

Feature mapping in double object constructions in P'urhépecha-Spanish bilinguals

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This study investigates the Spanish dative alternation in double object constructions (DOC) in sequential bilinguals of L1 P'urhépecha speakers from Michoacán, México to determine if P'urhépecha bilinguals map the applicative voice features onto the dative clitic *le* in L2 Spanish. Both languages have dative alternation, but differ in features. In Spanish, phrases with dative clitic doubling are DOC (1a), while those without doubling are prepositional phrases (PPC) (1b).

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| (1) a. | Pedro *(le _i) presta una olla a-María _i | DOC |
| | Pedro CL.DAT lends a pot María.DAT | |
| b. | Pedro presta una olla a María. | PPC |
| | Pedro lends a pot for María | |

Following Cuervo (2003, 2007), the dative clitic *le* in the DOC is the spell out of the applicative head and *a* is the dative case marker. Conversely, the PPC lacks the clitic, and *a* functions as a preposition. In P'urhépecha, DOC may or may not require the presence of the applicative voice morpheme (*-chi/-ku*) depending on the type of verb. When using a derived verb in a DOC, the applicative voice is required to mark the increase in valence (2). Non-derived verbs, which accept two object arguments by default, do not accept applicative morphology (3), as no valence increase occurs, and therefore no argument needs to be applied/related to the theme (Capistran 2006, 2015).

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| (2) a. | Pyá- ku -s-ø-ti | tsúntsu-ni | Maria-ni | DOC with Derived Verb |
| | Buy-APPL3-PFV-PRS-IND3 | Pot-OBJ | Maria-OBJ | ‘(s/he) buys Maria the pot’ |
| b. | Pyá-s-ø-ti | tsúntsu-ni | para Maria-ni | PPC with Derived Verb |
| | Buy-PFV-PRS-IND3 | Pot-OBJ | for Maria-OBJ | ‘(s/he) buys a pot for Maria’ |
| (3) | Xuánu ewa-(*ku)-s-ø-ti | karákata-ni | tumpi-ni | DOC with Non-derived verb |
| | Juan took-PFV-PRS-IND3 | letter-OBJ | boy-OBJ | ‘Juan took the letter from the boy’ |

Using theories of feature reassembly (Lardiere 2002, 2005, 2009) and Functional Interference and Convergence (Sánchez 2003, 2015), I investigate whether P'urhépecha bilinguals map the applicative voice features of their L1 onto the Spanish applicative morphology (dative clitic *le*). Assuming Cuervo's analysis for the dative alternation, I predicted that P'urhépecha speakers will favor the PPC alternate with non-derived verbs—no applicative morphology—and the DOC alternate with derived verbs. This preference would suggest that P'urhépecha speakers tend to map functional features associated with the applicative voice of their L1 to parallel structures in their L2 during acquisition/feature reassembly, resulting in processes of Functional Interference and Convergence.

Data was collected using an Acceptability Judgment Task (AJT) and an Oral Elicitation Task (OET) targeting Spanish DOC with and without clitic *le* using the Spanish equivalents of two P'urhépecha derived and two non-derived verbs. Participants were steady state adult bilingual individuals ($n=23$) from two communities in the region of Lake Pátzcuaro. A second group of participants ($n=17$), speakers of the central Mexican variety with no contact with Amerindian languages, were tested to provide a basis for comparison. Results indicate a significant preference for bilinguals to omit the dative clitic *le* with non-derived verbs both in judgment and in production, which supports the hypothesis of feature reassembly in bilinguals and suggests that bilingual's language does display variation that differs significantly from the monolingual group.

This study lays the groundwork for further investigation of bilingualism and SLA in an understudied language pair, and provides initial support for functional convergence that manifests as variation in this group of bilingual speakers.

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