

QUICHUA-SPANISH LANGUAGE CONTACT IN SALCEDO, ECUADOR: REVISITING  
MEDIA LENGUA SYNCRETIC LANGUAGE PRACTICES

BY

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# Abstract

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The purpose of the current thesis is to develop a better understanding of the interaction between Spanish and Quichua in the Salcedo region and provide more information for the processes that might have given rise to Media Lengua, a ‘mixed’ language comprised of a Quichua grammar and Spanish lexicon. Muysken attributes the formation of Media Lengua to relexification, ruling out any influence from other bilingual phenomena. I argue that the only characteristic that distinguishes Media Lengua from other language contact varieties in central Ecuador is the quantity of the overall Spanish borrowings and not the type of processes that might have been employed by Quichua speakers during the genesis of Media Lengua. The results from the Salcedo data that I have collected show how processes such as adlexification, code-mixing, and structural convergence produce Media Lengua-type sentences, evidence that supports an alternative analysis to Muysken’s relexification hypothesis.

Overall, this dissertation is developed around four main objectives: (1) to describe the variation of Spanish loanwords within a bilingual community in Salcedo; (2) to analyze some of the prominent and recent structural changes in Quichua and Spanish; (3) to determine whether Spanish loanword use can be explained by the relationship consultants have with particular social categories; and (4) to analyze the consultants’ language ideologies toward syncretic uses of Spanish and Quichua.

Overall, 58% of the content words, 39% of the basic vocabulary, and 50% of the subject pronouns in the Salcedo corpus were derived from Spanish. When compared to Muysken’s description of highlander Quichua in the 1970’s, Spanish loanwords have more than doubled in each category. The overall level of Spanish loanwords in Salcedo Quichua has grown to a level between highlander Quichua in the 1970’s and Media Lengua. Similar to Spanish’s lexical influence in Media Lengua, the increase of Spanish borrowings in today’s rural Quichua can be seen in non-basic and basic vocabularies as well as the subject pronoun system. Significantly, most of the growth has occurred through forms of adlexification i.e., doublets, well-established borrowings, and cultural borrowings, suggesting that ‘ordinary’ lexical borrowing is also capable of producing Media Lengua-type sentences.

I approach the second objective by investigating two separate phenomena related to

structural convergence. The first examines the complex verbal constructions that have developed in Quichua through Spanish loan translations while the second describes the type of Quichua particles that are attached to Spanish lexemes while speaking Spanish. The calquing of the complex verbal constructions from Spanish were employed when speaking standard Quichua. Since this standard form is typically used by language purists, I argue that their use of calques is a strategy of exploiting the full range of expression from Spanish without incorporating any of the Spanish lexemes which would give the appearance of ‘contamination’. The use of Quichua particles in local varieties of Spanish is a defining characteristic of Quichuacized Spanish, spoken most frequently by women and young children in the community. Although the use of Quichua particles was probably not the main catalyst engendering Media Lengua, I argue that its contribution as a source language to other ‘mixed’ varieties, such as Media Lengua, needs to be accounted for in descriptions of BML genesis. Contrary to Muysken’s representation of relatively ‘unmixed’ Spanish and Quichua as the two source languages of Media Lengua, I propose that local varieties of Spanish might have already been ‘mixed’ to a large degree before Media Lengua was created.

The third objective attempts to draw a relationship between particular social variables and the use of Spanish loanwords. Whisker Boxplots and ANOVAs were used to determine which social group, if any, have been introducing new Spanish borrowings into the bilingual communities in Salcedo. Specifically, I controlled for age, education, native language, urban migration, and gender. The results indicate that none of the groups in each of the five social variables indicate higher or lower loanword use. The implication of these results are twofold: (a) when lexical borrowing occurs, it is immediately adopted as the community-wide norm and spoken by members from different backgrounds and generations, or (b) this level of Spanish borrowing (58%) is not a recent phenomenon.

The fourth and final objective draws on my ethnographic research that addresses the attitudes of syncretic language use. I observed that Quichuacized Spanish and Hispanicized Quichua are highly stigmatized varieties spoken by the country’s most marginalized populations and families, yet within the community, syncretic ways of speaking are in fact the norm. It was shown that there exists a range of different linguistic definitions for ‘Chaupi Lengua’ and other syncretic language practices as well as many contrasting connotations, most of which were negative. One theme that emerged from the interviews was that speaking syncretic varieties of

Quichua weakened the consultant's claim to an indigenous identity.

The linguistic and social data presented in this dissertation supports an alternative view to Muysken's relexification hypothesis, one that has the advantage of operating with well-precedented linguistic processes and which is actually observable in the present-day Salcedo area. The results from the study on lexical borrowing are significant because they demonstrate how a dynamic bilingual speech community has gradually diversified their Quichua lexicon under intense pressure to shift toward Spanish. They also show that Hispanicized Quichua (Quichua with heavy lexical borrowing) clearly arose from adlexification and prolonged lexical borrowing, and is one of at least six identifiable speech styles found in Salcedo. These results challenge particular interpretations of language contact outcomes, such as, ones that depict sources languages as discrete and 'unmixed.' The bilingual continuum presented in this thesis shows on the one hand, the range of speech styles that are accessible to different speakers, and on the other hand, the overlapping, syncretic features that are shared among the different registers and language varieties. It was observed that syncretic speech styles in Salcedo are employed by different consultants in varied interactional contexts, and in turn, produce different evaluations by other fellow community members.

In the current dissertation, I challenge the claim that relexification and Media Lengua-type sentences develop in isolation and without the influence of other bilingual phenomena. Based on Muysken's Media Lengua example sentences and the speech styles from the Salcedo corpus, I argue that Media Lengua may have arisen as an institutionalized variant of the highly mixed "middle ground" within the range of the Salcedo bilingual continuum discussed above. Such syncretic forms of Spanish and Quichua strongly resemble Media Lengua sentences in Muysken's research, and therefore demonstrate how its development could have occurred through several different language contact processes and not only through relexification.

*To Puy*

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# Chapter One

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## Introduction

The Salcedo region of Ecuador is an area of intensive contact between Quichua and Spanish. It has also become famous in historical and contact linguistics because of “Media Lengua”, a language described by Muysken (1979, 1981, 1989, and 1997) as being “mixed” with Quichua grammar and Spanish lexicon. Muysken’s description, in turn, has become one of the foundational cases for the framework of “Bilingual Mixed Language” (BML) studies.

The purpose of the current thesis is to develop a better understanding of the interaction between Spanish and Quichua in the Salcedo region and provide more information for the processes that might have given rise to Media Lengua. Muysken attributes the formation of Media Lengua to relexification (see sections 1.2 and 3.2), ruling out any influence from lexical borrowing, structural convergence, or interlanguage. The approach taken in the current study compares utterances of “hispanicized” Quichua (Quichua with heavy lexical borrowing) and “quichuacized” Spanish (the use of Quichua particles in Andean Spanish) to Media Lengua, demonstrating that they are often times indistinguishable. I argue that the only characteristic that distinguishes Media Lengua from other language contact varieties in central Ecuador is the quantity of the overall Spanish borrowings and not the type of processes that might have been employed by Quichua speakers during the genesis of Media Lengua. The results from the Salcedo data that I have collected show how processes such as adlexification, code-mixing, and structural convergence produce Media Lengua-type sentences, evidence that supports an alternative analysis to Muysken’s relexification hypothesis.

The interaction between these varying forms of hispanicized Quichua and quichuacized Spanish has contributed to the formation of speech styles within the community. These bilingual codes are best described as forms of linguistic syncretism, along the lines of Hill & Hill (1986), since grammatical and lexical features of the utterances belong as much to Spanish as they do to Quichua. Such syncretic forms of Spanish and Quichua strongly resemble Media Lengua sentences in Muysken’s research, and therefore demonstrate how its development could have occurred through several different language contact processes and not only through relexification.

Today in the Salcedo region, these ‘mixed’ linguistic forms have not undergone the socio-political transformations of linguistic institutionalization through which, according to Muysken, Media Lengua emerged as a full-fledged language unintelligible to both native Quichua and Spanish speakers. In fact, contrary to Muysken’s research, the term “Media Lengua” in Salcedo is primarily defined not on linguistic, but rather ideological grounds. Many syncretic features are strongly associated to the speaker’s group membership and interactional positioning with other interlocutors in their own community, a relationship that I portray by describing how different speech registers may be situated along a Quichua-Spanish bilingual continuum. I argue that the performance, evaluation, and evolution of these registers helps us understand the processes at play in this particular language contact situation and parallels others in the central Ecuadorian region, including the case of Muysken’s Media Lengua.

In the following sections of this chapter, I provide a brief description of Media Lengua (Muysken 1997) and how it fits into the discussion of BMLs. Then I review how the terms “relexification” and “adlexification” are used in defining and classifying BMLs. Next, I illustrate why more linguistic and socio-cultural data on Media Lengua is necessary in order to situate its emergence within the wider linguistic trends of both Spanish and Quichua in central Ecuador. The analysis that I offer is based on Hill and Hill’s (1986) study of syncretic language practices in *Mexicano* and is preferred to Muysken’s relexification hypothesis because it is able to account for more of the linguistic phenomena commonly observed in Quichua-Spanish language contact. My approach depicts how Media Lengua might have emerged together with (and as a result of) the other bilingual codes that have developed in the region. Finally, I briefly review the methodology and provide a chapter-by-chapter overview of this dissertation.

### **1.1 Media Lengua and BMLs**

Media Lengua<sup>1</sup> is often cited as an exemplary case of a BML. The sentence in (1) illustrates the classificatory features of a prototypical BML which is generally defined as an emergent language whose lexicon and grammar are derived from different source languages (Bakker & Mous 1994, Thomason 1997, 2001, Bakker 2003).

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<sup>1</sup> In order to differentiate the language variety that Muysken observed from the mixed speech style I documented in Salcedo, I reserve “Media Lengua” for reference to Muysken’s language variety and “Chaupi Lengua” for the data that I collected. Both terms can be loosely translated as “half language” or “in-the-middle language”, which connotes that the speaker is talking half in Spanish and half in Quichua. *Media* means “half” or “middle” in Spanish, *chaupi* means “half” in Quichua, and “Lengua” is derived from Spanish, meaning “language.”

- (1) a. ML: **Unu** **fabur**-ta      **pidi**-nga-bu      **bini**-xu-ni  
           one favor-ACC      ask-NOM-BEN      come-PRG-1
- b. Q: Shuk fabur-da    maña-nga-bu    shamu-xu-ni  
           one favor-ACC ask-NOM-BEN    come-PRG-1
- c. Sp: **Veng-o**      **para ped-ir**    **un favor.**  
           Come-1.S      to    ask-INF a favor.

“I come to ask a favor”

(Muysken 1997; 365)

In (1a), all of the content words are derived from Spanish (in bold) while the Quichua grammatical components remain intact. Notice how the root forms are inflected using the same Quichua suffixation from (1b). Also, the head verb in Media Lengua ends the utterance, following the word order of Quichua. Yet, example sentence (1) is not remarkable by itself since similar sentences have occurred in my data of Salcedo Quichua:

- (2) a. Loc Q: Titiku, **kuniju**-ta    **buska**-shpa ri-xu-k      **sabi**-ngui  
           Uncle, rabbit-ACC search-GER go-PRG-AGN    know-2S
- b. Q: Titiku, kunu-ta      maska-shpa ri-xu-k      yacha-ngui  
           Uncle, rabbit-ACC search-GER go-PRG-AGN    know-2S
- c. Sp: **Ti-tico**,    **sabe-s**    **ir**      **en busca de conejo**  
           Uncle-DIM, know-2.S go-INF to look for rabbit.

‘Uncle, you know how to look for rabbits’

(Salcedo corpus<sup>2</sup>)

Similar to (1a), most of the content words in (2a) have been borrowed from Spanish and all of the morphosyntactic components from Quichua have been maintained, thus, making the two sentences typologically similar if not indistinguishable. Muysken (1997) claims that the main difference between these Media Lengua and Quichua sentences are not only the final outcome, but also how they were formed, a topic that plays a central role in the BML literature.

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<sup>2</sup> “Salcedo corpus” refers to the Quichua data that I collected during 2006-08. For a detailed account of the methodology employed to compile this corpus, see section 4.2.2).

## 1.2 Relexification, adlexification, and classifying BMLs

By and large, determining which kind of *process* motivates lexical change plays a large role in defining a language variety as a BML. None of the BMLs are claimed to have developed through “normal” lexical change, i.e. prolonged and gradual lexical borrowing that occurs during several generations of language contact. Instead, BMLs are argued to have emerged solely through language intertwining and relexification (Bakker & Mous 1994, Bakker 1997, Muysken 1997). Muysken (1997) defines relexification as a process that copies only the “phonological shape” of the donor lexeme which in turn *replaces* a semantically equivalent native one. He claims that the new relexified word maintains the native semantic and morphosyntactic information and eliminates the use of the native lexeme. In contrast, prolonged lexical borrowing occurs when speakers borrow phonological *and* semantic material from a donor language which is inserted into the morphosyntactic frame of the recipient language. This borrowed lexeme, along with its particular meaning, is used for a relatively long period of time and can alternate with the semantically similar or equivalent native lexeme, a process commonly referred to as adlexification.

Lexical borrowing and code-mixing<sup>3</sup> share similar linguistic outcomes to relexification, most notably, the L1 lexicon is changed. While relexification replaces large segments of the lexicon, including most of the core vocabulary as Muysken claims in the case of Media Lengua, lexical borrowing is a more gradual process, many times having only minor influence on the native basic vocabulary and pronoun system. Yet, several extreme cases of heavy code-mixing that resemble BMLs can be found in language contact situations from different regions of the world (Arabic and Persian lexical borrowing in Osmanli Turkish (Lewis 1999); and English content words code-mixed with the Kannada spoken by professional wrestlers in southern India (Sridhar 1978). Since linguistic outcomes from lexical borrowing are similar to those labeled “BML”, many researchers emphasize *process* more than *product* when establishing the criteria and distinguishing features of BMLs.

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<sup>3</sup>Determining the difference between code-mixing (i.e., “intrasentential” or “insertional” code-switching) from lexical borrowing is difficult to accomplish based solely on the linguistic behavior of a lexeme. Although code-mixing does generally describe a type of admixture that is more wide-spread and extensive than lexical borrowing (Hock & Joseph 1996), establishing the degree to which code-mixing is limited to individuals, and thus sporadic and unpatterned, or part of a speech community’s norm has been shown to be quite difficult (Bentahila 1995).

### 1.3 Muysken's Media Lengua

Several problems exist with Muysken's account of Media Lengua that go beyond the general challenges of classification in the field of BMLs (a topic discussed at length in chapter 3). First, some researchers question whether the amount of Spanish words in Media Lengua is quantitatively or qualitatively different from Spanish borrowings in "ordinary" Quichua (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Myers-Scotton 2003). Other local varieties of Quichua behave in a similar fashion as Media Lengua in that they are influenced lexically and, to a lesser extent, grammatically by Spanish.

Second, the ethnohistorical and sociolinguistic data in Muysken's Media Lengua remains insufficient to support his claims of rapid genesis (i.e. one generation). From a broad perspective, most would attribute the general causes and consequences of Quichua language change to the social and political forces of Spanish-speaking society in Ecuador; the typical result being shift toward Spanish monolingualism or Spanish lexical borrowing in Quichua. Yet, without any linguistic record of the level of lexical borrowing in Salcedo before the emergence of Media Lengua or the time frame during which change occurred, other socio-historical documentation is necessary in order to explain how and why this particular speech form developed so quickly, and if it had emerged in the time frame that Muysken has outlined. Similar to his account of Media Lengua genesis, hundreds of other Quichua-speaking communities sent a large percentage of their young men to the major cities of Ecuador for employment, yet Spanish borrowings rarely reached the level he describes in Salcedo. Other historical events in the Salcedo region must have motivated this change to have taken place so abruptly. However, no other fieldwork or scholarly research that has investigated the topics of migration, labor, commerce, politics, or history has singled out Salcedo as an area undergoing a transformation different from other regions in the central Ecuadorian Andes.

Third, the number of Media Lengua speakers that were recorded and reported on, namely five (of whom only three identified themselves as native speakers), is inadequate for a generalization that encompasses several speech communities in the Salcedo region. The quantity of native speakers (i.e. three) is extremely limited, and information on the range of social settings encountered during the recordings is simply lacking. It is important to know which of the consultants in Muysken's study used different levels of Spanish-derived lexemes when speaking Quichua, under which social contexts it occurred, and how this was related to Media Lengua

speakers' proficiency of Spanish and Quichua.

Fourth, the methodology used to determine the basic vocabularies for Media Lengua and Quichua are different and contribute to variance in the results. Muysken compiled the Swadesh list for Media Lengua using data from semi-formal interviews, an approach that led to a list that is only 54% complete since all of the 208 words were not used during the recordings. He then used elicitation to assemble the Swadesh list for Quichua in which case all of the 208 words were documented. Elicitation has been shown to have the effect of formalizing language more than natural speech which in turn impedes access to the vernacular (Labov 1972). Formalizing Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes would have the effect of producing fewer Spanish borrowings and thus, may partially explain the gap between the lexicostatistic results for Quichua and Media Lengua.

Fifth, in the last 30 years, the Media Lengua speech communities in Salcedo have shifted to Spanish monolingualism. This is a major obstacle for conducting the type of follow-up research that would have clarified many of the questions that remain under-investigated. Also, similar to the aforementioned problem of relying on only five consultants, the sudden disuse of Media Lengua would suggest that it was not extensively employed by the majority of speakers in all of the communities surrounding the town of Salcedo.

Several researchers who have reviewed the different cases of BMLs have recommended that more socio-cultural, historical, and linguistic data be collected (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Rhodes 2000, Matras 2003, Winford 2009). Since most of the significant changes to Media Lengua had occurred before Muysken conducted his fieldwork in the 1970's, a tendency exists in which the source languages for Media Lengua are based on contemporary varieties that are many generations removed from the ones used during its genesis. It is apparent from the example sentences and linguistic description that Muysken overlooks important features of the already "mixed" varieties of local Andean Spanish and hispanicized Quichua in addition to the level of bilingualism of individual speakers and the effect this has had on Media Lengua and Quichua use. For this reason, when conducting the fieldwork for this dissertation, I gathered data from several informal and domestic registers of both Spanish and Quichua. In this way, we may begin to develop a more complete account of the language varieties and the bilingual practices that influence the emergence of Media Lengua-type sentences.

#### **1.4 Linguistic syncretism and alternative analyses for Media Lengua**

My analysis of Muysken's evidence and argumentation of Media Lengua in section 1.3 explains why more research on Quichua, Spanish, and Media Lengua in the Salcedo region needs to be undertaken and how different theoretical and methodological approaches could offer a fuller description of the lexical and structural changes in this language contact area. I draw on the work of Hill & Hill (1986) and Makihara (2005) and the framework they use while researching Spanish in contact with other indigenous languages in the western hemisphere, *Mexicano* and *Rapa Nui* respectively. They employ the concept of language syncretism—linguistic diversification and diffusion through processes that diminish the opposition of the linguistic material from two languages. By interpreting and contextualizing the results of the current study through a syncretic perspective, many of the characteristics found in Media Lengua are viewed as belonging to other bilingual codes along a larger continuum of Quichua and Spanish language use. To this end, nearer-to-standard as well as syncretic forms of Spanish and Quichua reciprocally inform the complex and dynamic speech styles that constitute a community's communicative repertoire. Hill & Hill's notion of linguistic syncretism (1986) is relevant in our study of Media Lengua and Quichua because of the various forms of bilingual speech that can be observed in Quichua and Spanish-speaking communities around Salcedo.

