%).

Non-standard use of the present perfect is almost nonexistent in the Limeños' narratives. Only one narrative included the use of the present perfect instead of the preterite in narrative clauses. The use of the present perfect is more extended among these speakers than in other Spanish dialects, as indicated in previous studies (Howe & Schwenter, 2003); in our data examples like "He nacido en Lima" (*I was born in Lima*) (20JT) were found, among other examples that can be considered non-standard in other Spanish dialects. However, these examples did not occur in narrative clauses, therefore they were not included in the quantitative analysis.

¹ These categories are an adaptation of the ones defined in Klee and Ocampo (1995), to fit our data.

² The higher number of narratives by first generation migrants might be due to the nature of the interview protocol (the topic was the history of their shantytown). Further examination needs to be done in this area.

The use of present perfect by these speakers suggests that this tense might have some functions not present in other Spanish dialects that are not in language contact situations, although some of these uses correspond to the standard of Lima (Howe & Schwenter, 2003). These functions will be analyzed in more detail in the following section.

5.2. *Qualitative analysis*

a. *Past tenses used by first generation migrants.*

The narratives of first generation migrants have a past verbal system that differs from the system of Andean Spanish as well as the standard Spanish of Lima. Certain verbal tenses have the same function as in standard Spanish. The use of past perfect does not present any evidence of being used as a tense to express events that were not experienced or witnessed by the speakers, as has been found in Andean Spanish. Past perfect was used to express events in the past preceding another event narrated. In the same way, the use of the imperfect is close to the standard one. It is used to express background information in the narrative. However, some examples were found in which the imperfect is used with perfective meaning, as in Example 1, where 3AG talks about a specific occasion when he could not attend a funeral and uses the imperfect:

(1) yo no, yo no **podía** ir, porque yo trabajaba en la mañana pué-, yo me iba a las seis de la mañana y ya no venía hasta las, a menos hasta las siete las cinco la tarde, más o menos, yo no podía ya (3AG)

In this example, it is possible to see that a perfective action expressed with a stative verb “he could not go to a funeral”, is expressed with the imperfect used to express habitual actions in the past, as in the other activities that he expressed in the imperfect. However, this example is not part of a narrative, and cases similar to this were not found in the narratives analyzed. Other examples not present in this study’s narratives show present perfect used to express habitual action instead of the imperfect; five of the six first generation speakers show a few cases of this use. These examples reflect the high variability in the past verbal system of these bilingual speakers.

Among these speakers the use of alternation between present perfect and preterite is quite frequent. It seems that in some cases these speakers assign the same semantic value to both tenses. Both tenses are used to report perfective actions in the past, typically foregrounded information. Sometimes both tenses occur in the same narrative referring to the same event, as in the following example:

(2) él ha, ... ha traído el ... nosotros- **hemos pedido** para que para que venga el gobierno pedimos para que, vengan a aplanar, todo era altos y bajos, altos y bajos, pura tierra, piedra, y pedimos una, niveladora, moto, moto niveladora, ento-s **ha pasa-o** ya, ento-s **ha pasa-o** de, y **ha deja-o**, aplanar-o ya, bien he, la calle bien hecha ya (3AG)

In this example, 3AG talks about the efforts that squatters made when they founded their shantytown. It is possible to see how he uses the verb *pedir* (‘to ask for’) in preterite (*pedimos* ‘we asked for’) and in present perfect (*hemos pedido* ‘we have asked for’) to refer to the same event. Another example shows this tendency of semantic overlap between preterite and present perfect. In the following example, speaker 4GT explains his immigration to Lima. Although he uses mostly the preterite, the present perfect is used to express the same idea previously expressed in the preterite:

(3) Sí, me vine a trabajar, buscar -en, este, el, la situación (d-escolar), la situación, esa, m, con ese, co- dije, **he venido** de, de allá, y a pesar que, yo no tenía nada, m, cuando llegué acá, no tenía dónde ir, así que, de suerte me encontré con un paisano, me alojé, ahí en su, casa, y de ahí, me, fui a una hacienda (4GT)

The example in (3) shows the overlap between preterite and present perfect in the narratives of migrants. When 4GT talks about his arrival to Lima, he starts the story using preterite.