Though not discussed in terms of linguistic syncretism, other cases of language contact are relevant to our discussion of BMLs and provide support for the analysis adopted for this study. One such example is Pandharipande's (1982) study of lexical borrowing and convergence between Hindi and Puñeri Marathi in the Nagpur region of central India which exemplifies this "continuum of ways of speaking" (Hill & Hill 1986: 58). Many of the lexical and structural features that were borrowed from Puñeri Marathi into Hindi mark Nagpuri Hindi separately from Hindi spoken elsewhere. And vice versa, Hindi influence on Nagpuri Marathi is also distinguishable from Puñeri Marathi in other regions. Far from functioning solely as a symbol of geographic identity, the range of features (such as, borrowed compound verb patterns, lexical items, progressive constructions, pronouns, quotative constructions, and the like) were employed for different purposes in different social contexts depending on the speakers' L1. Pandharipande's study demonstrates how language change in seemingly "bilingual" contexts goes beyond our conception of two languages in contact with each other and challenges us to examine all of the codes and registers practiced within the speech community. In this way, the



linguistic outcomes in language contact situations may be more tightly woven together with the cultural changes that have lasting effects on the social systems of the speakers.

### **1.5 Methodology**

This dissertation is based on seven months of ethnographic, participant-observation fieldwork in the Salcedo region during the summers of 2006-2008. The interviews and conversations that I recorded in the field amount to 110 hours, 30 hours in Quichua and 80 hours in Spanish. Due to the time constraints of this dissertation, I transcribed about 5 minutes from randomly selected segments of each speech event. Specifically for the Quichua corpus, I transcribed over 7000 words from 30 consultants, and for the Spanish corpus, over 10,000 words from about 40 consultants. Most of the recordings in Quichua took place in or around the consultants' homes while the social contexts of the Spanish recordings varied; however, more than half are devoted to the weekly *asambleas*, "town-hall meetings." Each consultant's performance and overall Spanish loanword percentage is presented in Appendix D, along with basic background information—age, education, L1, years of migration, and sex. Many of the Quichua conversations that I recorded contain prompts designed to elicit reports, life histories, or important events such as celebrations, near-death experiences, and local legends. During most of the recording sessions, I conducted a 200-word Swadesh list in an attempt to measure the knowledge of native Quichua words. The results are reported separately and do not enter into the Quichua corpus which is based on less-formally-elicited data. Finally, I asked consultants to answer questions about language usage: their perspective on how Quichua and Spanish are changing, evaluations of particular speech styles (including their own), and the circumstances under which Quichua and Chaupi Lengua are used by the speakers in the community and surrounding communities.

### **1.6 Thesis overview**

The organization of the remaining sections of this dissertation is as follows. In chapter 2, I explain the linguistic differences between Quichua and Spanish, the development and documentation of Quichua in Ecuador, the main features of Andean Spanish, and the geography of the Salcedo region. In chapter 3, I review the BML literature and connect the specific linguistic descriptions and theoretical claims to Muysken's account of Media Lengua. I introduce the relexification hypothesis, review the empirical evidence that Muysken's provides

in support of it, and evaluate its effectiveness in accounting for the Media Lengua data. In chapter 4, I follow the line of inquiry outlined in chapters 2 and 3, and link the research objectives to the methodology. In order to faithfully compare the Media Lengua and Quichua results in Muysken (1981, 1997), I apply similar methodological tools and approaches. In fact, the fieldwork sites were selected as a way to follow up on the variety of Quichua that was collected in this area during the 1970's. Chapter 5 addresses the issues of Quichua lexical change both in its broad diachronic movement over the last 30 years and also as an interactional language choice for an individual speaker. I compare Spanish lexical borrowing in Salcedo to Muysken's data from the 1970's. Then I examine two separate structural changes in Quichua and Spanish, and develop a bilingual continuum for Salcedo. In chapter 6, I measure lexical borrowing with five separate social groups using ANOVAs, report on the shared features between "hispanicized" Quichua and "quichuacized" Spanish, and discuss the range of language attitudes in the community. In Chapter 7, I discuss the findings and conclusions, particularly addressing issues of Media Lengua and the speech varieties found in Salcedo.

# Chapter Two

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Spanish and Quichua in the central Ecuadorian dialect region: linguistic, historical, and geographic background information

## 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the Spanish and Quichua languages as they pertain to the study of Media Lengua, the central Ecuadorian highlands, and the Salcedo region. I begin by highlighting the typological differences in both languages, focusing on topics that relate to the observations I have made on the varieties spoken in Salcedo. Then I provide a brief history of how Quichua and Spanish were introduced to the region and how we might characterize their linguistic change over the years. Finally, I describe the use of language in the Salcedo region and the various forces that are currently influencing the maintenance and shift by speakers in the highland region.

## 2.2 Linguistic differences between Quichua and Spanish

Linguistically speaking, Quichua and Spanish are not genetically related, the former is an Amerindian language autochthonous to South America while the latter is Indo-European. Although modern-day varieties of these two languages share a considerable amount of vocabulary and some structural features as a result of language contact that began with 16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish colonialism, they differ in several significant areas. In this section, I only focus on the differences that play a role in the analysis of the bilingual varieties in Salcedo. Specifically, I compare word order, typology, case marking, and vocalic inventory.

### 2.2.1 Word order

The structure of a typical Quichua transitive clause is verb-final with the object preceding the verb.

(1) Pucha-ta      fiti-rka-ni  
    thread-ACC    break-PST-1  
    ‘I broke the thread’

(Salcedo corpus)

Standard Spanish has SVO word order which in transitive clauses usually places the object after the verb.

- (2) Ese perro com-e conejo  
 This dog eat-3.S rabbit  
 ‘This dog eats rabbit’ (Salcedo corpus)

A typical Quichua sentence is structured with SOV word order, but given the extensive case system that is used to indicate several different grammatical elements among the constituents of a phrase or sentence, the word order can be variable (Adelaar & Muysken 2004).

### 2.2.2. Morphology

Traditionally, all dialects of Quichua have an agglutinative word structure with roots that are able to be accompanied by a relatively large number of morphemes in each word.

- (3) Shuk panga-kuna-ta maki-munda llugshi-chi-shka  
 some leaf-PL-ACC hand-from take-CAU-SD  
 jatun mama-mun puni-chi-nga-bu  
 big mother-to put-CAU-NOM-BEN  
 ‘He took some leaves from his hands and put them on grandmother.’  
 (Salcedo corpus)

Based on how the affixes are stacked or combined, agglutinative languages are described as being more or less synthetic. Each affix contains a defined grammatical reference and is assigned to a determined position within the morphological structure of the lexeme. The position of an affix with respect to other affixes as well as the root must be placed in an assigned position in order to give the desired meaning of the word.

While Quichua is a synthetic agglutinating language, Spanish is a synthetic fusional one in that it employs less affixes to express more grammatical meanings—one morphemic form represents different inflectional information. For example, in the Spanish verb *miro* ‘I look’, the final *-o* denotes: indicative mood, first person, singular, and simple present tense. In order to change any of these features, it would be necessary to change the suffix *-o*. Quichua, as an agglutinative language, is structured morphologically through the use of highly regular suffixes while in Spanish internal change occurs with *portmanteau* suffixes.

(4) Quichua:

Papa-kuna-ta miku-ra-n-chu  
potato-PL-ACC eat-PST-1-PL  
'We ate potatoes.'

(5) Ecuadorian Spanish:

Papa-s com-imos  
potatoes-PL eat-PST.1.PL  
'We ate potatoes.'

Spanish's inflection *-imos* in (5) conveys subject, person, number, mood, aspect, and tense. Since each Quichua suffix expresses one grammatical meaning, the same information in Quichua is expressed through separate suffixes in (4): *-ra* marks tense, *-n* subject person, and *-chu* subject number.

### 2.2.3 Spanish and Quichua vowel systems

Several reconstructions of the Proto-Quichua sound system (Torero 1964, Parker 1969, Cerrón-Palomino 1987) support a 3-phonemic vowel analysis: high front /i/, high back /u/, and low central /a/. The mid-vowels [e] and [o] were allophones of the two high vowels. When the high vowels /i/ and /u/ were adjacent to a uvular consonant, they were lowered to [e] and [o], when they occurred elsewhere, including alongside velar consonants, they remained high (Cerrón-Palomino 1975). This phonological rule applies to most present-day dialects of Quechua that have maintained uvular consonants; however, in Ecuadorian Quichua the uvulars, together with this allophonic realization, have not been preserved. Only three phonemic vowels have been present historically in Ecuador (Carpenter 1982, Parker 1982).

Spanish comprises five phonemic vowels: /i/, /e/, /o/, /a/, and /u/. In many of the Quichua dialects throughout the Andes, the Spanish mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ have been introduced through Spanish loanwords and have even spread to native Quichua lexemes (Carpenter 1982, Cole 1982, Gómez-Rendón 2008). Although the use of mid-vowels in Quichua are not phonemic, the phonological distribution of the Quichua high vowels occupy relatively large acoustic spaces, often times overlapping with mid-vowels. Carpenter (1982) depicts not only the mid-vowels as allophones of the high phonemic vowels, but claims that several allophones occur along a sliding scale.

/i/ → [y], [i], [I], [î], and [e]

/u/ → [w], [u], [U], [û], and [o]

/a/ → [ae], [a], [ã], and [â]

(Carpenter 1982:173-74)

Although some of these allophones are loosely conditioned by the surrounding phonetic environment, they mostly occur in free variation. This is an important observation because Muysken (1997) uses the raising of the mid-vowels in Spanish loanwords to distinguish lexical borrowing from code-mixing. The wide range of allophonic distribution in native Quichua lexemes makes this measurement unreliable. In my Salcedo Quichua corpus, variation in all lexemes is ever-present, many times from the same speaker, in the same word, and during the same conversation.

(6) Q: pai-kuna rima-shka-da ñoka limpio entindi-ni  
He-PL say-SD-ACC I clean understand-1  
‘When they talk I understand everything’

Q: i ñuka rima-shka-da pai-kuna-sh limpio intindi-n  
and I say-SD-ACC he-PL-also clean understand-3  
‘and when I talk they also understand everything’

(Salcedo corpus)

In (6) we observe the same speaker alternating between mid and high back vowels in the native Quichua pronoun *ñoka* or *ñuka* ‘I’ and between mid and high-front vowels in the Spanish loanword *entindi* and *intindi*, ‘understand.’

### 2.3 Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes

The Quechua<sup>4</sup> language, spoken by an estimated 12.5 million speakers<sup>5</sup> throughout the Andean region is used primarily in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia and peripherally in northern Chile and Argentina, southern Columbia, and the Amazonian region of western Brasil (Cerrón-Palomino 1987). The Quechua varieties in different geographic regions of the Andes show significant degrees of variation and are many times not mutually intelligible. This has led many

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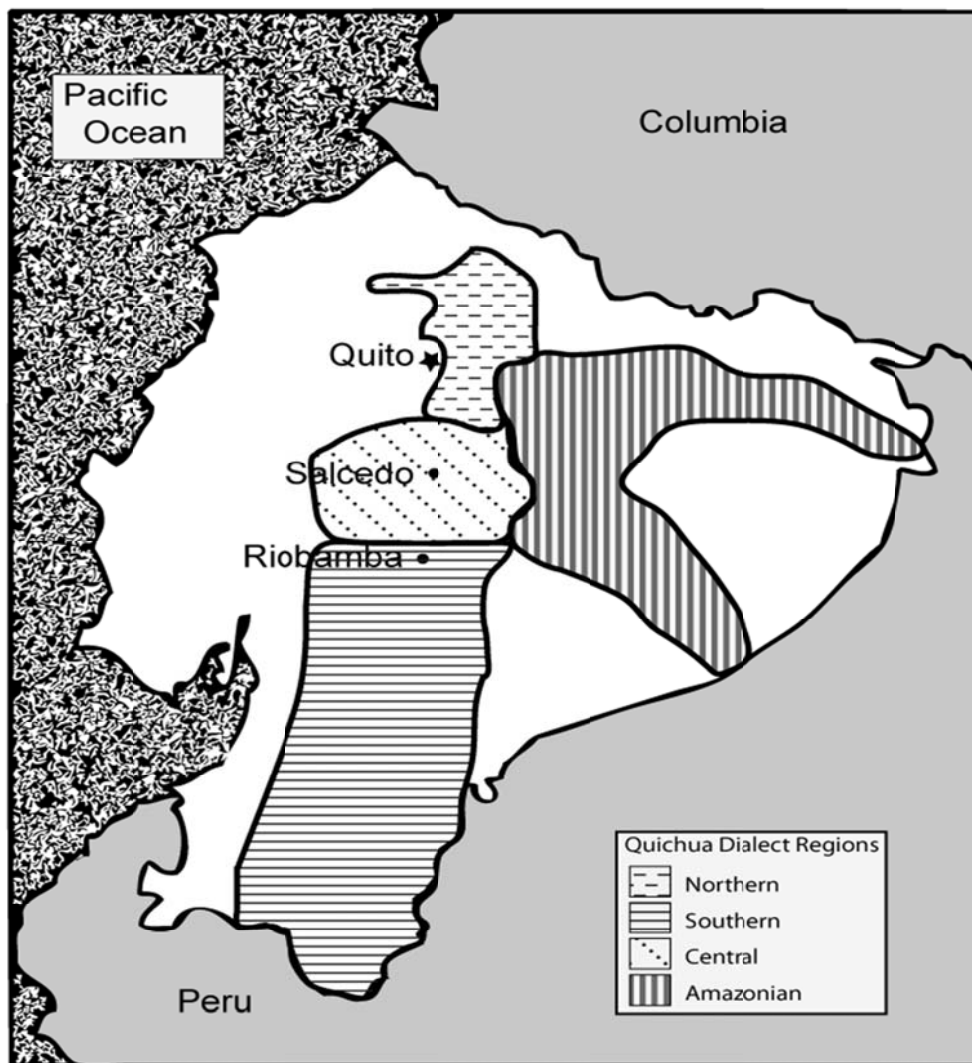
<sup>4</sup> The use “Quechua” denotes language varieties throughout the Andean region while “Quichua” is reserved for dialects spoken in Ecuador.

<sup>5</sup> Estimates for Quechua-speaking populations are drawn from Cerrón-Palomino (1987): Perú 4.4 million; Ecuador 2.2 million; Bolivia 1.5 million; Argentina 120,000; Columbia 4,400; Chile and Brasil both around 1,000.

researchers to describe these varieties as separate languages belonging to the same Quechua language family (Parker 1969, Torero 1964, 1974, 1983, Cerrón-Palomino 1987). The consensus among these scholars has been to label the putative Proto-Quechua region, Peru's central highlands and coast, Quichua I languages, and the rest of the Quechua-speaking areas in the Andes, southern Colombia to northern Argentina, Quichua II.

This classification is based on Torero's (1974) research in which he argues that the Quechua language did not originate in Cuzco, the ancient capital of the Incan empire, but rather developed as a coastal trade language in central Peru (Quichua I region) circa 500 A.D. He posits that early traders brought a Quechua II variety, Chinchay Standard, from the coast to the central highlands of Ecuador. The spread of this language, "Early Ecuadorian Quichua" was later influenced by Chinchay Inca, a Quechua variety adopted by Incan administrators during their imperial expansion into the northern Andes. When, in 1532, the Spanish began to colonize the Andean region, most of the inhabitants of the Ecuadorian Andes spoke pre-Incan tribal languages while aboriginal leaders and elites spoke a variety of Chinchay Standard (Torero 1974).

The northern Chinchay Quichua varieties spoken in Ecuador and southern Colombia, typically categorized as Quichua IIB, are generally discussed as four linguistic groups that share common characteristics: North, South, Central, and Amazonian dialects (Orr 1973, Carpenter 1982, 1984, Muysken 1977, Tandioy & Levinsohn 1989, Adelaar & Muysken 2004). Carpenter (1982) argues that the central dialects of Ecuador, the region where Salcedo is located, have a greater range of variation than other Quichua dialect areas in the north, south, and Amazonian jungle (see figure 2.1). This observation, together with the fact that the central dialects have been under-investigated compared to other dialect regions in Ecuador, is important for our analysis of Media Lengua because it shows the level of uncertainty we have with regard to language mixture and contact before the 1960's. In the next section, I examine more closely the documentation of Quichua in different dialect regions of Ecuador.



**Figure 2.1 Quichua dialect regions in Ecuador** (Torero 1974, Carpenter 1982, 1984).

## 2.4 History of Quichua in Ecuador

### 2.4.1 The colonial period

It is commonly accepted that the use of Quichua in Ecuador is not a direct result of the Incan invasion at the end of the 15th century. It was the Spanish colonizers, who after their invasion recognized Quichua as the lingua franca for proselytization purposes (Torero 1974: 181-198). Influenced by the Council of Trent, the Provincial Councils of Lima (1551-1583) took several steps to promote the use of native Andean languages in religious contexts, from ordering priests to learn the indigenous language, to the writing of a single unified catechism in Quichua (Mannheim 1991). However, the adoption of Quichua for evangelization was not supported on



many secular and religious fronts. A considerable opposition was convinced that the Spanish empire had the right to impose its language and was afraid of the risk involved in allowing their subjects to maintain distinct cultural and political identities. Influenced by the cultural policies of assimilating the Muslim population in the Iberian Peninsula, the opposition argued that the indigenous languages of the New World should be treated the same way as Arabic, and thus suppressed it as part of their colonial policy (Kamen 1985). In 1634, Phillip II took a radical approach and banned the usage of indigenous languages, arguing that teaching Spanish was essential to the control of the Andes.

Paralleling the loss of interest in Quichua on the side of the administrative powers in Spain, a cultural Renaissance was born in the Andes and was ideologically controlled by the new provincial elites and *criollos*, ‘native-born Spanish speakers’ (Mannheim 1991). These wealthy *criollos* already saw themselves as a powerful local class and wanted independence from Spanish control. The cultural Renaissance served to communicate these nationalistic ideologies by reinventing an idealized Incan past that established the continuity between the *criollo* elites and the Incas through the visual arts and Quichua literature. However, after Túpac Amaru's uprising in 1780, the Spanish Bourbon administration intensified the repression of indigenous languages. The Bourbons tried to “Castilianize” the population by means of compulsory education and established schools in several provinces. A countering force could be seen in the *criollo* elites and the rural priests who worked against this type of social control through the education system. Thus, language policy in the Andes during colonization was shaped by the ambivalent position of powerful social groups towards the Quichua and Spanish languages and their interests in maintaining one or the other as a form of local control (Mannheim 1991).

#### **2.4.2 The independence period**

Ecuador's struggle for independence from Spain finally culminated in 1830 with the creation of a new republic. After independence, the racial hierarchy that was characteristic of the colonial period remained intact (Cueva 1981). The region that is now known as Ecuador, similar to other Latin American republics at that time, organized agricultural production through a system of *haciendas*, family estates controlled by the *criollo* elites on which the labor-intensive production was carried out by Indians. Apart from this exploitation of labor, the indigenous population was culturally and economically segregated. Spanish became the language of

religious and judicial spheres, a move that left Quichua speakers without auspicious legal representation. For example, the majority of monolingual Quichua farmers had to rely on the good will of interpreters if they wanted to complain about any unfair situation with their landholdings or place of residency, which mainly was on a hacienda (Mannheim 1991). The Spanish educational system continued to be controlled by the church and was reserved for the elites. The new republic's linguistic policies were highly influenced by European modernism. Ecuador had to become a developed nation and in order to achieve this, Spanish became the unifying language of the state. In short, Quichua was excluded from public life and from the construction of the Ecuadorian nation.