Some overlapping between present perfect and preterite may be related to the use of present perfect as the tense to summarize the narrative, described previously as a characteristic of the Spanish of Lima

(Howe & Schwenter, 2003). This use seems widespread and appeared in several cases. The following example illustrates this use by migrants, where 9FA describes how her father allowed her to complete first grade:

(4) así fue, me esforcé bastante ese año, fui segundo puesto, y, ya, me felicité mi papá (quería) el primer puesto, y, y ya pues, así, ese año, primer grado, **he pasado** al segundo (9FA)

After 9FA describes completing first grade and receiving her father's congratulations in the preterite, the speaker summarizes her story with the present perfect in "**he pasado**" (I have passed).

None of the examples in the narratives of first generation speakers were found to have semantic values of present relevance and/or spatiality, as described by Escobar (1997). The frequency of narratives in which the present perfect is used in non standard ways (62.5%) is higher than the frequency found in Calca (Klee & Ocampo 1995) among the non standard narratives of professional and middle group speakers (17% and 41% respectively). However it can be compared to the use of the present perfect in non standard ways by the lower group speakers in Calca (45% of alternation and 21% of only present perfect use). This apparent similarity may be due to the fact that both groups of speakers come mostly from lower socio-economical levels.

The frequency of narratives in which the present perfect is used in non standard ways may be explained as the result of a language contact situation, contact between Spanish and Quechua in the Andean region. Following migration to Lima, the Andean system and the coastal system come into contact and the results of that contact can be seen in the speech of second generation migrants.

b. Past tenses used by second generation migrants.

For the second generation migrants the use of past tenses in narratives is mostly standard. These speakers exhibit some uses of the present perfect that reflect, in some way, their parents' system, but seem to be closer to the coastal standard. Their uses of preterite, imperfect and present perfect are fairly similar to standard ones in Spanish narratives.

In second generation migrants' narratives, the present perfect does not seem to be replacing only the preterite. There are some examples in these narratives in which the present perfect appears to be taking the place of the historical present in the organization of the discourse. This use is similar to the one known as "hot news" (Schwenter, 1994b), where the events that are not expected, or the complicating point of the story are introduced by verbs in the present perfect. In other Spanish dialects this narrative strategy is usually accomplished by the historical present (Schwenter, 1994b, Silva-Corvalán, 1983). An example of this use can be seen in the following extract of a narrative by 8FT:

(5) no se abría la puerta pue, con un toque, entro, y así, entro así con mi cuerpo y se abre la puerta, y yo escuchaba que, hm, plic, un sonido de, de que lo haya, me **ha dispara-o** el otro pata, me **ha dispara-o** pero no **ha salido** el tiro, -sea yo, **ha hecho** así, y yo entra-o a- frente mío (8FT)

In this narrative, the speaker tells a story about a search he did during his days in the military forces. His unit was trying to find some guerrillas in a house located in the area under their supervision. 8FT expresses that at some point they thought that the guerrillas were not there, therefore the fact that somebody shot him was a surprise, as well as the fact that that the gun did not go off. These events are expressed in present perfect even though they constitute the complicating actions of the narrative. This use has been observed in Alicante Spanish as a strategy to report news in the media (Schwenter, 1994b).

Another use of present perfect found among these speakers is the summary report. Speakers use the present perfect to end and summarize their narratives. This use was observed in our data among first generation migrants, and is considered part of the standard use in the Spanish of Lima (Howe & Schwenter, 2003). This use can be observed in the following example:

(6) Entonces ya la casa lo dejó. Entonces, como no estaba tan construida, así era de ... medio construir, entonces lo repartió pa' sus cinco hijos. Y entonces como ya son casados, dijo 'mejor lo reparto' y ahí [vino eso]. Y así, nos... [esta] esquina, pues entonces nos **ha repartido** así y todos tenemos puerta a la calle.(13CC)

In this narrative, 13CC explains how her father in law divided his property among his family members, and how as a result everybody has their own access to the street. The summary of her story is expressed through the verb *repartir* (divided up) in present perfect.