One of the interesting aspects of the *hacienda* as a social structure is that it became a nucleus of constant contact between Spanish and Quichua speakers. As Haboud (1998) explains, many Quichua speakers had to learn Spanish to maintain employment and many *criollos* had to learn Quichua to manage and control the indigenous workers. Moreover, the large contingent of indigenous workers took care of the landowners' children, a social practice that promoted a type of Spanish-Quichua bilingualism among their descendants (Hurtado 1978 in Haboud 1998). Toscano (1953) leaves open the possibility that this class of bilingualism may have given rise to a rural Spanish variety that incorporated substrate elements from Quichua (see section 2.5.2 for a fuller description of Andean Spanish).

### **2.4.3 Language contact in the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

The language contact situation in the Ecuadorian Andes at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is shaped by (a) the end of the *hacienda* system; (b) the mass rural migration of Quichua speakers to the urban centers and the urbanization of the countryside through “circular” migration; (c) the hispanicization of the Quichua-speaking population; and (d) the beginning of pro-indigenous political movements in the 1970's.

The *hacienda* era was formally abolished in 1918 when a law was passed to end *concertaje*, debt peonage that bound Indians to *haciendas*. Most agree that this law was an attempt to modernize the *hacienda* system and move labor from the *sierra* ‘highlands’—until the 1970's the most concentrated and populated region of Ecuador—to work in the export economy in the coastal lowlands. At the beginning of the 1920's, the population growth and life

expectancy rates increased in the rural areas, crowding the *minifundios*<sup>6</sup>, intensifying the cultivation, and as a result, contributing to land erosion and low crop yields. These circumstances produced heavy out-migration and out-circulation from the *sierra* to three primary areas: the costal lowlands, the *oriente* ‘Amazonian jungle’, and urban centers, mostly Guayaquil and Quito. The demographic shift began to take shape in the 1950’s although Ecuador, on the whole, transitioned from rural to urban at a moderate pace compared to other Latin American countries (Morse 1974).

1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
19.2%	28.4%	39.5%	47.1%	55.4%	62.7%

**Table 2.1 Ecuador’s urban population in proportion to the total national population**

**Source:** *Comisión Económica para América y el Caribe y centro de las naciones unidas los asentamientos humanos*, (2000)

Long-term migration to the cities coexisted with more temporary and seasonal migration. This type of seasonal migration still exists today and normally occurs among younger members of indigenous households who want to save money and start their own farm in the highlands, or to complement the income they earn from agriculture (Korovkin 1998).

Along with migration, the wider coverage of the school system to the rural areas changed the linguistic landscape of the Ecuadorian Andes, introducing the Spanish language to new and varied domains (Gómez-Rendón 2009). Quichua monolingualism however, remained strong in the central provinces of the Andes, especially among isolated communities that lived near the *páramos*, high-altitude pastures that are not arable. These communities were characterized by not having access to schooling or to the commercial markets in the city. Still today, the central region of the Ecuadorian Andes where Salcedo is located has several Spanish-Quichua bilingual communities in which the choice of one language over the other varies depending on the situation (Haboud 2003), a practice that is slowly losing ground to Spanish monolingualism.

One of the most significant events that coincided with language loss in many of the Andean communities was the construction of the Pan-American Highway. King (2001) explains

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<sup>6</sup> Generally in Latin America, *minifundio* refers to agricultural land of relatively small dimensions (less than five hectares) while *latifundio* is comprised of large landholdings (over 500 hectares). In the Andean region, *minifundios* are associated with subsistence agriculture by mostly indigenous farmers in steep, high-altitude terrain. The *latifundios* are usually located in the fertile valley regions of the Andes and tend to produce a variety of export crops (e.g., flowers, broccoli).

how in the case of the *Saraguros*, a community in the southern highlands of Ecuador, the highway drew migrants from outside the region into the local market economy and increased the percentage of Spanish-speaking inhabitants. Soon afterwards, the indigenous communities adjacent to the highway realized that learning Spanish was essential for daily transactions, from market negotiations to linguistically ‘mixed’ marriages.

The indigenous community’s engagement with the world outside— through migration, the urbanization of the villages, and schooling— increased awareness of the negative perceptions towards speaking Quichua. Many Quichua speakers still remember venues in which they were humiliated for speaking their native tongue. By the 1950’s and 1960’s, parents who had struggled for not knowing Spanish and learned the language as adults decided that it was more important that their children learn Spanish than their native tongue, Quichua. This was how many Quichua speakers of this generation discontinued the transmission of the indigenous language to their children (Hornberberg & King 1996).

As early as the 1970-80’s, various segments of the Ecuadorian population began to demand a change in the subordinated status of Ecuador's indigenous peoples. Their concerns centered on the protection and control of natural resources, and the recognition of political and cultural rights. In 1986, the *Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas de Ecuador* (CONAIE) (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador) was established and legally recognized as the representative and advocacy body for all indigenous communities in Ecuador. In 1984, multiple indigenous platforms pushed successfully to recognize Quichua and other indigenous languages as part of the national culture. In addition to these changes, indigenous organizations entered into the political arena by forming the party *Pachakutik* which resulted in the election of former CONAIE President Luis Macas and seven other candidates to congress. Finally, in 1998, the constitution recognized the Ecuadorian state as “multicultural” and “pluri-ethnic” (Beck & Mijensky 2000).

Despite the fact that national policies have shifted the country’s discourse toward the acceptance of minority ethnic groups, promoting the usage of Quichua continues to be a challenge (Yañez 1991). To this day, Quichua is still rather invisible in daily life: there are no daily newspapers, no national television network or programming, and only a handful of literary works in Quichua (Rinstedt & Aronsson 2002). Negative attitudes towards Quichua speakers still exist in the minds of many Ecuadorians, some of which are represented in (7) and (8):

(7) *El quichua es un dialecto sin gramática.*  
'Quichua is a dialect without grammar.'

(Haboud 1998:197 quoted in Andronis 2003)

(8) *Ya no hay indios. No tienen cultura... ni hablan Quichua. Son campesinos, no más.*  
'There aren't any Indians anymore. They don't have a culture... nor do they speak Quichua. They're just peasants.'

(Andronis 2003: 264)

Recent research on language attitudes in the Ecuadorian highlands has shown that even in those highly bilingual provinces in which the movement of ethnic revitalization is strong, there is a mismatch between linguistic practices and ideologies (Haboud 1991; Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002). Many Quichua-speaking parents who are strong advocates of their indigenous identity do not speak the language to their children because they believe that their children will "pick up" the language once they become adults. Besides this, the children are sometimes embarrassed about their roots and turn away from using the Quichua language because it often indexes them as "poor", "rural", and "Indian". (Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002).

In their study of linguistic attitudes in the Ecuadorian region of Riobamba, Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) find that speakers' practices are structured along a generational scale of language use: elders tend to be dominant in Quichua, most middle-aged adults are bilingual in that they speak both Quichua and Spanish, and the young people are monolingual Spanish speakers employing only a handful of Quichua words when using Spanish. The type of cross-generational linguistic practices presented by Rindstedt and Aronsson are common in many communities of the Ecuadorian highlands. One exception should be made for the highlands of the Salcedo region where the elders have acquired competence in Spanish, primarily to be able to communicate with their grandchildren.

## **2.5 Linguistic outcomes of language contact**

### **2.5.1 Hispanicized Quichua**

As a general trend, minority language speakers in Latin America who have not undergone shift to the dominant language tend to heavily borrow Spanish vocabulary (Field 2002). Certain semantic fields tend to evoke less or more loanword usage. For example, utterances that deal with farming, farm animals, weather, and kin relationships tend to use fewer Spanish

borrowings, while those related to government, education, commerce, medicine, and religion use more (Carpenter 1982). Typically, Spanish borrowings are content words and follow a process of phonological nativization.

(9)	Sp. jefe de familia	→	Q. jifi di familia	‘head of household’
(10)	Sp. carbón	→	Q. karbun	‘charcoal’
(11)	Sp. escuela	→	Q. iskuila	‘school’

The noun phrase, similar to most processes of lexical borrowing, is inserted into the Quichua morphosyntactic structure of the utterance.

(12)	kununga	ña	jifi di familia-ga	chari-nchi	kai	wawa-kuna-ndi
	now	already	head of family-TOP	have-1.PL	these	children-PL
	‘Already now as head of the family, we have these children.’					

(Salcedo corpus)

Ecuadorian Quichua has introduced some derivational affixes from Spanish through lexical borrowing, such as the diminutive *-ito/-ita*, the agentive *-dor/-dur* and *-ado* from which past participles in Spanish are derived. These suffixes have been abstracted from Spanish borrowings and now are used with native Quichua words. In (13), the Quichua root *chuchu-* ‘breasts’ and the Quichua diminutive suffix *-cha* are combined with the Spanish diminutive suffix *-ita*.

(13)	chuchu-cha	chuch-ita-cha	‘little breasts’
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Similarly, other structural changes have occurred in Quichua: higher frequencies of non-verb-final word order, subordinators and conjunctions, and hybrids and blends (Carpenter 1982). For example, the Quichua interrogative pronoun *ima ura* ‘when’ comes from Quichua *ima* ‘what’ and Spanish *hora* ‘hour’ and translates literally as ‘What hour?’; however, it denotes ‘when’ in Quichua, replacing the native interrogative pronoun *haycapi* (Carpenter 1982). Other recent structural developments in ‘Hispanicized Quichua’ will be presented in chapters 5 and 6.

### 2.5.2 Andean Spanish

The prolonged period of language contact has also produced changes in the varieties of Spanish spoken in the Andes. In high-contact areas, both lexical and structural changes can be

observed while in low-contact areas less structural influence from Spanish has been found. In the first part of this section, I describe the linguistic features common in most varieties of rural Spanish throughout the Andean region. Then, I present the developments that are particularly associated with the Ecuadorian Andes: (a) perfective gerund, (b) future tense imperative construction, and (c) *dar* ('to give') + benefactive.

The common language contact features that belong to "Pan-Andean Spanish" varieties which are found in Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia can be reduced to the following areas: agreement, word order, ellipsis, reduplication, semantic redundancy, regularization, word formation, and semantic accommodation (Escobar 2000:24).

**(a) Lack of gender and number agreement:** Since Quichua lacks gender and articles to express definiteness, speakers who are highly dominant in Quichua tend not to make the distinction in gender and number in words that belong to the same lexical phrase.

(14)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>
	es-e      lagun-a that-M.S. lake-F.S. 'that lake'	es-a      lagun-a that-F.S. lake-F.S. 'that lake'
		(Cusihuamán 1979)

**(b) Word Order:** Object + verb sequences instead of the standard Spanish verb + object constructions are frequent in Andean Spanish (Quichua is an OV language). Other word orders encountered are OVS, OV and OSV. In (15) and (16), we see how OV arrangements are frequently utilized in Andean Spanish.

(15)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>
	A Juan    conocí DA-John I.met 'I met John'	Conocí a Juan I.met    DA-John 'I met John'

(16)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>
	Papas    comió, Juan Potatoes he.ate, John 'John ate potatoes'	Juan comió papas John he.ate potatoes 'John ate potatoes'

(Muyskens 1984, Adelaar & Muysken 2003)

Lozano (1975) shows how prepositional phrases and adverbs occur before the verb and adjectives appear before nominal phrases in Andean Spanish. In (17) and (18) we see how both prepositional phrases and adjectives are moved to phrase-initial position.

<u>Andean Spanish</u>	<u>Standard Spanish</u>
(17) Es difícil para comprender el Quechua. is difficult to understand Ø Quechua 'It is difficult to understand Quechua'	El Quechua es difícil de comprender. Ø Quechua is difficult to understand 'It is difficult to understand Quechua'
(18) Habla-n limpio limpio Quechua. speak-3.S clean clean Quechua 'They speak pure Quechua'	Habla-n Quechua limpio. speak-3.S Quechua clean. 'They speak pure Quechua'

(Escobar 2000)

(c) **Ellipsis:** The ellipsis of prepositions, definite and indefinite articles, and clitics is another feature of Andean Spanish (Escobar 2000; Adelaar & Muysken 2004). The example in (19) shows the elision of the Spanish genitive preposition *de* 'from.'

(19) <u>Andean Spanish</u>	<u>Standard Spanish</u>
Esos muchachos (Ø) nuestras familias nominal phrase + (Ø) + nominal phrase 'Those kids (Ø) our families'	Esos muchachos <b>de</b> nuestras familias nominal phrase + <b>from</b> + nominal phrase 'Those kids from our families'

(Escobar 2000)

(d) **Reduplication:** Grammatical morphemes (direct objects, indirect objects, and reflexives), words, and even sentences may appear reduplicated in Andean Spanish. Below is an example of verb reduplication.

(20) <u>Andean Spanish</u>	<u>Standard Spanish</u>
Conozc-o a los cabr-ito-s conozc-o know-1.S the goat-DIM-PL know-1.S 'I know the little goats'	Conozco a los cabr-ito-s know-1.S the goat-DIM-PL 'I know the little goats'

(Cusihuamán 1979)



(e) **Semantic Redundancy:** Redundancy in Andean Spanish occurs with diminutives, direct and indirect objects, reflexives, articles, preposition, superlatives and comparatives (Escobar 2000). One of the most extended types of redundancy is the usage of the possessive adjective before the noun in combination with genitive structures (Mendoza & Minaya 1975; Cusihuamán 1979).

(21)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>	
	en mi misa de mi in my mass of me 'in my mass'	en mi misa in my mass 'in my mass'	(Soto 1979)
(22)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>	
	Esta es tu hoja tuya This is your sheet yours 'This is your sheet'	Esta es tu hoja This is your sheet 'This is your sheet'	(Cusihuamán 1979)

(f) **Regularization:** This process can be observed in the derivation of conjugated verbal forms, the grammatical categories of verbs, object pronouns, and the marking of gender and number. Regularization of verbal morphology occurs with present, preterit, imperfect, and future verbal forms (Escobar 2000). Speakers employ the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular present or the infinitive as the base-form for the future.

(23)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Base form</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>
	Present: sabo	sabe/saber	sé
	Preterit: me ponieron	pone/poner	pusieron
	Imperfect: piensaba	piensa/pensar	pensaba
	Future: harán	hace/hacer	harán

(Adapted from Escobar 2000: 43)

(g) **Regularization of grammatical categories in the verbs:** In Andean Spanish there is a tendency to substitute past for present tense and subjunctive for indicative forms (Escobar 1980). Below is an example of this type of regularization in the verb tense.

(24) **Andean Spanish**

Cuando era pequeña y visit-aba  
when be-IMP.1.S small and visit-IMP.1.S

Marcaná entonces allí **ven-imos**  
Marcaná then there come-PRS.1.PL

a caballo desde mi pueblo se ven-ía en dos día-s.  
on horse from my town RLX com-IMP.1.S in two day-PL

(25) **Standard Spanish**

Cuando era pequueña y visit-aba  
When be-IMP.1.S small and visit-IMP.1.S

Marcaná entonces allí **ven-íamos**  
Marcaná then there come-IMP.1.PL

a caballo desde mi pueblo se ven-ía en dos día-s.  
on horse from my town RLX com-IMP.1.S in two day-PL

‘When I was small I used to visit Marcaná. We *come* (instead of *used to come*) by horse from my village in 2 days.’

(Escobar 2000)

**(h) Regularization of gender and number:** In Standard Spanish, the rule to assign gender to the article is determined by the ending of the noun with a handful of notable exceptions, such as *día* ‘day’ which is masculine, *el día*. Andean Spanish speakers may regularize the rule and disregard the exceptions that exist in Standard Spanish. Similarly, in the case of some uncountable nouns (e.g., *gente* ‘people’) speakers may employ the plural form *gentes* instead of the *gente*.

(26) **Andean Spanish**

La día  
‘The day’

**Standard Spanish**

El día  
‘The day’

(27)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>
	La-s gente-s vin-ieron The-PL people-PL come-PST.3.PL 'The people came'	La gente vin-o The people come-3.S 'The people came'

(i) **Derivation:** New words formed through derivation may occur with nouns, verbs, and adjectives in Andean Spanish. Some common Spanish suffixes (28) are favored in the formation of new words (Escobar 1978, Soto 1983 quoted in Escobar 2000).

(28)	<b><u>Andean Spanish</u></b>	<b><u>Standard Spanish</u></b>
	-ido: mi <i>nacido</i> -ción: <i>visitaciones</i> -ista: <i>fotografista</i> -ante: <i>cuidante</i>	'my birth' 'visits' 'photographer' 'care taker'
		mi nacimiento visitas fotógrafo cuidador

(j) **Semantic Accommodation:** Another phenomenon in Andean Spanish is the semantic extension of semantically similar words. For example, the functional use of the verb *decir* 'to say' is applied to the verb *hablar* which in other dialects is restricted to the meaning 'to speak'.

(29) *Habla* que no viene.  
'He *speaks* (instead of *he says*) he is not coming.'

(k) **The Perfective Gerund in the Spanish from the Ecuadorian Andes:** the perfective gerund is a case of semantic transfer from Quichua to Ecuadorian Andean Spanish. Usually the conjugated verb is one of movement: *ir* 'to go', *venir* 'to come', *regresar* 'to return', or *volver* 'to come back'. The verbal series of simple present + gerund has two readings, simultaneity (30a) and (consecutive) perfective (30b):

(30) *Viene durmiendo, por eso está tranquilo*

- (a) He slept while coming, that's why he's relaxed.
- (b) He slept before coming, that's why he's relaxed.

(Habound 1998:204)

In other sentence structures, only a perfective reading is possible (31b).

(31) *Me voy limpiando la casa y ni siquiera dice, “gracias.”*

\*(a) I left while cleaning the house and they didn't even say, “Thanks.”

(b) I left after having cleaned the house and they didn't even say, “Thanks.”

(Habound 1998:205)

**(l) Imperative constructions in Spanish from the Ecuadorian Andes:** Imperative constructions are used in addition to other standard imperatives found in most varieties of the Spanish-speaking world. These two Ecuadorian Andean features are used to pragmatically soften requests and are both found in monolingual speech: Imperative + *no más* (32a) and the future tense (33a) and (34a).

**Ecuadorian Andean Spanish**

**Standard Spanish**

(32a) ¡Come no más!

(33a) ¡Vendrás!

(34a) ¡Estregaráme el libro!

(32b) ¡Come!

(33b) ¡Ven!

(34b) ¡Estrégame el libro!

‘Eat!’

‘Come!’

‘Give me the book!’

(Habound 1998)

The use of *no más* after command forms in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish is particular to this region and is not found in other Spanish dialects. Similarly, the use of the future tense forms in (33a) and (34a) as an imperative only appears in central Ecuadorian language varieties. It is important to note that the typical imperative forms in (33b) and (34b) are also used in Ecuadorian Spanish; however, it is considered to be a more direct and impersonal way of speaking.

**(m) Dar + gerund in Spanish from the Ecuadorian Andes:** Dar + gerund is a structure that is used throughout Ecuador. When used as an imperative (35a), it produces the pragmatic meaning articulated in (35b):

(35a) *Dame bajando una cobija.*

‘Take down that blanket for me.’

(35b) *¿Puedes hacer el favor de bajarme una cobija?*

‘Could you do me the favor of bringing down a blanket?’

In the Ecuadorian Andean region, this construction has few restrictions and occurs in various aspects and tenses: conditional (36a) and future (37a).

**Ecuadorian Andean Spanish**

**Standard Spanish**

- |                            |                         |                       |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (36a) Me darías concinando | (36b) Cocinarías por mí | ‘You’d cook for me.’  |
| (37a) Me darás concinando  | (37b) Concinarás por mí | ‘You’ll cook for me.’ |

**(n) Lexical borrowing from Quichua:** Rindstedt and Aronsson (2002) give specific examples of Quichua borrowings that are commonly used in the Spanish spoken in Ecuador. According to these authors, many bilingual speakers alternate freely between Quichua and Spanish vocabulary when speaking Spanish.