The use of present perfect describing perfective situations in the past is found among these speakers, and it is also found, but not very frequently, in the description of background information. In the following example in which the speaker relates an event that occurred ten years earlier, it is possible to observe this:

(7) entonces- ella se metió con el chico, pero para eso en esa casa había como un cuadradito así como una ventana, y parece que por ahí me **han visto** que **he sido** yo, entonces después me dice señora pase me (dijo), pasé . (15JF)

When the speaker describes how she was recognized by the person she was looking for, she uses the present perfect to narrate this background information. Usually in standard Spanish, background information is reported in the imperfect. However in the Spanish of Second generation migrants there is a higher frequency of the use of this tense in non narrative clauses describing remote past (in example 7 the speaker narrates a story that occurred approximately 20 years earlier) and habitual actions in the past than in other dialects.

These speakers present a verbal past tense system closer to the standard one than the first generation migrants. However, in narratives, their use of the present perfect in non-standard ways is more frequent than that of the Limeños. It appears that second generation speakers maintain some elements of the nonstandard uses of their parents, but to a lesser degree. It is possible that their system is gradually assimilating to that of coastal Spanish.

c. Past tenses used by Limeños.

In our data, the use of past tenses in the narratives of the Limeños shows that, at least in the narrative context, coastal Spanish mostly follows the same patterns as other Latin American Spanish dialects. The preterite is used to narrate perfective events in the past, mostly foreground information, the imperfect is used to express background information and past perfect is used to report an event that occurred before another one in the past. The Present perfect is used when quoting direct speech in the narrative.

Two examples were found in one narrative where the present perfect described perfective events, the first one was foreground information and the second one was background information. In these cases the imperfect or the preterite would normally be found in standard Spanish (Silva-Corvalán, 1983)

(8) Bueno, de chico yo estudié, la primaria, no? en, en, el colegio este, de los curas de la (iglesia), de, Lince, parte de la primaria, (-ta el primero) segundo hasta el, segundo tercero -e primaria, de ahí nos **hemos venido** a vivir a, mm, Magdalena, al barrio de Magdalena, pero este es Magdalena del Mar, porque la otra Magdalena, es por -onde vivía, -te el doctor, [ya], por ahí, esa es la otra Ma-dalena, nosotros vivíamos a la vuelta, en Echenique yo vivía ahí, [Cuzco], con, Cuzco, [mm], no pero antes **hemos vivido** nosotros en, Flora Tristán.(20JT)

In this narrative the speaker is talking about his school years and the different areas where he lived. The first used of present perfect **hemos venido** (we have come) refers to the event where he and his family moved to another area, and later they moved to another place. As such, it is a perfective action which is foreground information. In the second occurrence of present perfect, **hemos vivido** (we have

lived) he talks about a place where he lived. This is an example of use of the present perfect to express a perfective event in a remote past that is background information.

As mentioned before, present perfect is used in this dialect to provide a summary after a series of events. Our data showed an example of this use in a narrative. The following example comes from the narrative of 17MC, who explains her attempts to move to another neighborhood a year before:

(9) nosotros esto el alquiler lo tomamos en tre-cientos sole-, en tre-cientoh dólares perdón, pero cuando ya, quince días antes ya de pasarnos, nos subieron a, cien dólares más, donde ya no podimos pues porque, no podíamos, ni él ni yo trabajando, podíamos pagar el alquiler pero, el agua y la luz que viene aparte ya no, no podíamos solventar eso, así eh que, evitamos y, no, no hicimos eso, no, **nos hemos quedado** acá (17MC)

After reporting all of the events that took place in her family's attempt to move to another house, using the preterite, her story ends with a summary "**nos hemos quedado**" (we have stayed) in the present perfect.