- |                      |    |                    |        |
|----------------------|----|--------------------|--------|
| (38) Q. <i>misi</i>  | or | Sp. <i>gato</i>    | 'cat'  |
| (39) Q. <i>bisi</i>  | or | Sp. <i>ternero</i> | 'calf' |
| (40) Q. <i>kuchi</i> | or | Sp. <i>cochino</i> | 'pig'  |
| (41) Q. <i>piki</i>  | or | Sp. <i>pulga</i>   | 'flea' |

(Rindstedt & Aronsson 2002: 736)

In contrast, there is a local preference for Quichua borrowings with terms referring to people, in particular *wawa* ‘child,’ *wambra* ‘female,’ ‘young person,’ *taiticu* ‘father,’ and *turi* ‘brother.’

**2.5.3 Summary of Andean Spanish and Ecuadorian Quichua**

The effects of Quichua-Spanish contact in the Andes has been generally characterized as one of “classic” maintenance and “classic” shift in that Quichua has borrowed vocabulary from Spanish while Spanish has undergone structural changes in word order, pronunciation, and verbal aspect. Of course this characterization is not absolute as several Quichua lexemes are used in Spanish just as Spanish function words appear in Quichua. In chapter 3, I provide more information on the extent to which Quichua has experienced structural change through heavy lexical borrowing when I examine Muysken’s claims of Media Lengua innovations.

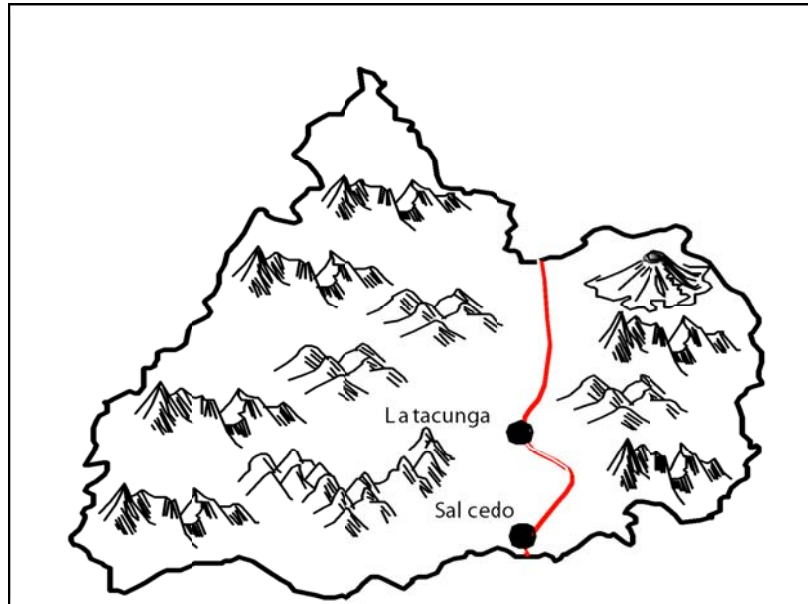
## 2.6 The Salcedo region

The research for this dissertation was conducted in Cotopaxi, a province where more than 80% of the inhabitants are native speakers of Quichua (*Gobierno de Cotopaxi* 2010). Contrastively, in Pichincha, the province to the north where Quito is located, only 14% of the population speaks Quichua as a native tongue (Buttner 1983). From figure 2.2, we can see how the Pan-American Highway that connects Ecuador to the other countries in South America also passes through Cotopaxi. The relative distance from the farming communities to this highway plays a significant role in determining employment, agriculture, urban migration, and commerce.



Figure 2.2 Ecuador, Cotopaxi, and the Pan-American Highway

Salcedo is both a town (figure 2.3) and a *cantón*<sup>7</sup> (figure 2.4) situated in the southeastern region of Cotopaxi. Of the 51,304 inhabitants in the cantón, 10,838 live in the town of Salcedo (INEC, 2001).



**Figure 2.3 The Pan-American Highway and the towns of Latacunga and Salcedo in the valley.** Source: Adapted from *Dirección de Planificación – GPP*  
<http://www.edufuturo.com/educacion.php?c=2681&inPMAIN=1#26673>

Several communities in the western region of the cantón of Salcedo are more connected to the city of Latacunga than to the town of Salcedo, the former being the main governmental, cultural, educational, administrative, and commercial center of Cotopaxi while the latter functions as the busiest markets for potato and livestock sales. Most of the rural inhabitants who live away from the valley practice subsistence farming, and cultivate barley and potatoes. Their excess crops are sold at two different markets in the town of Salcedo and are transported north to Quito or south to Guayaquil and Cuenca. The residents closer to the valley and Pan-American Highway tend to also work on the larger commercial farms which are located in the valley. The work of those who live in the foothills is more varied and may include a combination of

<sup>7</sup> Territorial divisions that carry political and administrative functions with its own government and administration are as follows in descending order: sovereign republic, provinces, *cantones*, parishes, and communities. The republic of Ecuador has 24 provinces, one of which is Cotopaxi. In the province of Cotopaxi there are 7 *cantones*, the southernmost *cantón* is Salcedo which has six parishes. Cuzubamaba is the parish furthest west in the *cantón* of Salcedo. Cuzubamaba administers 22 farming communities.

subsistent farming, work on the commercial farms, as well as sporadic employment in restaurant kitchens and on construction sites in Ecuador’s major urban centers.



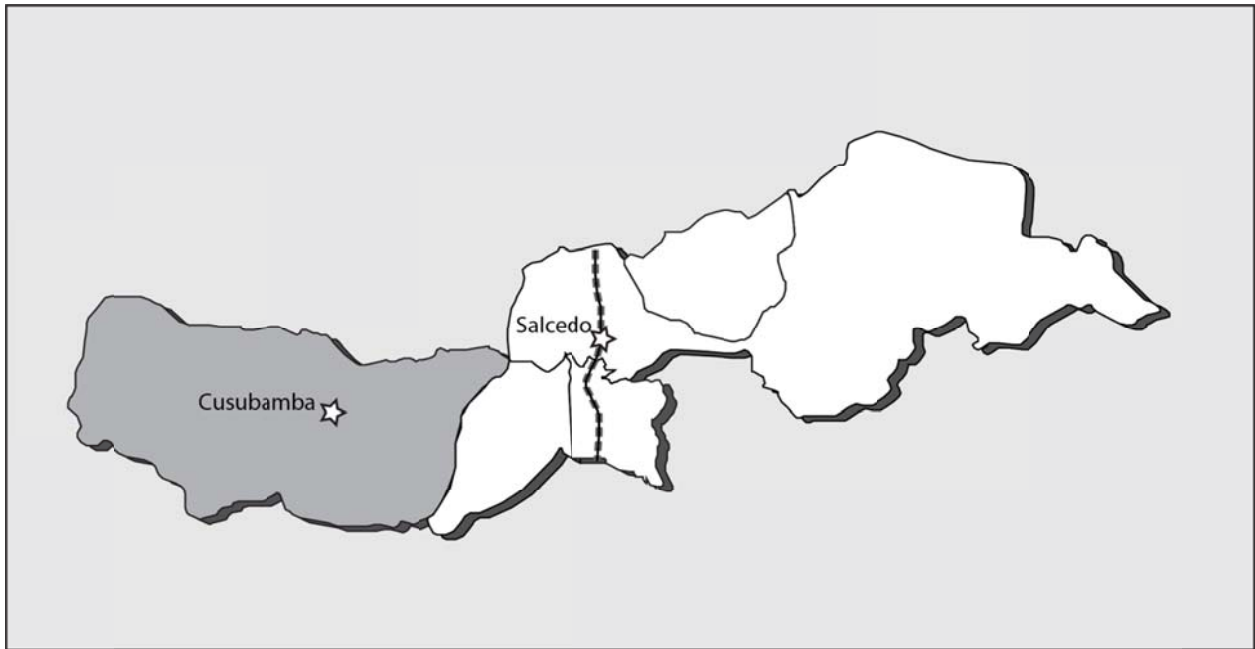
**Figure 2.4 The seven *cantones* of Cotopaxi**

**Source:** Adapted from *Dirección de Planificación – GPP*

<http://www.edufuturo.com/educacion.php?c=2681&inPMAIN=1#26673>

The shape of the cantón of Salcedo is elongated and runs east and west (figure 2.4 & 2.5). From the valley where the town of Salcedo is located, the Andean mountains raise precipitously toward the east and the west. These high altitude regions are referred to as the “*sierra*” or the “highlands”. As the altitude increases, the land becomes increasingly inhospitable for agriculture. The area above the sierra (i.e., above the tree line) is called the *páramo* and although potatoes and barley cannot be cultivated at this altitude, it serves an important function for raising livestock and for irrigation. The porous, sponge-like soil and vegetation of the *páramo* retains water during periods of heavy rains for irrigation during the dry season. The distribution of this water is determined by the community government and is often times a point of debate during the weekly town hall meetings (*asambleas*). Generally speaking, the land closer to the valley and at a lower altitude is more desirable while farming near the *páramo* is treacherous and produces low yields.

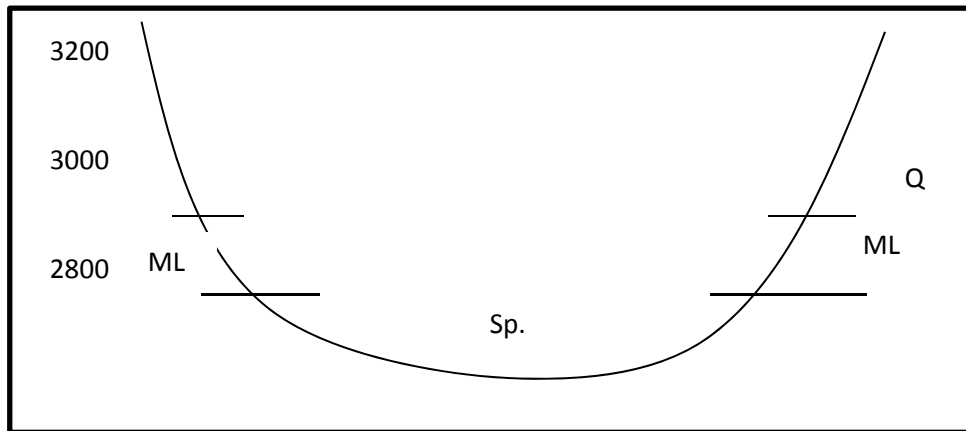




**Figure 2.5** The *cantón* of Salcedo, the town of Salcedo, and the parish of Cusubamba  
**Source:** Adapted from Autocad files from the *Ayuntamiento de Salcedo*, Ecuador (2007)

The land reforms of the 20<sup>th</sup> century typically resulted in a redistribution that found the former peasants of the hacienda with land in the *sierra* and very near the *páramo*, and the former owners with fertile land in the valley. The land of the *sierra* in comparison to the valley is quite poor and difficult to cultivate given its steep terrain, sandy soil, and below freezing temperatures at night. Today, most of the export crops are produced in and around the valley while crops for domestic consumption originate from the sierra.

Muysken (1997: 375) visually represents the general areas where Media Lengua, Quichua, and Spanish were used in the 1970's (figure 2.6). The central area in the fertile valley, "Sp" ("Spanish") represents the geographic area of Spanish monolingualism of the time which roughly equates to the town of Salcedo. The "ML" regions on both sides of the valley show Muysken's estimation of the Media Lengua communities. The communities higher in the mountains, and thus further away from the town of Salcedo, are marked by "Q" to indicate Quichua monolingualism.



**Figure 2.6 Quichua, Media Lengua, and Spanish distribution in the Salcedo valley during the 1970's according to altitude in meters. Source: Muysken (1997, 375)**

To give more perspective to Muysken's general sketch, I have marked the geographic regions in figure 2.7 with symbols that correspond to the distribution depicted in figure 2.6. The filled circles on the far left and right represent the mostly-Quichua-monolingual communities in the highland region as they are described by Muysken (1997) when he conducted fieldwork in the 1970's. The "bull's eye" circles represent the Media Lengua communities, i.e., communities in the foothills of the Salcedo valley (altitude approximately at 2800 meters above sea level (see figure 2.6)). Finally, the "unfilled" circles in the center of the map delimit the area of Spanish monolingualism in the valley.

It is important to note that figures 2.6 and 2.7 are rough estimates and do not accurately convey the physical geography that exists throughout the *cantón* of Salcedo. In fact, it is quite unlikely that the Media Lengua communities were situated at 2800 meters above sea level on both the eastern and western foothills of the valley since the eastern slopes rise to this altitude at a much greater distance from the town of Salcedo than the west. If the 2800 meter mark were to be applied to the terrain in the valley, the Media Lengua communities in the west would be within a few kilometers of the town's center while the ones in the east would be over 10 kilometers away with other communities in between. The distinctions in figure 2.7 are informed both by Muysken's diagram (figure 2.6) and the descriptions he provides in his publications on Media Lengua. He states that several Media Lengua communities existed on both sides of the valley.



**Figure 2.7 Estimates of Spanish, Media Lengua, and Quichua language regions in the 1970's.** Source: Language distribution based on Muysken (1997, 375); Map adapted from Autocad files from the *Ayuntamiento de Salcedo*, Ecuador (2007). The geographic locations of the communities are cross-checked with the topographic maps from the U.S. Geological Survey, (1978).

Although Muysken (1997) reports that several Media Lengua communities existed on both sides of the valley, he does not indicate the specific communities where he conducted his fieldwork nor does he list the communities he would categorize as Media Lengua, Spanish, or Quichua. Since his Media Lengua data were collected from five consultants who belonged to two different families, we might assume that his recordings originated from two different communities, perhaps one from the east and the other from the west, but this has not been verified. Apart from not knowing which communities in the foothills are claimed to be “Media Lengua”, the main challenge of following up on Muysken’s research is the fact that the rural communities surrounding the town of Salcedo have since become predominantly Spanish monolingual (figure 2.8).



**Figure 2.8 Representation of current language regions in Salcedo**

**Source:** Map adapted from Autocad files from the *Ayuntamiento de Salcedo*, Ecuador. The geographic locations of the communities are cross-checked with the topographic maps from the U.S. Geological Survey, (1978).

The demographic and linguistic composition of Salcedo has changed considerably since the 1970's: the fertile land in the valley now produces export crops—flowers and broccoli; new roads have made the urban areas more accessible for the residents in the highlands; the town of Salcedo has expanded as a result of the foreign remittances sent from family members who have immigrated to Spain and Italy; evangelical churches have taken hold in several communities; bilingual education and the explicit instruction of Quichua can be found in several rural schools; and indigenous political parties, primarily *Pachakutik*, have won important seats in municipal and provincial elections.

All of these recent developments have rearranged the “public life” of language in, around, and far from the town of Salcedo. On the one hand, access to the nearby cities has allowed traditionally marginalized highlanders to work and study at greater distances from their primary residence than before. This seems to have had the effect of introducing closer-to-standard Spanish dialects into the communities and producing children who have become passive bilinguals, i.e. able to understand Quichua but preferring to only speak Spanish, even if their parents or grandparents are speaking to them in Quichua. On the other hand, highly educated

and affluent indigenous political leaders have attempted to introduce Quichua into the public discourse of cities by campaigning, holding meetings, and interacting on the streets in the indigenous language. They have helped to institutionalize the teaching of Quichua in the schools and promote the use of published materials in Quichua, such as children's books, health pamphlets, particular laws, etc. Similarly, the evangelical churches have made it a priority to use hymns and prayer books in Quichua during their worship services. The resistance to Spanish language shift is strong and multifaceted; however, the desired effects i.e., Quichua-Spanish bilingualism in the younger (under 40 years old) generations have been slow to materialize. Although there is a small contingent of youth who not only study and speak Quichua but also dress in clothes that would index them as rural and indigenous, the tide in Salcedo is moving steadily toward Spanish monolingualism.

# Chapter Three

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## BML classification and syncretic language practices

### 3.1 Introduction

Several distinguishing linguistic features of Media Lengua are discussed by Muysken (1979, 1981, 1989, 1997), though none are more prominent than his description of its lexicon-grammar split—90% Spanish-derived lexicon in a Quichua grammar—and the timeframe during which this change is claimed to have occurred i.e. between 20-40 years. In addition to these two defining characteristics, Muysken reports that 90% of the basic vocabulary and the subject pronoun system are also comprised of Spanish borrowings. He describes Media Lengua as a full-fledged language—unintelligible to Spanish and Quichua monolinguals and “independent” in that new structural developments occurred in Media Lengua that had not taken place in Salcedo Quichua. The large influx of Spanish lexemes in a relatively short period of time together with new Media Lengua innovations influenced Muysken to conceptualize the change as relexification rather than “ordinary” lexical borrowing.

Muysken differentiates relexification from lexical borrowing in three ways: new lexemes are not added, but rather they replace native ones; the rate at which they replace their semantically-similar counterparts is relatively fast (one or two generations); and core vocabulary is strongly affected. He argues that Media Lengua innovators substituted outright most of the Quichua lexicon for Spanish copies without significantly changing the Quichua morphosyntactic or semantic systems, a process that differs from lexical borrowing which tends to incorporate the semantic meaning and the phonological shape of the foreign lexeme. The defining characteristics of relexification overlap with many of the features that are typically used to distinguish BMLs from other language contact varieties. Since the discussion of Media Lengua has coincided with the development of BML research, a more detailed study of relexification and lexical borrowing in Media Lengua and Quichua has implications for the other contact varieties that have been identified as BMLs.

Questions of classification have become a vital issue considering that many of the BML outcomes resemble other languages that have developed through heavy lexical borrowing and code-mixing. BMLs can be defined by the following criteria: they (1) are mutually unintelligible

from either source language; (2) emerge relatively fast i.e., one or two generations; (3) show a clear lexical and grammatical split; (4) are consciously constructed as markers of social identity; and (5) develop out of bilingual communities. These five characteristics have not succeeded in differentiating BML from other contact languages primarily because, as Matras & Bakker (2003) point out, none of the BMLs meet all five of these features. Media Lengua, for example, did not emerge through “community bilingualism” which is listed as criterion #5. Muysken depicts the Salcedo contact situation in the 1920’s as one involving a handful of bilingual migrants who introduced Media Lengua (relexified Quichua) to other Quichua monolingual community members, specifically, those who had not migrated to Quito i.e., women, children, elders, and some middle-age men. The language was learned by several Quichua speakers, he maintains, even though it had not been developed through full community bilingualism. Similar to Media Lengua, prolonged lexical borrowing in Ecuadorian Quichua also meets four of the five BML criteria, (2) “rapid genesis” being the only exception.

The issue of relexification is a central component to Muysken’s claim that Media Lengua is a qualitatively different linguistic phenomenon from other contact languages, and thus, a worthy candidate, if not the best example, of a BML. However, several empirical problems arise when his Media Lengua data is examined more closely. First, the number of Media Lengua consultants whom Muysken recorded, five, is insufficient. Muysken not only contends that a new language has emerged, but that *several* communities surrounding the town of Salcedo use it as an in-group, native language. In order to have a representative sample for these Media Lengua communities, we would need consultants from many different communities who belong to different age cohorts and genders, and have contrasting urban migration histories and levels of bilingualism. Second, little is known about the five consultants who were recorded by Muysken. The important social data that would help us situate who these five consultants were is missing. It is important for our analysis to know more about these speakers and their backgrounds (e.g., who their parents were; whether their parents were Media Lengua speakers; whether Muysken’s consultants were also construction workers or children of migrants; how they made a living; what other languages they spoke; why they have decided to (not) speak to their children using Media Lengua; and what they truly thought about the Quichua monolingual speakers in the highlands and Spanish-speaking mestizos in the town of Salcedo). Without this type of socio-cultural information we cannot rule out the possibility that these five consultants, who belong to

two different households, represent a family's idiolect and not necessarily a new language spoken throughout the Salcedo foothills. Finally, Muysken only provides folk linguistic accounts when discussing the diachronic development of Media Lengua. Since linguistic documentation of central Ecuadorian Quichua had not occurred until the 1960's, we do not know for certain if the level of Spanish lexical borrowing in Salcedo Quichua speech was between 10-40% at the beginning of the 20th century as Muysken claims. In fact, the rate at which Spanish lexemes were introduced into Media Lengua is still uncertain; therefore, the estimate that the language emerged in one-to-two generations is not supported by any empirical evidence.

Muysken attributes Media Lengua genesis to relexification and rejects the role prolonged lexical borrowing and adlexification might have played in its development. He also rejects the role other bilingual phenomena might have played during the formation of Media Lengua, such as code-switching, structural convergence, and interlanguage. The relexification hypothesis ignores how the effects of other bilingual practices might have influenced the local varieties of Quichua and Spanish prior to and during the emergence of Media Lengua in Salcedo. By simply stating that Media Lengua made a "clean break" from Quichua in the 1920's while remaining unaffected by the continued practice of Spanish lexical borrowing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is not merely an oversimplification, but a proposal that fails to account for the nature of linguistic change and bilingual ways of speaking.

Typically, the systems of social differentiation and stratification associable with ethnic identity, as in the case of Media Lengua speakers, involve a range of bilingual practices rather than an adherence to only one (Hill & Hill 1986, Mikiyara 2006). My fieldwork in Salcedo attests to these different linguistic practices and the type of outcomes they are capable of producing. Given the number of overlapping features found in local varieties of Spanish and Quichua, the range of an individual's speech behavior is best described as syncretic (Hill & Hill's 1986) and belonging to different places on a bilingual continuum. Ways of speaking local varieties of Quichua and Spanish are accomplished through interactional speech styles in which the speaker evokes various cultural forms that are in contact with each other. Rather than characterize these linguistic features and their associable social values as two separate and static systems, a "syncretic" analysis attends to the dynamic nature of socio-linguistic change and the varied interpretations of these changes in interactional contexts. Bilingual speakers in Salcedo, as well as in other situations, draw on different communicative styles in order to achieve a



particular presentation of self. These styles or speech varieties carry social meaning which can vary among users and uses. It is therefore misleading to assert that code-mixing or lexical borrowing per se indexes a speaker as belonging to group X since the interpretation is usually based on the kind of lexical borrowing, the speaker, the addressee, and the communicative context as a whole. By examining the syncretic ways of speaking Spanish and Quichua in Salcedo, we may better understand how language contact outcomes are evaluated, propagated, diffused, and promoted through interactions that may give rise to varieties such as *Media Lengua*.

### **3.2 Relexification and BMLs**

#### **3.2.1 Relexification and lexical borrowing**

As the name suggests, relexification refers to “re-doing” the lexicon and differs from lexical borrowing in the amount and diachronic rate of lexeme replacement from one language into another. Historically, all of the world’s languages at one time have borrowed segments of their lexicon from other languages, yet in contrast, relexified languages are said to have replaced the majority of their vocabulary rapidly, in one or two generations, as opposed to gradually, over several generations or centuries.

Another characteristic that has been argued to define relexification refers to the notion of semantic “defrocking”—the semantic content of the borrowed lexeme is *not* utilized in any capacity in the recipient language; rather Muysken (1981, 1997) argues that the phonetic shapes of the donor language *replace* the phonetic “shells” of the vocabulary in the recipient language. Muysken (1981) explains, “The only information adopted from the target language in the lexical entry is the phonological representation” (61). He argues that during relexification, nothing in the language actually changes, except how the words sound. The semantic meaning, the syntactic information, the morphology, and the phonological system of the relexifying language remain untouched—the only changed elements are the new phonetic shapes (see table 3.1).

An important question follows: Does lexical borrowing also semantically “defrock” lexemes from their donor language? In other words, is semantic content also derived from the recipient language in cases of lexical borrowing? Winford (2003) argues that relexification and lexical borrowing both maintain the L1 lemma (morpho-syntactic information) and incorporate the phonological representation from the L2, a typical psycholinguistic mechanism of recipient language speakers; however, it is Muysken and not Winford who explicitly states that the

semantic content functions as a distinguishing factor between lexical borrowing and relexification.

<p><b><u>Quichua</u></b>          morphology<sup>Q</sup>          syntax<sup>Q</sup>          semantics<sup>Q</sup>          phonology<sup>Q</sup>          phonological representation<sup>Q</sup></p>		<p><b><u>Spanish</u></b>          morphology<sup>S</sup>          syntax<sup>S</sup>          semantics<sup>S</sup>          phonology<sup>S</sup>          phonological representation<sup>S</sup></p>	
<p><b><u>Lexical Borrowing</u></b>          morphology<sup>Q</sup>          phonology<sup>Q</sup>          syntax<sup>Q</sup>          semantics<sup>S</sup>          phonological representation<sup>S</sup></p>		<p><b><u>Relexification</u></b>          morphology<sup>Q</sup>          phonology<sup>Q</sup>          syntax<sup>Q</sup>          semantics<sup>Q</sup>          phonological representation<sup>S</sup></p>	

**Table 3.1 Representation of semantic distribution in lexical borrowing and relexification.**

While only the phonological representation or “shape” is incorporated into the recipient language during relexification, both the semantic content and the phonological representation is introduced during lexical borrowing (Muysken 1981, 1997) (see table 3.1). Relexification defined in this purely linguistic sense requires extraordinary detail and often times rare evidence to support it. It is uncontroversial that in most cases, identifying whether a language is applying the morpho-syntactic frame of the donor or recipient language is more clear-cut than determining semantic transfer. If relexification involves replacing a semantically similar or equivalent native lexeme, then how can it be empirically shown that the sememe belongs to the donor, rather than the recipient, language when the lexemes from the two languages have the same meaning? One method would be to find a polyseme, a word or sign with multiple meanings, from the donor language that when relexified only carried the recipient language’s meaning(s) of the lexeme and none of the other non-recipient meanings found in the donor language.

Although Muysken clearly separates the two phenomena based on this issue of semantic transfer, he does not explicitly demonstrate how a polysemous donor lexeme transfers only the sememe that matches the one from the recipient language lexeme. While most of the Spanish-derived lexemes in his Media Lengua example sentences are not polysemes (e.g., Media Lengua

*awa*, from Spanish *aqua* denotes the same referent as Quichua *yaku*), there are only a handful of lexical items that could be put to the test. One such item is the Spanish verb *ganar* which can mean “to earn” or “to win (a competition).” Traditionally in Quichua, two lexical entries are employed to express these two meanings, *mashkarina* “to do business” or *kullkita mirachina* “to increase wealth” and *atina* “to defeat” or *mishina* “to surprise someone; to play a trick on someone.” The lexeme *gana* is used in the Media Lengua utterance (1) to mean “to win”, yet it is used in Salcedo Quichua, according to Muysken and Stark (1977), alongside *atina* and *mishina*, suggesting that the Spanish lexeme was borrowed since it did not replace the native lexeme. However, according to the same Quichua dictionary, *ganana* has completely replaced the native lexemes that are used to denote “to earn money.”

- (1) ML: Ahi-da-ga abin,           piru   tarde-ya-ndu-ga                   gana-u-nga-y  
           there-TOP there.is       but   late-become-SUB-TOP           win-PRG-3FUT-EMP  
           “It is there, but when it becomes late he will be winning.”

(Muysken 1997, 386)

Following Muysken’s definitions represented in table 3.1, Quichua’s and Media Lengua’s use of *gana-na* “to earn” and “to win” should be classified as a lexical borrowing since the donor language’s semantic content was transferred from Spanish. However, when these types of lexical borrowings appear in Media Lengua example sentences, it gives the reader the impression that these Spanish-derived lexemes were in fact relexified. In fact, Muysken does not seem to make an attempt to clarify which content words were relexified or simply borrowed nor does he provide convincing evidence that the semantic information was not transferred along with the Spanish lexemes. With the exception of a small subset of polysemous Spanish lexemes in the Media Lengua data, the linguistic evidence for this phenomenon is unsubstantiated.

Winford (2003) does caution that not all language contact “results by themselves can indicate which mechanism was involved in the absence of sound socio-historical evidence” (144). In this sense, the issue of relexification and lexical borrowing (e.g., adlexification) seems to parallel the challenges in differentiating code-mixing and lexical borrowing. Although the level of morphological integration in the recipient language is sometimes cited as the only linguistic criterion distinguishing code-mixing from lexical borrowing, other extra-linguistic measures are relied on, such as the conventionalization and acceptance of the form within the community (Poplack 1980), though even this can be difficult to determine conclusively.



and its contribution to the formation of Media Lengua in Salcedo. Muysken's notion of semantic "defrocking" with Spanish lexemes in Media Lengua is not clearly demonstrated. For example, he does not examine the polysemous lexemes of either Quichua or Spanish in order to verify whether semantic transfer had occurred. We have also observed how Media Lengua (2a) and Salcedo Quichua (3a) utterances share similar influences from Spanish and Quichua, linguistically speaking. For a qualitative distinction to be made between the two varieties, historical linguistic evidence, i.e. the rate of lexical change, is necessary to support Muysken's claim that one emerged through relexification while the other through lexical borrowing.

### **3.2.2 The BML debate**

Many of the discussions about BMLs over the last three decades (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Bakker & Mous 1994, Bakker 1997, Thomason 1997, 2001, Matras 2000, Winford 2003) are recapitulated and expounded in the edited volume "The Mixed Language Debate: Theoretical and Empirical Advances" (Matras & Bakker 2003). The contributing authors address three vexing issues: defining BMLs in a way that distinguishes them from other language contact phenomena (3.2.2.1), providing rationale for the processes that give rise to these BMLs (3.2.2.2), and showing the relationship between social factors and BML linguistic outcomes (3.2.2.3).

#### **3.2.2.1 Defining and classifying BMLs**

One of the most challenging tasks in the research on BMLs has been to define the phenomenon in a way that clearly and unequivocally separates it from other processes and outcomes of external change, such as lexical borrowing, code-switching, interlanguage, shift, and convergence. Although a range of more precise definitions abound, the BMLs that are frequently described in the above-mentioned publications are claimed to have developed (a) in a short period of time—one or two generations; (b) as deliberate and consciously constructed 'acts of identity' in order to mark group identity; and (c) as new languages that are unintelligible to the speakers of the source languages. Since several features of BMLs overlap with other contact phenomena, some researchers are reluctant to categorize them as qualitatively different from other types of language change (Myers-Scotton 2003, Thomason 2001, Winford 2009). For example, both BMLs and creoles occur when speakers create a new language that is unintelligible to the speakers of the source languages. Likewise, new languages with heavy and prolonged lexical borrowing can gradually become unintelligible to the speakers of the original source languages. However, proponents argue that the composite features together (i.e., lexicon-

grammar split, rapid genesis, deliberate linguistic marker of identity, and mutual unintelligibility) separate BMLs from other outcomes in language contact. In this light, creole languages that have developed a lexicon-grammar dichotomy, emerged rapidly, and evolved into a new language are claimed to be fundamentally dissimilar to BMLs because they were not consciously created by bilingual speakers, instead they were developed by different language groups for purely communicative goals. In this way, creoles and BMLs are distinguished by only one of the core features. In the case of Media Lengua, Muysken's assertion of "conscious" creation is unsubstantiated. In fact, except in the case of languages like Anglo-Romani (an argot) and probably also Ma'a (Mous 2003), there is no clear evidence for "deliberate" creation in any of the other BMLs.

All of the contributing authors to Matras & Bakker (2003) are confronted with the issue of classification, but only Bakker, Thomason, Stolz, and Myers-Scotton (same volume) explicitly propose individual taxonomies. These authors apply their definitions and classifications to the same five cases that have been discussed in prior publications on BMLs (table 3.2).

In Bakker's (2003) taxonomy, BMLs fall under three subcategories: intertwined, converted, and lexically mixed. Intertwined languages, such as Media Lengua, Ma'a, and Anglo-Romani show a clear dichotomy between the source language that supplies the lexicon and the source language that contributes the grammar. Converted BMLs resemble structural convergence, but the process occurs more quickly and the end result is more complete. The grammar from the BML is structurally identical to that of the source language while the lexemes and overt grammatical morphemes are from a different source language. Bakker (2003) cites the following languages as ones that have developed through conversion or "convergence intertwining" (110): Arabic on Domari, Balkan languages on Romani, and South Slavic on Gagauz. In lexically mixed languages, the vocabulary is derived equally from two or more different languages while most of the grammar and basic vocabulary is inherited. Bakker labels Michif and Igbo as lexically mixed for their peculiar verb-noun genetic composition; in Michif, VPs originate from Cree while NPs from French (Bakker 1997) and in Igbo, all of the NPs are derived from Ijo (Bakker 2003).

Primary BML cases	Source Language Description	Geographic Region	Researchers
Media Lengua	Quichua grammatical structure with 90% Spanish lexicon	Central Ecuadorian Andes	Muysken 1979, 1981, 1988, 1997
Mbugu or Ma'a	Bantu inflectional system (from Pare and Shambala) with vocabulary from several different Cushitic languages	Tanzania, in the Tanga region and Usambara Mountains	Welmers 1973, Ehret 1976, Mous 2003, Goodman (1971) <sup>9</sup>
Michif	French nouns and adjectives and Cree verbs in a Cree morphosyntactic frame	The Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba and in the U.S state of North Dakota	Rhodes 1977, 1992; Bakker 1997
Mednyj Aleut	Aleut nouns with Russian verbs with inflectional endings from both source languages	Copper Island and more recently Bering Island, Russia	Menovščikov 1968; Golovko 1996, 2003
Anglo-Romani	Content words of Romani origin inserted into English grammar	The United Kingdom	Kenrick 1979; Matras 2002

**Table 3.2 The five most commonly cited and discussed language varieties in the BML literature.** (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Bakker & Mous 1994, Bakker 1997, Thomason 1997, 2001, Croft 2000, Matras 2002, Field 2002, Sebba 1997, Winford 2003)

Although the lexical and grammatical material from the source languages is rarely a complete 100% split when relexified and intertwined languages are formed, several researchers view Media Lengua as a “true” BML (Matras & Bakker 2003, Bakker 2003, Backus 2003, Stolz 2003). While other authors in Matras & Bakker (2003) propose their own types of classification, the basic criteria and fundamental tenants of the BML paradigm are similar. The central issue of categorizing BMLs as a separate class of languages, i.e. languages that share more properties with each other than with other languages, is often argued on the grounds of linguistic *formation* and not *outcome*. This is due to the fact that based solely on the linguistic outcome, the criteria that are claimed to distinguish BMLs from other types of language contact are not conclusive (Winford 2009). Yet, the issues of linguistic change leading to BMLs rarely reach beyond general results typically produced in situations of asymmetrical language contact: The minority language, if maintained, is influenced lexically by the dominant language and when contact is

<sup>9</sup> Goodman reviews the earlier descriptive work on Mbugu: Shaw (1885), Meinhof (1906), Copland (1934), Tucker and Bryan (1957), and Green (1963). It should be noted that unlike many of the other BMLs, there is ample documentation of Ma'a's diachronic developments and formation.

extensive, some grammatical elements may also be incorporated into the recipient language (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Winford 2003). Despite the important role that extra-linguistic factors play in classifying BMLs, most research in the field tends to focus on linguistic developments instead of historical, socio-political, and psychological variables that would better inform out interpretations of the linguistic changes.

### **3.2.2.2 Sociolinguistic and Ethnohistorical criteria**

Similar to the discussion of language classification, the overarching discourse of the sociolinguistic and historical phenomena in BMLs pertains to what can be considered “ordinary” and “extraordinary,” that is, determining whether BMLs were derived from ordinary sociolinguistic circumstances but happened to produce extraordinary results or from extraordinary contact situations worthy of their own designation as BMLs. We have already discussed in the previous sections that the linguistic outcomes per se may appear similar to languages that have undergone heavy lexical borrowing or practiced ‘unmarked’ insertional code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993). Therefore, evidence for the existence of BMLs as an empirically verifiable category depends on documentation of its “extradordinary,” or at least different, historical developments.

Most of the contributions in Matras & Bakker (2003) compare BML genesis with other types of bilingual practices and processes. Bakker (2003) and Golovko (2003) reject a code-switching (henceforth, CS) explanation on the grounds that (a) the quantity of embedded lexicon brought into the matrix language exceeds any ordinary level of CS, (b) no documentation of a transitory stage between CS and BML has been shown, and (c) the vocabulary of CS is additive while wholesale substitution occurs in BML genesis. Also in this volume, Myers-Scotton (2003) and Thomason (2003) argue that a relationship between the two processes does exist. Thomason concedes on the point that CS is additive; however, she views the overall distinction as a matter of degree and not of kind, that is, the BMLs employ the same process as insertional CS, only on a larger scale.

The discussion of whether some BMLs developed through lexical borrowing or structural convergence follows similar lines of argumentation that Bakker (2003) and Golovko (2003) used to separate CS from BMLs (i.e. the quantity is abnormal, there is no evidence of a transitory stage, and convergence is usually additive and not substitutive) with essentially the same proponents and dissenters. The role of structural borrowing in BML creation (a la Thomason &



Kaufman 1988) is not applicable to any of the prototypical BMLs due to the insertion of content morphemes into an unchanged recipient language grammar; however, Bakker (2003) and Stolz (2003) do use this rationale to distinguish Michif and Mednyj Aleut from Kormakti Arabic and Chamorro. Unlike Michif and Mednyj Aleut, whose grammatical frames originated from two source languages (e.g., NPs from Métis French and VPs from Cree → Michif), the structural borrowing of Kormakti Arabic was introduced through heavy lexical borrowing. For Bakker and Stolz, then, an important aspect of delineating BML as an autonomous system is the extent lexical borrowing plays in language change. The quite unusual linguistic outcomes of Michif and Mednyj Aleut would suggest a type of development that does not fit any description along Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale. Finally, Croft (2003) and Muysken (1997) rule out interlanguage as a possible mechanism to BML genesis. They argue that the five prototypes (table 3.1) contain native language inflections while interlanguage would show attempts by the speaker to approximate target language verb morphology.

Although the BML proponents tend to focus on linguistic outcomes and processes in classifying these contact language varieties, proving BML's special designation does depend greatly on sociolinguistic and ethnohistorical information. Unfortunately for the case of Media Lengua, not much documentation of the region's vernacular speech before, during, or after these linguistic changes is available and, therefore, it leaves the question of this BML's genesis still unsupported through historical linguistic evidence. Considering this lack of historical documentation that might give us clues to language development, BML research tends to focus more on the formal aspects of linguistic theory than ethnohistory (and the social conditions of the history of contact) which in the opinion of some scholars (Winford 2003, Blommestein 2003) is what is needed the most in order to accurately account for BML genesis and linguistic processing. Take for example the case of Michif which is by most measures a superbly detailed linguistic account of Michif grammar, showing the important contrasts between French and Cree. Yet, Rhodes points out that Bakker's (1997) account of Michif ignores important historical data—mostly by the seminal work of Eccles (1983)—that would greatly inform our understanding of Michif genesis. While Bakker (1997) dates Michif genesis roughly around the early 1800's when the Métis<sup>10</sup> first appear as a politically organized group who fought against

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<sup>10</sup> *Métis* is a French word, literally meaning 'a person of mixed race' and is a cognate of Spanish *mestizo*. In Canada, the term Métis signifies a person who descended from mixed marriages between Aboriginal and European

the Canadian government for the right to live and hunt in the Red River valley region in central Canada, Rhodes (2000:376) argues that the Francophone Métis nation was integrated and functioning decades earlier:

The Métis did not simply coalesce into a socio-political group under the external pressures of the opening decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were already a people when the conflicts with the new settlers brought them into the historical record for the first time. Eccles [1983] lays bare the historical foundations that made the appearance of a Métis nation all but inevitable.