Despite the low frequency of non standard use of the present perfect in the narratives of Limeños (5.56%), they do use this tense in contexts where standard Spanish uses preterite. In the conversation of Limeños, it is possible to find examples like the following ones:

(10) acá tengo viviendo toa mi vida pues, cuarenta y un años, acá, acá **he nacido**, acá **he crecido**, toa mi adolescencia, toa mi vida (17MC)

In this example the speaker uses the present perfect to report that she was born and raised in Lima. In these cases, standard Spanish would use preterite, especially with *nacer*. Another example with the verb *nacer* (to be born) was found in the conversation of another speaker.

(11) En Lince, yo **he nacido** en Lince en la misma, y, se puede decir que en la, en la, casa de, de mis abuelos, por parte de padre (20JT)

These examples show some similarities with the cases reported by Howe and Schwenter (2003) for this population. They maintain that Limeño speakers would use the present perfect when reporting events that are not in temporal sequences. A sample of this can be found in Example 8, where **hemos vivido** (we have lived) breaks the narrative sequence of the events in the story that 20JT was previously reporting.

Other examples show the use of the present perfect with perfective events, as in the following example:

(12) No, mi hijo casualmente estudia aquí, mi hijo **ha estudiado** cuatro años en el Callao (18JN)

In this example the speaker explains how her son studied for four years in one school before they moved to another neighborhood, expressing a perfective action in the present perfect. The same case is found in the following example:

(13) porque yo por ahí no tengo familia en provincia, -tonces, toa mi familia acá en Lima, -tonces, me iba a provincias y ahí fue que **he conocido** (...), y me pasaba (...) y decía que hablábamos rápido, no sé (19JE)

In this example the speaker talks about some trips he took several years ago to the Andean area of the country, and how he got to know that region. The use of present perfect with the verb *conocer* (to know) is unexpected since this action is perfective in the past. In examples 10-13 presented above, the events narrated in present perfect do not form part of a narrative. However, they show how there is some semantic overlap between the use of the preterite and the present perfect in this dialect.

6. Conclusion

After reviewing the quantitative and qualitative analysis of narrative by first generation migrants, second generation migrants and Limeños it is possible to obtain a better description of how the past tenses are used by these speakers. It seems that first generation migrants maintain many features of the Andean system, using a high frequency of present perfect in their narrative clauses. However, the data did not show any use of evidentiality or spatiality in their choices of past tenses in their narratives. For example, their use of the past perfect follows the standard norms of Lima. Perhaps, they are conscious of the way in which the Andean uses are stigmatized in Lima.

The use of past tenses in narratives by second generation migrants shows that the speakers have a system that contains characteristics of their parents' dialect. The frequency of non-standard use of the present perfect in their speech shows that they maintain some of the uses of first generation migrants that differentiate their Spanish from Limeño Spanish. At the same time, some of their uses of the present perfect are similar to those of the Limeños or coastal Spanish speakers. We can consider their system a hybrid one, where these speakers have partially acquired the dialectal characteristics of Lima but they differentiate from the dialectal characteristics of their parents.

The narratives of Limeños did not show examples of an incorporation of the characteristics of the first or second generation migrants' systems. Their use of present perfect reflected the previously identified standard. However, the higher frequency of the use of present perfect in their speech might indicate a process of grammaticalization of this tense than can be accelerated by the dialect contact situation. The data analyzed here suggests that if there were a process in which the present perfect is replacing the preterite in this dialect, as has occurred in other Romance languages, the intensive contact of Limeño Spanish with Andean Spanish in some areas of the city might cause an acceleration of this process. For traditional Limeños the influence is obvious; people's perception is that traditional Limeño Spanish is not spoken anymore in the city. Our data does not show a process of complete dialectal change, but demonstrates a high degree of variation among the different groups. In future research, it would be worthwhile to further investigate the possible differences between Limeños in contact with migrants and Limeños who do not have such linguistic contact. Up to now, despite the Limeños' perceptions and beliefs, it seems that migrants, speaking the non-prestigious dialect, are the ones who are adapting their dialect and acquiring the norm of Lima, the prestige dialect.

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