The historical accounts of the Métis (Eccles 1983, Rhodes 2000) provide us with a perspective of Michif genesis that runs contrary to Bakker (1997) and supports a more gradual rate of BML development. Socio-historical documentation and descriptions of the source languages to BMLs play an integral role for the entire BML enterprise. If BMLs cannot be shown through empirical evidence to have (a) developed in a short period of time and (b) bypassed a transitory stage with additive borrowing, then the unique classification and genesis remain speculative. In fact, it could mean that lexical borrowing and the BML descriptions of language mixing may be more similar than they are different. Given the importance of ethno-historical data on the core tenets of the BML program, it is striking that research in this area has received less attention than the linguistic changes per se.

### **3.2.2.3 The role of social factors in BMLs**

Throughout *The Mixed Language Debate* (Matras & Bakker 2003) the role of socio-cultural practices in the creation and overall character of BMLs is treated peripherally. Thomason (21-40), Croft (41-72), and Golovko (177-208) explicitly address this issue, agreeing that for the speakers, the process of BML formation was a deliberate and conscious act of social identification. Croft proposes three categories that try to connect the social environments to the linguistic outcomes (table 3.3).

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ancestry beginning in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Social Contact Situation	Brief Summary	BML
Death-by-borrowing	Extreme lexical borrowing and eventual functional turnover	Ma'a , Anglo-Romani <sup>11</sup>
Semi-shift	Partial shift to target language; conscious choice to maintain heritage culture	Media Lengua
Mixed Marriage	Descendants of ethnically mixed marriages form new speech community	Michif and Mednyj Aleut

**Table 3.3 Subcategorization of BML based on sociolinguistic background (Croft 2003)**

*Death-by-borrowing*, as the name suggests, is extreme lexical borrowing which in its last stage shifts entirely to the target language with the exception of some basic vocabulary and grammatical affixes. Croft argues that the speakers of this language e.g., Ma'a and Anglo-Romani, succumb to assimilation to the dominant culture due to the political and economic pressure to adapt to their cultural and linguistic practices. Croft identifies Media Lengua as a *semi-shift* language, following the same trajectory as the *death-by-borrowing* scenario, but never completing all of its stages. He attributes the characteristics of Media Lengua to the speech community's social disposition. By only incorporating the lexical material and semi-grammatical elements such as the pronoun system and demonstratives, the innovators of Media Lengua partook in a "partial" act of identity. Croft maintains that these speakers resisted the pressure to assimilate to Spanish-speaking society and consciously constructed an identity that preserved their heritage culture and language. Finally *mixed marriage* languages occur when fathers from one linguistic community wed mothers from a different society and language. He depicts their descendants as the creators of a new speech community and social identity.

Overall, there are significant problems with the sociolinguistic classification of BMLs. I will focus here on Croft's categorization, although similar issues arise throughout Matras & Bakker (2003). The first two categories, *death-by-borrowing* and *semi-shift*, function more adequately as classification based on linguistic descriptors and do not describe the bilingual communities, the level of proficiency of the speakers, or the historical events that motivate or accompany linguistic change. Croft still focuses on the developments of the language itself and how the linguistic processes define the sub-types of BMLs. This linear analysis suggests that the linguistic and socio-cultural are positively associated: minority language groups who resist

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<sup>11</sup> Croft (2003) argues that the five language varieties in table 1.1 are the best examples of BMLs, but he does consider Asia Minor Greek and Komakti Arabic to be cases of 'death-by-borrowing'.

external socio-cultural influences the least will experience *death-by-borrowing* while those who resist more will undergo *semi-shift*. Apart from the omission of several relevant socio-historical factors of the five BMLs at hand, the argument is circular in that the measurement that determines a group's level of resistance to socio-cultural imposition is ultimately based on language change. In turn, the type of language change is the main criterion that determines sociolinguistic classification. Similar assumptions are utilized in the third socio-historical category, mixed marriage. As Winford (2009) points out, marriage per se as the driving force behind Michif and Mednyj Aleut is not supported empirically. Other factors that are related to geographic isolation, the education system (or lack of access to education), child socialization practices, occupation, trade, etcetera, may have influenced the speech of youngsters regardless of their parents' marital status. By and large, the way Croft creates connections between language contact situations and BML outcomes is overly general, though his efforts of creating a subcategorization of the social factors of BML genesis goes beyond the description of the other contributors in the volume.

### **3.2.3 Empirical evidence for relexification**

The relexification hypothesis for Media Lengua is based on the assumption that Spanish lexical borrowing remained relatively low in the Salcedo region until the beginning of the 20th century; however, we are lacking the descriptive linguistic research to support this claim. Yet, there are other indirect methods that can be used to strengthen or weaken this hypothesis. One method that was not chosen by Muysken involves identifying the Spanish lexemes that have been shown to have been borrowed before the 20th century and compare them to the Spanish loanwords in his data set. This would be an indirect path of verifying which words had been relexified, substituted, or added because the type of Spanish borrowing in Quichua (and in many indigenous languages in Latin America) is patterned in semantic clusters (Field 2002, Adelaar & Muysken 2004, Gómez-Rendón 2008). Spanish content morphemes in Quichua are observed in particular semantic subfields, mostly among concepts that had not existed in the recipient language, but also in cases of adlexification and substitution. Several word clusters derived from borrowed lexemes appear in every aspect of the Quichua lexicon. Taking into account the relexification hypothesis for Media Lengua, we are faced with the task of determining which content words had already been borrowed before relexification occurred in addition to the lexemes that are “cultural borrowings” (Weinreich 1953) e.g., words that had no semantic

equivalent in Quichua or recently evolved through the introduction of new technologies. Well-established and cultural borrowings cannot, by Muysken’s (1981) definition of the term, be relexified since it is apparent that more than the phonological shapes of the borrowed lexemes have been transferred into the recipient language. In (4), we observe several such “un-relexifiable” Spanish-derived lexemes and even a larger number that have not been clearly demonstrated as products of relexification, early borrowing, or cultural borrowing.

- (4) **Miza despwesitu kaza-mu i-naku-ndu-ga, ai-bi boda**  
 Mass after home to go-REC.PL-SUB-TOP there-LOC feast
- da-naku-n, ahí-bi bayla-naku-n**  
 give-REC.PL-3 there-LOC dance-REC.PL-3

“Going home after Mass, there they give a feast and dance.”

**Asi-lla-di kumu bos, bos kwenta-lla-di gringu**  
 thus-DEL-EMP like you you like-DEL-EMP gringo

**Kunusidu-guna tini-n bastanti miu Rosalina**  
 acquaintance-PL have-3 plenty my Rosalina

“My Rosalina has plenty gringo acquaintances just like you, like you precisely.”

(Muysken 1988: 419)

Muysken accounts for lexical borrowing in an indirect way, estimating that 10-40% of Quichua had already undergone the effects of prolonged lexical borrowing. However, there are several Spanish-influenced elements that he does not gloss as belonging to Quichua when they commonly appear in local varieties of Quichua in Salcedo. For example, discourse markers and narrative sequencers *ahi-bi* ‘there’ and *asi-lla-di* ‘thus’ are not only Media Lengua creations, but are used in Quichua. In fact, these discourse markers, along with *kumu* ‘like’ are examples of bilingual simultaneity (Woolard 1998) in which they appear in local varieties of Spanish as well as Quichua. Likewise, *despwesitu* ‘after’, in Quichua as a postposition and in Spanish as a preposition, is commonly found. The point of the matter is that well over half of the Spanish-derived lexemes in (4) are established borrowings in local varieties of Quichua: *miza*, *boda*, *bayla-*, *kumu*, *Rosalina* (Muysken & Stark 1977); *asi-*, *despwesitu*, *ahi-*, *kunusidu*, *bastanti*, (Carpenter 1982); and *gringu* as a recent cultural borrowing.

Similarly, cultural borrowings would need to be excluded when determining which native

lexemes had been substituted through relexification. According to Muysken (1997), relexification occurs when the donor language phonetic shape replaces the sounds of a semantically equivalent lexeme in the recipient language. If no native lexeme exists, as in the case of cultural borrowings, then relexification cannot take place. Therefore, examples such as *radiyu* ‘radio’ (5) and *grabadora* ‘recorder’ (6) are examples of adlexification in the sense that vocabulary is added and not replaced.

- (5) Intonsi lindu **radiyu**-da trayi-shka  
 Then nice radio-ACC bring-SD  
 ‘Then it turned out they’d brought a nice radio.’  
 (Muysken 1988: 418)

- (6) **Grabadora**-da trayi-mu-ngi  
 Tape recorder-ACC bring-CIS-2  
 ‘Bring the tape recorder’  
 (Muysken 1988: 418)

The significance of distinguishing early lexical loanwords and cultural borrowings from native lexemes that may be possible candidates for relexification cannot be overstated. Muysken (1997) and Bakker (2003) argue that no intermediate or transitory stage between Quichua and Media Lengua exists, an assertion that is based on the estimated lexical gap between 10-40% in Quichua and 90% in Media Lengua. They never clarify the methods they employed to ensure that existing historical borrowings and cultural borrowings in early-20th-century Quichua were not included in their calculations of relexification. If this omission diminishes the estimated lexical gap between the two varieties, the language change toward Media Lengua would appear more gradual and on par with other accounts of lexical borrowing.

A related methodological question with regard to quantitative measures of two different lexica pertains to the decision a fieldworker and linguist makes when documenting additive versus substitutive lexical borrowing. The ideal method would calculate the loanword percentage of the source language and BML from the same community during the diachronic period the change takes place. In the case of Media Lengua, the results were compared to regional Quichua 60 years after the change had occurred (Muysken 1981, 1988). Since the Media Lengua communities that surround the town of Salcedo were historically closer in

proximity to the Spanish-speaking town and the roads that led to larger urban areas, the level of Spanish loanwords in this area prior to the emergence of Media Lengua is unknown and can be assumed to be higher than in the highlands. Our only recourse is to rely on word lists and dictionaries of Quichua prior to, or around, the beginning of the 20th century and employ them as historical documents supporting a particular lexical analysis. Two problems arise from this approach. In the case of Quichua, dictionaries that describe the central Ecuadorian dialects of the 19<sup>th</sup> century do not exist. Also, if they were available it still would not be a reliable source of Spanish loanwords in Quichua given the tendency of philologists and linguists to present a language as “uncontaminated” by foreign influences. Rhodes (2000) describes a situation in which lexicographers of Michif (Laverdure & Allard 1983) chose the standard French form for ‘snowshoe’ *ratchette* over the more rural Métis French *soulier de nige* despite the awareness by the researchers that they are adlexemes, the former connoting ‘snootiness’ and the latter more colloquial language.

### **3.3 Re-examining the evidence for Media Lengua**

As was discussed in earlier sections, Media Lengua is claimed to have emerged out of Quichua-Spanish bilingualism in the Salcedo region of Ecuador, specifically the communities located in the foothills surrounding the town of Salcedo. According to Muysken (1997), the varieties of highland Quichua spoken by the *cargadores* ‘marketplace workers’ and *campesinos* ‘farmers’ in this area used between 10-40% loanwords from Spanish, most of which maintained Spanish phonology while some conformed to Quichua phonology, a distinction that he identified through the presence or absence of mid-vowels. He observed that 90% of the Media Lengua lexicon including basic vocabulary, had Spanish etyma, each adapting to Quichua phonology. He argues that the *obreros* ‘construction workers’ who began migrating to the capital city during the 1920’s were the Media Lengua innovators. He describes them as Quichua-dominant bilinguals who learned urban, *mestizo* Spanish at work in order to communicate with other Spanish monolingual supervisors and fellow workmen. Based on folk linguistic accounts of Media Lengua diffusion, Muysken depicts its spread to other Quichua monolinguals in the community as a socio-linguistic phenomenon of indicating a group identity that contrasted with rural Quichua communities in the highlands and the urban mestizo society in the towns and cities. He observed that Media Lengua was used exclusively within the community and rarely spoken in the city or in the highlands.

Muysken first published data on Media Lengua in 1979, two years after his published dissertation on the Quichua verb (1977) and the co-authored Quichua dictionary with Louisa Stark (1977). He presented on Media Lengua in several other publications (1981, 1986, 1988, 1989, and 1994), arguing for its genesis through processes of relexification. But despite Media Lengua's clear divide between its Spanish lexicon and Quichua grammar, Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 233) questioned the differences between Media Lengua and the local Quichua spoken in the surrounding area. They pointed out that Muysken's own analysis fell short of answering questions about the social circumstances of how the language is used.<sup>12</sup> In Thomason (1997), a fuller description of Media Lengua is provided by Muysken, in turn establishing it as a prototypical BML in the language contact literature (Bakker & Mous 1994, Sebba 1997, Thomason 1997, 2001, Field 2002, Winford 2003, Matras & Bakker 2003), even though more linguistic data or new evidence regarding the social setting in which Media Lengua originated had not been collected since Muysken's original publication in 1979.

The most conspicuous feature of Media Lengua is its Spanish-derived lexicon and the historical period during which Muysken claims it had replaced native Quichua lexemes. Yet, he highlights three primary Media Lengua innovations that he claims are not found in Quichua: regularization of loanword verbs; freezing—adapting Spanish phrases into a single Media Lengua word; and reduplication of root morphemes.

His argument that these innovations are particular to Media Lengua is founded on the idea that if BMLs are full-fledged, autonomous language systems, they will undergo structural changes that are different from those of the source language (Muysken 1997, Bakker 2003). Muysken's argumentation is undermined by the fact that other research in the Andes, including his own (on the topic of "reduplication" in Adelaar & Muysken (2004)), shows us that all of these features have been discussed either as common outcomes of language contact with Spanish or already existing features in Quichua, and therefore, are not particular to Media Lengua. The analysis in this section gives further evidence that Media Lengua could have developed alongside other dialects of Quichua, undergoing similar language contact processes.

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<sup>12</sup> The shortcomings discussed by Thomson & Kaufman (1988) were in reference to Muysken's (1981) first full-length article on Media Lengua in English.



### 3.3.1 Claimed Media Lengua innovations

#### 3.3.1.1 Regularization

Muysken argues that the regularization of Spanish irregular verbs in Media Lengua constitutes an innovation. In order for the impact of such an assertion to be understood, we will first have to examine how other Spanish-verb borrowings in Quichua have occurred and the manner in which irregular verbs from the donor language are borrowed with regard to regularization.

Generally speaking, there is no evidence that Spanish fusional affixes have been incorporated into the morphosyntactic frame of Quichua, with the exception of some frozen expressions. Therefore, the irregular forms of the Spanish verb would not be a likely candidate for lexical borrowing. For instance, Spanish irregularity in the present tense is most prominent in 1<sup>st</sup> person singular forms while other forms of the verb are regular with the exception of some stem-changing vowels (e.g., *decir* → *dice-* ; *tener* → *tiene-*). In table 3.4, the conjugations in the first row “1-sing” have a different stem than the other verb forms and this makes them irregular. This irregular form is not borrowed into Quichua, but rather, it is the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular or the infinitive form. Base forms for borrowing and code-switching are either *tini-* or *tine-*, but never *tingu-* for *tener* ‘to have.’

	<b>Decir</b>	<b>tener</b>	<b>hacer</b>	<b>estar</b>
1-sing	<i>Digo</i>	<i>tengo</i>	<i>hago</i>	<i>estoy</i>
2-sing	dice-s	tiene-s	hace-s	está-s
3-sing	dic-e	tiene	hace	está
1-pl	dec-imos	tene-mos	hace-mos	esta-mos
2-pl	dice-n	tiene-n	hace-n	está-n
3-pl	dice-n	tiene-n	hace-n	está-n

**Table 3.4 Irregularity in Spanish present tense: 1st-person singular form**

The Quichua verbal paradigm is comprised of stems that are entirely regular and take affixation to mark number and person. Quichua’s agglutinative structure allows lexical roots to remain unaffected when inflectional suffixes are added to the stem. Verbal stems remain unchanged and are marked for number, person, subordination, and tense through affixation.

	<b>Ni-</b>	<b>Chari-</b>	<b>Rura-</b>	<b>Ka-</b>
1-sing	Ni-ni	Chari-ni	Rura-ni	Ka-ni
2-sing	Ni-ngui	Chari-ngui	Rura-ngui	Ka-ngui
3-sing	Ni-n	Chari-n	Rura-n	Ka-n
1-pl	Ni-nchik	Chari-nchik	Rura-nchik	Ka-nchik
2-pl	Ni-nkichik	Chari-nkichik	Rura-nkichik	Ka-nkichik
3-pl	Ni-kuna	Chari-kuna	Rura-kuna	Ka-kuna

**Table 3.5 Regularity in Quichua verbal stems**

In table 3.5, the verbal roots do not change when they undergo inflection. This regular word-stem system applies to loanwords and can be construed as having a regularizing effect.

When Spanish verbs are typically borrowed into Quichua, either the infinitive or the present 3<sup>rd</sup>-person-singular form is copied as the new Quichua verbal root. The root then conforms to the morpho-syntactic and phonological systems in Quichua. This means that when an infinitive verbal form is borrowed, the Spanish infinitive marker /-r/ is dropped since Quichua does not have native verbal stems with root-final /r/ and the mid-vowels may be raised to high vowels. When the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular form is borrowed, only the mid-vowels may be raised and monophthongization occurs. To this borrowed stem, Quichua affixation is attached.

<b>Media Lengua</b>	<b>Spanish Infinitive</b>	<b>Sp 1sg</b>	<b>Sp 3sg</b>	<b>English</b>
<i>i-</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>voy</i>	<i>va</i>	"go"
but: <i>bamu-chi</i>	← <i>Sp vámonos</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> plural command)			"let's go"
<i>da-/dali-</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>doy</i>	<i>da (dale)</i>	"give"
<i>bi-</i>	<i>ver</i>	<i>veo</i>	<i>ve</i>	"see"
<i>asi-</i>	<i>hacer</i>	<i>hago</i>	<i>hace</i>	"do"
<i>ri-</i>	<i>reírse</i>	-	<i>rie</i>	"laugh"
<i>sabi-</i>	<i>saber</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sabe</i>	"know"

**Table 3.6 Media Lengua adaptation of Spanish irregular verbs (Muysken 1997)**

Clearly the borrowing of *i-* 'go' indicates that the original Spanish form is infinitival /ir/ (table 3.6). In the remainder of the Spanish loanwords in Quichua, no features exist that would conclusively indicate whether the form originated from the Spanish infinitive or 3<sup>rd</sup> singular. For example, Q. *sabi-* could be derived from either Sp. *saber* or Sp. *sabe*.

**(7) Borrowing and “regularization” of Spanish *saber* in Quichua**

ML: **no sabi-ni-chu.**  
 not know-1-NEG  
 Q: **mana yacha-ni-chu**  
 not know-1-NEG  
 Sp: **no sé**  
 no know.1.S

“I don't know”

(Muysken 1997)

Since in Quichua all verb stems are regular, no other borrowing process even exists, one in which irregular verbs could be maintained when borrowed from Spanish. Because Spanish is a fusional language where the person and number markers are expressed by a single morpheme, especially with 1-person singular present, it would be odd for the irregular Spanish form not to be regularized. It is never the case that a Spanish inflected verbal form is borrowed and then marked a second time in Quichua for person and number as in table 3.7.

<b>Spanish Infinitive</b>	<b>Ser</b>	<b>Tener</b>
Sp. & Q. 1P-singular forms	* <b>soy-ni</b>	* <b>tengo-ni</b>
Sp. & Q. 2P-singular forms	* <b>eres-ngui</b>	* <b>tienes-ngui</b>
Sp. & Q. 3P-singular forms	* <b>es-n</b>	* <b>tiene-n</b>
Sp. & Q. 1P-plural forms	* <b>somos-nchi</b>	* <b>tenemos-nichi</b>
Sp. & Q. 2P-plural forms	* <b>son-nguichi</b>	* <b>tienen-n</b>
Sp. & Q. 3P-plural forms	* <b>son-n</b>	* <b>tienen-n</b>

**Table 3.7 Hypothetical Spanish verbal roots in Quichua when Spanish irregularity is maintained**

As it turns out, all the developments that Muysken considers specific to Media Lengua are also found in Spanish borrowings into Quichua. Borrowing the infinitival (*tener* → *tini*) or 3rd-singular present (*tiene* → *tini*) and treating it as a regularized verbal stem is a typical borrowing mechanism in Quichua (table 3.8) and not an innovation particular to Media Lengua.

Quichua	Sp Infinitive	Sp 1sg	Sp 3sg	Engl
<i>pidi-</i>	<i>pedir</i>	<i>pido</i>	<i>pide</i>	“ask”
<i>kai-</i>	<i>caer</i>	<i>caigo</i>	<i>cae</i>	“fall”
<i>abla-</i>	<i>hablar</i>	<i>hablo</i>	<i>habla</i>	“talk”
<i>kiri-</i>	<i>querer</i>	<i>quiero</i>	<i>quiere</i>	“want”
<i>kuzina-</i>	<i>cocinar</i>	<i>cocino</i>	<i>cocina</i>	“cook”
<i>bini-</i>	<i>venir</i>	<i>vengo</i>	<i>viene</i>	“come”
<i>tini-</i>	<i>tener</i>	<i>tengo</i>	<i>tiene</i>	“have”

**Table 3.8 Regularization of Spanish irregular verbs in Quichua** (Salcedo corpus)

Due to its inconspicuous characteristics, few researchers have even written about this process or have described it as “regularization.” In this light, the regular-irregular status in the Spanish verbal structure should not, and does not, play a significant role in the Quichua or Media Lengua processes of lexical borrowing.

### 3.3.1.2 Reduplication

Reduplication, a morphological process that repeats or copies the lexical stem (8) was offered as another Media Lengua innovation, but again it is commonly found in several Quichua dialects.

#### (8) Reduplication of Spanish borrowing *breve* → to ML *brebe-brebe*

ML: *anda-y brebe-brebe kuzina-ngi.*  
 go-IMP quick-quick cook-2.S  
 Sp: *anda a cocinar breve.*  
 go.IMP to cook-INF quick

‘Go cook quickly’ (Muysken 1997: 223)

While referencing (8), Muysken (1997) notes that “in neither case would we encounter reduplication in Quichua” (223). Yet, reduplication in different dialects of Quichua is discussed extensively in the literature on Andean languages and cross-linguistic comparisons on the topic. Moravcsik (1978) cites several different grammatical and semantic uses reduplication can have in Quichua, dealing with quantity, plurality, emphasis, and repetition of an event. Several different functions of reduplication in Pastaza Quichua are provided in Nuckolls (1996). Inkelas & Zoll’s (2005) survey of reduplication cites several examples from Haullago (Huánuco)

Quichua in Peru, drawing on early studies from the 1980's (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Weber 1989). The topic is even addressed in Adelaar & Muysken (2003): "An interesting but widely neglected aspect of Quichua morphology is the existence of several types of root reduplication both in the verbal and in the nominal sphere." (232)

- (9) **Rakta-y=rakta-y**-ta-m                      xagu-ra-ya-:  
 Thick-INF=thick-INF-ACC-AFF      clothe-STA-PRG-1S  
 "I am dressed warmly"                      (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 232-233)

The practice of reduplication in Quichua has appeared even as a substrate influence in the local varieties of Spanish. Many forms of reduplication are common throughout Andean Spanish, in emotive morphemes, object pronouns, and content words.

- (10) Hay ciertas personas que hablan **limpio limpio** Quichua.  
 'There are some people who speak clean, clean Quichua.'  
 Pero acá hay que comer **pura pura** plaza no más.  
 'But here one has to eat pure, pure plaza that's all.'  
 (Escobar 1997: 92)

Reduplication in Quichua is clearly documented in several different regions of the Andes and has permeated the speech of Andean Spanish; therefore, it does not constitute an innovation in Media Lengua.

### 3.3.1.3 Freezing

Muysken reports on "freezing" in Media Lengua which occurs when Spanish-derived phrases are treated as a single lexical unit. Notice that almost all of the examples of freezing in table 3.9 begin sentences and are frequently employed in conversations. I argue that these strings of words function more as discourse markers and/or idioms than a frozen lexical phrase because the latter tend not to occur in different parts of the sentence or varied syntactic environments, with the exception of *nuwabi-shka*.

Spanish	Borrowed in →	Media Lengua	English Gloss
No ha habido	→	Nuwabi-shka	"there has been no . . ."
No hay	→	núway	"there is no . . ."
Aún no	→	aúnu	"not yet"
A mí	→	ami	"me"
En qué	→	inki	"what"

**Table 3.9 Spanish lexical phrases freezing in Media Lengua (Muysken 1997: 384)**

Carpenter (1982) in his account of Central Ecuadorian Quichua lists several frozen phrases.

Spanish	Quichua	English Gloss
en que	inki	‘in what’
mas que	maski	‘even though’
por que	purki	‘because’
o sea	usiya	‘or rather’
de una vez	dunabis	‘all at once’
despues de	puydsi	‘after’

**Table 3.10 Freezing in Quichua from Spanish lexical phrases (Carpenter 1982: 225-26)**

Freezing, as a language contact phenomenon in the Andes, is a common occurrence in many varieties of Quichua and also a common feature of Spanish loanwords and phrases in Ecuadorian Quichua. It does not appear to have significant influence on the recipient language’s structure either in contemporary Quichua or in Media Lengua particularly because these phrases are utilized as discourse markers and occur at the beginning of the utterance. Thus, the introduction of “frozen” expressions from Spanish does not change the internal grammar of Media Lengua or Quichua and should not be considered a structural innovation.

### 3.3.1.4 Summary of Media Lengua innovations

Muysken’s assertion of Media Lengua innovations has been used as part of the evidence for Media Lengua’s distinct characteristics in contrast to the local varieties of Quichua; however, as I have shown in this section, these features are not particular to Media Lengua as several Quichua dialects have undergone similar, if not, identical changes. We find yet another example in which Media Lengua is undistinguishable from local varieties of Quichua, supporting the thesis that the two are the same, qualitatively speaking.

### 3.3.2 Recorded data and sample size of Media Lengua

Another concern often discussed in relation to the study of Media Lengua is sample size (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The Media Lengua data set recorded in 1974-76 and 1978, comes from only five speakers—3 native speakers and 2 non-native speakers of Media Lengua—from presumably two different households. Muysken collected three speech samples for a total of four hours of conversation: the first sample recorded a couple in their 30's who identified themselves as native Media Lengua speakers; the second sample is of the same couple, but this time with their children; and the third recording is of a 37-year-old native speaker with two adult non-native speakers. It is important to note that Muysken (1981:53) observed “Media Lengua-Spanish code-switching as well as innovations within ML” in samples #2 and #3. Since this does not occur with sample #1, we might assume that the children in sample #2 and the non-native speakers in #3 are responsible for the code-switching and innovations, but this is not clarified. In Muysken's methodological explanation, he does not specify how instances of code-switching were accounted for in the total count of Spanish-derived content words in Media Lengua. He also does not indicate in his discussion on Media Lengua innovations which constructions were contributed by the non-native speakers. Finally, no other demographic or socio-cultural information is given on these five speakers, such as level of Quichua or Spanish proficiency, occupation, education level, the communities in which they lived, or their self-ascribed ethnic identity.

Figures 2.7 and 2.8 of chapter two illustrate the estimated geographical regions of Media Lengua's influence in the 1970's. Muysken observed Media Lengua speech on both sides of the valley between 2650-2800 meters above-sea-level which would roughly include 15-20 communities. His estimate is based on recorded data that can safely be characterized as “limited” considering the geographical expansion of Media Lengua compared to the number of consultants. It is not clear if both households belonged to a Media Lengua community on the western region of the valley or one household resided on the western foothills while the other on the eastern. Whatever the case may be, the data collected by Muysken are so limited in quantity that they cannot possibly cover the whole range of basic vocabulary or the geography of so many communities. Also, the kind of sentences that Muysken elicited covers only a small part of the social range in which language is used.

### 3.3.3 Basic vocabulary in Media Lengua and Quichua

Basic vocabulary plays a central role in historical and contact linguistics because high-frequency lexemes have the tendency to resist change (Hock & Joseph 1996). As I discuss in chapters 1 and 3, the rate of Spanish adlexification and/or replacement in Quichua's core vocabulary is important in determining this type of language change. Essentially, more examples exist of languages that have experienced heavy lexical borrowing with little change to the basic vocabulary than languages that have entirely replaced both non-basic and basic vocabulary.

For instance, the most successful resistance to borrowing is offered by BASIC VOCABULARY, words referring to the most essential human activities, needs, etc., such as *eat, sleep; moon, rain; do, have, be*, or function words essential in syntax, such as the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*, the definite article *the*, or conjunctions like *and, of, if, and when*.

(Hock & Joseph 1996: 257)

Hock and Joseph (1996) observe that several language varieties in South Asia show similar patterns to Media Lengua in that almost all of the content words are replaced with English equivalents, with the exception of pronouns, function words, and basic vocabulary e.g., a heavily-mixed professional wrestler language variety in Kannada (Sridhar 1978). One of Muysken's strongest pieces of evidence that Media Lengua evolved along a qualitatively different path than lexical borrowing is the extent to which the basic vocabulary of Quichua was replaced with Spanish lexemes. He states:

What is particular about Media Lengua is not so much that it contains Spanish words (many dialects of Quichua do as well), but that *all* Quichua words, including all core vocabulary, have been replaced.

(Muysken 1988: 409)

The problem is that Muysken overstates the case of relexification in the basic vocabulary of Media Lengua and lacks empirical support—even in his own compilation of the Swadesh list, the only piece of evidence he provides for basic vocabulary (Muysken 1997: 421-23). He states that 90% of the basic vocabulary in Media Lengua contains Spanish-derived lexemes, yet when the relexified words in the Swadesh list are calculated, the actual number is only 65%.

Since Muysken (1997) compiles Media Lengua's core vocabulary through recorded



interviews, all of the words on the 208-word Swadesh list did not occur during his data set: 91 of the 208 words did not appear in the corpus. Of the remaining 109 words in the Swadesh list, 33 are the same in both Quichua and Media Lengua—either as a Spanish loanword that had already been borrowed (e.g., #34 “dust”: Q = *pulbu* and ML = *pulbu*), or a word autochthonous to Quichua that is used in Media Lengua (e.g., #109 “wife”: Q = *warmi* and ML = *warmi*) (Muysken 1997: 421-23). This is significant because if the lexeme had already been borrowed from Spanish into Quichua, it could not have been relexified. And if the Quichua lexeme remains in Media Lengua, it also, by definition has not been relexified. Recall that relexification posits lexical replacement without any stage of adlexification. Of the 78 Swadesh words that remain, 7 more were common doublets in the regional dialects of Ecuadorian Quichua during the 1970’s, verifiable by the Quichua-Spanish dictionary co-authored by Muysken (Muysken & Stark 1977). For example, “to sleep”: Q = *durmina* is listed in the Muysken and Stark (1977) Quichua dictionary as well as the Media Lengua Swadesh list (Muysken 1997).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, Muysken’s Swadesh list for Media Lengua can only substantiate that 71 of the 109 core vocabulary words were relexified, or 65%.

Apart from the fact that the Media Lengua Swadesh list was compiled using the recorded data of only five consultants, Muysken’s comparison of the basic vocabularies from Quichua and Media Lengua also has methodological limitations. While the Swadesh list for Media Lengua was compiled through recorded data from semi-formal interviews, the Quichua list was gathered through elicitation. It is certainly possible that elicitation of Quichua Swadesh words would evoke a Quichua response rather than a Spanish one. A question might read, *En quichua como dirías ‘agua’?* (“How would you say ‘water’ in Quichua?”), to which a consultant would offer a Quichua word instead of a Spanish one. Similarly, during recorded conversations in Media Lengua and Quichua, the Spanish words might feel more permissible to the consultants and thus increase the use of Spanish in the tabulation of basic vocabulary. Other research and discussions on the observer’s paradox (Labov 1972) support the perspective that data collection methods have the potential to produce different results, especially when the difference is between elicitation and natural language use. To measure the effect of methodology in my research, I employed both elicitation and recorded interviews when compiling the Swadesh lists in Quichua

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<sup>13</sup> The following doublets were listed in Muysken & Stark’s (1977) Quichua-Spanish dictionary as borrowings in Quichua; however, they did not appear in the Swadesh list for Media Lengua (Muysken, 1997): *pelear* = *piliana*; *pegar* = *pigana*; *sierra* = *sirra*; *dormir* = *durmina*; *girar* = *jirana*; *vomitar* = *gumitana*; *ancha* = *anchu*.

(results in chapter 5).

When measuring the degree of change quantitatively, the different approaches used in gathering data and calculating the percentage of loanwords may produce different results. For example, in an early study of Tlaxcalan Nahuatl, Hill and Hill (1977) reported on Spanish-to-Nahuatl relexification with the speakers in the Malinche regions of Puebla and Tlaxcala. They documented that during daily activities, hispanicisms and Spanish lexical borrowings in Nahuatl reached 40% in certain topics of conversation. They compared their findings to Nahuatl data reported 12 years previously by Bright and Thiel (1965), and concluded that such an abrupt shift to Spanish borrowings (from 0 to 40%) must have reached the level of a creole language—thus, their use of the term “relexification” to describe this increase in such a relatively short period of time. They ultimately attributed the influx of hispanicisms in Nahuatl to different elicitation processes—Bright and Thiel (1965) conducted more formal, one-to-one interviews without any other native speakers of Nahuatl present; Hill and Hill (1977) employed a more spontaneous and “natural” interview style while several Nahuatl speakers witnessed and participated in the recordings, mostly taking place in their own backyards and inside homes. This change in elicitation technique explained the perceived increase in Spanish loanword percentages. They maintain that consultants in Bright and Thiel’s study probably would have produced similar levels of hispanicisms under similar speech contexts. In the end, Hill and Hill (1986) altogether abandoned notions of relexification and mixed languages in favor of syncretic conceptualizations of language change in order to account for the type of situational variation that they observed in Mexicano and Nahuatl.

### **3.4 Language syncretism**

Hill & Hill’s notion of linguistic syncretism (1986) is relevant in our study of Media Lengua and Quichua because of the various forms of bilingual speech that can be observed in Quichua and Spanish-speaking communities around Salcedo. Syncretic speech is characterized by the speakers’ strategic and dynamic use of linguistic material produced through daily bilingual interactions e.g., lexical borrowing, code-switching, convergence, interlanguage. A common result of syncretic speech is “the suppression of a relevant opposition under certain determined conditions” (Kurylowicz 1964, quoted in Hill & Hill 1986: 57). In other words, linguistic elements from two different languages that are historically in “opposition” with each other may not be viewed as such by the speakers and/or may appear in either language.

In their study of Spanish and Nahuatl (*Mexicano*) contact in the Malinche region of Mexico, Hill and Hill (1986) detail the linguistic repertoire of speakers and how it relates to the social lives of the speech community. They argue that the innovative work done by the speakers of syncretic *Mexicano* is driven by their performance and evaluation of both varieties, giving equal importance to the structural and lexical components between languages as to the cultural and sociolinguistic bases of language change. Linguistic syncretism in the Malinche region of Mexico produced a “continuum of ways of speaking” (Hill & Hill 1986: 58).

The idea that two systems are simultaneously applied to a linguistic form was characterized by Haugen (1956) as “interference”, though his use of the term referred to contact-induced change through “imperfect” learning. Recognizing the creative process of second-language learning and the sometimes idiosyncratic rule systems developed by language learners, today the term “interlanguage” is preferred over “interference” or “transfer” (Hock & Joseph 1996). When interlingual outcomes become wide-spread within a community, they may develop into a long-lasting consequence of contact. The institutionalization of interlingual phenomena approximates Woolard’s (1998) description of “bivalency” or “bilingual simultaneity”—linguistic material that belongs as much to one code as it does to the other. She argues that this type of “bivalency” is employed as a resource by speakers to develop new interactional and social meaning, and not as an impediment to communication or second language learning, contrary to some of the pejorative connotations with which the term “interference” or “interlingual” has been associated.

In most cases, contact phenomena—lexical borrowing, code-switching, interlanguage, structural convergence, language shift—are examples of bivalency in that linguistic features may belong simultaneously to both languages. An example of this is shown by Álvarez-Cáccamo (1990) in how TV announcers and sports officials in northwestern Spain often speak “Galician in Spanish” by using Galician prosody with the structure typically found in standard Spanish. He claims that the hybridity in these speech forms makes it difficult to determine what language is actually being spoken. Rather than understand the use of linguistic syncretism as a deficiency of second language learners, the goal of this line of research examines the ways in which speakers exploit aspects of their linguistic repertoire in different speech contexts. Álvarez-Cáccamo (1990) shows how one particular speaker’s use of Galician prosody permits him to claim the authority as soccer official [referee] while at the same time he evokes the familiarity of the “guy-

next-door” through the use of Galician prosody.

Furthermore, the seemingly unruly nature of syncretic speech undermines the binary distinctions made between discrete linguistic codes. In the study of bilingual speech practices, it has been noted that the process of reducing ambiguity for the purpose of classifying particular segments of bilingual speech into binary, discrete language systems has led to minimal concern for other compelling language elements e.g., prosody (Álvarez-Cáccamo 1990). Approaching the study of language contact with a deeper concern for bivalency and syncretism, in addition to the traditional areas of linguistic inquiry, only provides a fuller account of the complexity inherent in language contact phenomena.

One such attempt at this kind of integration is carried out by Makihara (2006) in her study of Spanish and Rapa Nui syncretic speech on Easter Island. She observes language syncretism in every speech variety “as accents, words, grammatical elements, phrases, and genres are mixed within and across speakers’ utterances” (733). Similar to the bilingual practices in syncretic Mexicano (Hill & Hill 1986), syncretic Quichua and Spanish in local speech is characterized by a spectrum of intermediate forms from which the speakers create, conventionalize, control, and deviate.

Makihara understands these intermediate styles as an interactional norm between speakers, yet there are differences among the varieties. In order to place these differences within a matrix of social and interactional meaning, basic features of the speech styles need to be situated within a larger frame of a linguistic repertoire. At either end of the speech continuum in Easter Island, Makihara places Rapa Nui and Chilean Spanish and in the middle, two syncretic varieties, Rapa Nui Spanish of L1 Spanish speakers (R2S1, younger generation) and Rapa Nui Spanish of L2 Spanish speakers (R1S2, older generation). She argues that the two types of Rapa Nui Spanish interact with Rapa Nui and Chilean Spanish in instances of bilingual simultaneity in addition to other bilingual practices. As a result, both varieties, R1S2 and R2S1, have augmented the overall communicative repertoire and social meanings on the island.

These theoretical and methodological frames serve the study of language contact by detailing the transformative mechanisms that accompany processes of language maintenance, shift, and convergence. Approaching the study of contact phenomena in this way—as reciprocal developments of multiple speech varieties—sharpens our theoretical focus of how linguistic innovations are employed and ignored, given the social evaluation by members of a speech

community. These processes of recognition and their embeddedness in social relations show us that distinct ways of speaking are not only recognized as distinct languages the moment they become unintelligible to the monolingual speakers of the source language. Part of understanding these mediations, e.g., from social practice to the institutionalization of language, depends on accurate descriptions of the interactional fields that promote, prohibit, and naturalize the use of interlingual codes in multilingual contexts.

In his account of prolonged language contact, Hock (1991) weighs the importance of interlanguage(s) in the course of structural convergence among distinct language varieties. This continued development of interlanguages over the course a several generations (and centuries) becomes reciprocally informed and changed, producing a bidirectional dynamic which in turn affects subsequent interlanguages. Similar to the descriptions of syncretic languages (Hill & Hill 1986, Makihara 2006), the features of these interlanguages may belong to more than one language (Hock 1991). From a larger scope of diachronic change, the deeply complex role of bilingual simultaneity in language convergence may well be attested. However, in a narrower diachronic (or even a synchronic) view, a sketch of convergence may manifest as multiple styles in syncretic interaction.

In chapter two, I documented the influences from Spanish to Quichua and from Quichua to Andean Spanish. These are well established changes, mostly developed during the centuries of language contact between the two languages. The hispanicization of Quichua which has undergone heavy lexical borrowing from Spanish shows a type of gradation of which the most extreme sentences appear similar if not identical to *Media Lengua*. This is to say that *Media Lengua*-type sentences represent only one dialectal composite along a larger continuum. We began to conceptualize part of this continuum in chapter two with the general treatment of local vernacular Quichua and rural Andean Spanish.

However, for a fuller description of syncretic speech actively employed and created by the bilinguals in the highlands, other interlingual features must be included in the overall communicative repertoire. Especially relevant is the use of Quichua particles and case clitics in local Spanish (chapters 5 & 6) and Spanish loan translations in Quichua (chapter 6), both signs of strong “cross-fertilization.” Moreover, if we add to the analysis the structural Quichua influence on Spanish, the lexical influence of Spanish on Quichua, and the occasional utterances that look very much like Muysken’s *Media Lengua*, we can explain some of the processes that

might have been involved when Media Lengua-type sentences were institutionalized as a recognizable language variety.

# Chapter Four

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## Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

My research in Salcedo intends to provide the following: (a) a detailed investigation of the linguistic variation in the area, in terms both of the lexicon and of linguistic structure, and (b) an in-depth study of the social factors correlating with this variation. The purpose of this dual approach is to make it possible to make an informed choice between Muysken's Relexification Hypothesis and a more socio-cultural approach (Hill & Hill 1986, Makihara 2006) when examining Quichua and Spanish language change in the Salcedo region.

Hill and Hill's (1977, 1986) longitudinal study of Mexicano (discussed in chapter 3) shows how different methodological approaches have the potential to influence results. Since I directly compare lexical variation in Salcedo Quichua and how it might have changed over the last 30 years, I collected data through elicitation procedures that closely follow those used by Muysken in collecting Quichua and Media Lengua data in the 1970's. Muysken (1981, 1997) used the Swadesh list to estimate the core vocabularies for Quichua and Media Lengua, compiling the former through elicitation and the latter through informal, recorded interviews. After measuring the level of Spanish borrowings, I examine the most prominent structural changes in Quichua and Spanish in order to determine how these changes may relate to lexical borrowing. I also collect data on language attitudes and ideologies, examining how extra-linguistic factors such as religious and political affiliation influence highlanders' perceptions of the Quichua language and the younger generation's shift toward Spanish.

The data for this dissertation come from three inter-related studies focusing on (1) Spanish loanwords in Quichua; (2) structural change in Quichua and Spanish; and (3) sociolinguistic factors of language change. All three studies relate to Muysken's work on Media Lengua by determining which language contact developments function in concert to produce Media Lengua-like sentences in the community. Many of these contact features in Spanish and Quichua are described (in chapter 5 and 6) as belonging to a bilingual continuum. In interpreting the speech forms that represent these different varieties along the bilingual continuum, I incorporate ethnographic observations that focus on the social organization, language attitudes,

and interpersonal relationships of the community members in Salcedo. In this way, I am describing both a broader picture of language change in Quichua as well as a detailed analysis of specific innovations that have been recently developed in the region.

## **4.2 Fieldwork**

### **4.2.1 Fieldwork Site**

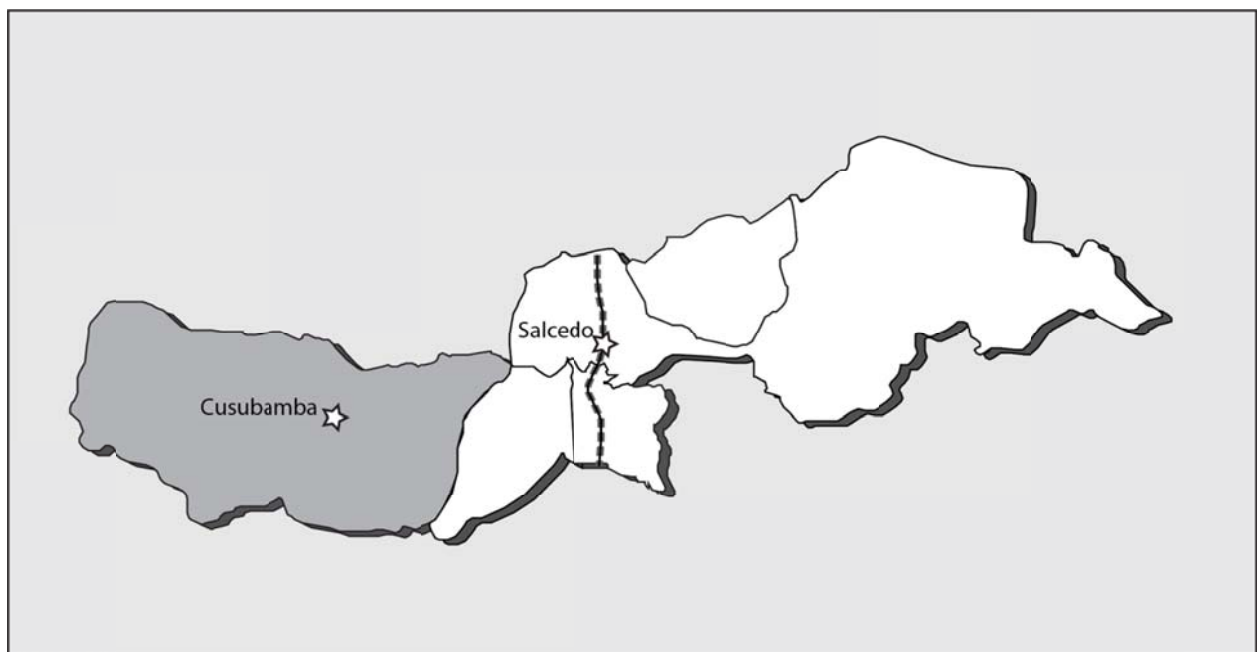
In chapter two, I explained how the trend toward Spanish monolingualism in the last 30 years has extended to most of the communities surrounding the town of Salcedo and even to most of the ones in the eastern highlands (see figures 2.7 & 2.8). Three factors may explain this shift to Spanish in the eastern *sierra* of Salcedo in contrast to the western region. First, there was a marked demographic change as a result of emigration from rural Ecuador to Europe in the 1990's. A significant percentage of eastern highland residents between the ages of 18-35 received temporary work visas to Italy and Spain. In the communities of Sacha and Kumbijín, approximately 40% of this age cohort had spent extended periods of time in Europe, or were still living there when I last visited. As a result, the young adults and middle-aged parents in the eastern highlands simply have not maintained even a passive knowledge of Quichua due to the lack of contact with the elders in their community, that is, for having lived so many years abroad. Today, it is rare to hear Quichua spoken in any of the *asambleas* 'town hall meetings', *mingas* 'community public works projects', or even at home in the eastern highlands of Salcedo (cf. Haboud 1998). In comparison, the three Cusubamba communities in the western highlands where I conducted fieldwork only had two community members living abroad (less than 1%).

Another factor relates to the contrasting micro-climates between the eastern and western highlands of the Salcedo valley. The eastern region receives more rain due to the winds that carry moisture from the Amazonian jungle. This has allowed eastern farmers to rely on dairy production, a more profitable trade than potato farming, and to manage farms without an over-dependence on irrigation. As a result, a higher percentage of young adults have had the opportunity to attend high school, and subsequently, a military school or police academy—both of which require an initial monetary investment. The access to higher levels of education brings these residents into closer contact with urban Spanish speakers, which in turn, contributes to Quichua language attrition.

Finally, a wide, well-paved road that connects the town of Salcedo to the towns in the



Amazonian jungle runs near, past, or through many of the eastern communities. This road gives residents quick and inexpensive access to Salcedo, and in turn, to other cities along the Pan-American Highway. The relatively high number of trucks on this road allows farmers to make several trips each week to the town of Salcedo and to gain access to a consistent commercial market where they can sell milk and other agricultural products. Having easier access to these commercial markets does improve a rural family's profitability and often times allows them to spend more time in bigger towns, such as, Salcedo, Latacunga, and Ambato. A much higher percentage of families from the eastern communities in Salcedo rent small apartments in these towns than families from the west. Many times the offspring will attend school in town while the parents and grandparents live and work in the highlands. As a result, the children spend less time with Quichua speaking kin and tend to become less bilingual.



**Figure 4.1** The *cantón* of Salcedo, the town of Salcedo, and the parish of Cusubamba  
**Source:** Adapted from Autocad files from the *Ayuntamiento de Salcedo*, Ecuador.

For many decades, the western highland communities in the parish of Cusubamba have been relatively more isolated and impoverished than the eastern ones—a fact that may explain the higher levels of Quichua maintenance in the western communities. Only the most remote communities in the east (e.g., Galpón, Tualín, and La Ibiza) have maintained Quichua-Spanish

bilingualism. In contrast, over 20 of the 23 communities in the Cusubamba parish located in the western highlands have significant percentages of Quichua speakers and bilingual use in the home. For this reason, I chose to continue fieldwork in the summers of 2007 and 2008 in the Cusubamba parish, where several communities have maintained bilingualism and noticeable changes in Quichua have occurred under the influence of Spanish.

Yet another reason for this fieldwork site relates to the migration history of the mostly male, mostly middle-aged residents of Cusubamba. Their first wave of urban migration from the highlands began in the mid-1970s. Muysken estimates that Media Lengua speakers began to migrate to Quito in the 1920s. Recall that he locates Media Lengua communities near the town of Salcedo, which is a 45-minute ride from the parish of Cusubamba. By comparing the results of highlander Quichua from Muysken's data collected in the 1970s (50 years after they had begun to migrate) with the highlander Quichua of the 2000s (30 years after they began to migrate), I am able to give a more complete perspective of how lexical influences from a culturally dominant<sup>14</sup> language, Spanish, affects change in the recipient language, Quichua.

#### 4.2.2 Collecting Data

The fieldwork for my study was conducted over a period of three years (July-August 2006, May-August 2007, and May-June 2008). I participated in *mingas*<sup>15</sup>; annual celebrations and festivals; attended *asambleas*<sup>16</sup>; and assisted with dairy and agricultural chores in several different farming and migrant communities the parish of Cusubamba. All of the recordings that are presented in this dissertation were taken from Laguamasa (LAM), a farming community that sits between 10,600-11,300 feet above sea level. Although many of the other communities were made up of bilingual speakers, I chose to focus on only one community in order to enhance the socio-cultural descriptions of the speakers. Given the limitations I had on time, attempting to interview a maximum number of consultants from a maximum number of communities in

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<sup>14</sup> The term "culturally dominant" is used to describe the political, religious, economic, and linguistic influence of the Spanish-speaking *mestizo* society. It should not be interpreted as an evaluation of a group's culture or social organizational practices.

<sup>15</sup> *Minga* is a pre-Columbian tradition of collective labor for projects that will benefit the entire community. The application of a *minga* can vary and depends on the circumstances that a group of people or family may find themselves confronting. Typically, *mingas* involve a construction project or harvest that requires a large number of workers.

<sup>16</sup> *Asambleas* are meetings that occur within a community and are generally managed by elected officials. During these weekly or bi-weekly gatherings, issues related to local governance and agriculture are discussed, debated, and decided. Typically, topics pertain to water distribution, education, *mingas*, taxes, construction projects, and land ownership.

Cusubamba would have taken away from the type of detailed ethnographic work that is required when documenting language change and bilingual practices. Also, I was particularly aware that three months of living in the community had passed before many of the bilingual consultants would speak frankly with me about their language use. In fact, the more detailed and insightful data came during my last visit which I attribute to the consultants' comfort level with me.

The interlocutors of each speech event listened to the recordings and assured the accuracy of my transcriptions. The comments they offered while listening to their own recordings provided me with a good source of information on language perceptions and attitudes as well as how to interpret different speech registers (Gumperz 1982). As mentioned earlier, one of the strongest pieces of information produced by Muysken (1997:408) for the claim that Media Lengua had been institutionalized, and thus had become a discrete language, is the meta-linguistic commentary by his bilingual consultants. During my interviews, I allowed the consultants to comment more precisely about specific Quichua features and their attitudes, feelings, and judgments about their own language usage.

Most families asked me to visit their homes at dusk when all of the farm work had been completed. A typical visit began by sharing a meal, talking about life in the community and in the U.S., and asking about each other's families. Usually, I would ask questions in Quichua about their upbringing, migration, education, marriage, and family life. Often times the father of the household would be the first to take the floor; however, questions that were directed toward women were not necessarily diverted back to the men. Although it was challenging for women to enter into these conversations, they did so eventually. Once this occurred, the husband and wife, along with other relatives, would continue the conversation in Quichua to verify that their information was accurate and to add to each other's narratives. On occasion, folk stories were shared along with several accounts of the mistreatment their relatives endured throughout the *hacienda* and *wasipungo* eras.

After the informal interviews and conversations were recorded, I read the Swadesh list in Spanish, asked the consultants to translate it into Quichua, and encouraged them to list any Spanish borrowings that they tend to use when speaking Quichua. Next, I asked consultants to rate themselves, their relatives, and their neighbors as bilingual speakers—that is, whether they were dominant in Quichua, Spanish or both languages in terms of comfort and competence. Finally, I asked specific questions about the status of Quichua, its future, how it has changed, the

meaning of “Chaupi Lengua” and “Media Lengua” speech, and how they would describe a “good” and “poor” Quichua speaker.

The Salcedo corpus used for these studies consists of about 80 hours of Spanish and 30 hours of Quichua recordings, of which 5-minute segments were randomly selected for transcription. A total of 7,000 words were transcribed from 30 consultants. Due to the nature of conducting fieldwork around the schedules of busy farmers and migrants, some of the recordings for particular consultants are longer than others. In several cases, consultants who had talked at length about life in the highlands when my recording device was not available are only represented through peripheral comments made when I happened to be recording somebody else in the community. Therefore, some consultants contribute more to the corpus than others, a fact that is controlled when I tabulate the total loanword percentage for each consultant. Fortunately, I am able to show the ways in which accommodation affects speech style by measuring Spanish loanword use for each consultant while they speak to different interlocutors.

Because many of these interviews and conversations reveal personal details about the consultants’ lives, I adhere to the convention of concealing the identities of the informants with coded symbols (“S2” = “Speaker #2”). Additional information about these language consultants is provided in this study where it is relevant to the discussion of bilingualism and language contact.

#### **4.3 Main objectives for the three studies**

The first study calculates Spanish loanwords in basic and non-basic vocabulary in order to document lexical growth in Quichua in the last 30 years. These findings are compared to Media Lengua and Quichua data from the 1970s. To that end, I apply a methodology similar to Muysken’s (1979, 1981, 1997) when collecting data and calculating loanword percentages. I examine the percentage of Spanish lexical influence in highlander Quichua, the rate at which it has changed since the 1970s, the effects on basic vocabulary and the pronoun system, and the degree to which Spanish words have replaced or been added to native Quichua words.

In the second study, I document some of the structural changes in Quichua and Spanish that have occurred in Salcedo. Specifically, I document and discuss (a) the new uses of native Quichua verbs due to the calquing of certain kinds of Spanish morpho-syntax, and (b) the Quichua suffixes that are employed in local varieties of Spanish. By and large, these structural changes have emerged relatively recently and generally do not appear in the research on Spanish-

Quichua contact. Yet, when these newer developments are included in our analysis of established language contact outcomes, our understanding of a community's linguistic practices, and thus the continuum of speech styles that is used by bilingual speakers, becomes enriched and whole. In discussing the range in which a speaker uses different varieties or styles of speech within a community, structural *and* lexical patterns must be studied integrally in order to accurately frame the nature of language change.

Finally, I incorporate other sociolinguistic tools that describe how the consultants' social background and the social organization of the community relate to the use of Spanish loanwords. I measure the effect of five social variables on speakers' use of Spanish loanwords using parametric and non-parametric ANOVAs in order to determine if one particular group (e.g., male migrants to the city) is employing more Spanish loanwords than other social groups. I then employ other sociolinguistic approaches that have been adapted from research on the relationship between language change (specifically lexical change) and social factors (Hymes 1973, Hill & Hill 1986, Fields 2002), such as language attitudes and self-reporting. The sociolinguistic aspects of this research intend to shed light on how and why Spanish loanwords disseminate in a speech community and what it means to be a Chaupi Lengua and Quichua speaker. Socio-cultural knowledge about the bilingual speakers who produced particular speech styles may contribute to our understanding of Media Lengua-type sentences, how they are used, and for what purposes they serve.

#### **4.4 Quantitative analysis**

##### **4.4.1 Measuring the distribution of Spanish loanwords in different social groups**

As a subset of studies #1 and #2, I describe the relationship some social factors have with Spanish lexical borrowing in Lagumasa. Specifically, I try to answer the following questions: Which social group tends to use loanwords more or less frequently? Who are the consultants with the extreme values? Who are the primary innovators of Quichua lexical change? In this quantitative analysis, I use descriptive statistics to depict how Spanish loanwords are used by consultants with varied social backgrounds and group together consultants based on the following "traditional" variables: Education, Age, Gender, Bilingualism, and Urban Migration. The specific sub-groups for each variable were based on the rationale described below.

For the independent variable "education," I created three categories based on the institutionalized divisions in the Ecuadorian education system: None (no years of formal

education), Primary (6 years of school), and *colégio* (12 years of school). Although three community members in their early twenties were enrolled in technical colleges (post- *colégio*), none of them claimed to be Quichua speakers and therefore do not appear in the corpus. For the most part, the three categories of education in this study are generational: the elders (60+ years old) have had no formal education; the majority of the 40-60-years-old group has attended at least primary school, and the under-40-years-old cohort consists of three graduates from *colégio*.

Due to the abundance of consultants between the ages of 40-60 years old, there is not an equal distribution of consultants for each category. The under-40-years-old group, though mostly comprised of passive bilinguals, has only a few who would claim to be Quichua speakers. Unfortunately, the oldest cohort in the community (70 years old and older) is not represented by very many people as a result of the relatively low life expectancy for this region. For this reason, this social variable is not evenly distributed with consultants for each sub-grouping.

#### **(1) Age groups and number of consultants**

20-39 (3 consultants)  
40-49 (8 consultants)  
50-59 (7 consultants)  
60-69 (8 consultants)  
70+ (4 consultants)

Although the numerical boundaries for these groups are divisible by the arbitrary numbers “10” or “20” e.g., 20-39, 40-49, 50-59 . . . these groupings more-or-less reflect other social movements that have occurred in the community. The men in the 50-59 age group were the first to migrate to Quito during the mid-1970s, and therefore, have had exposure to urban Spanish monolingual speech for more than 3 decades, a type of interaction that the older cohorts did not experience. Likewise, consultants in the 40-49 year-old bracket were the first group of *Laguamaseños* to attend primary school.

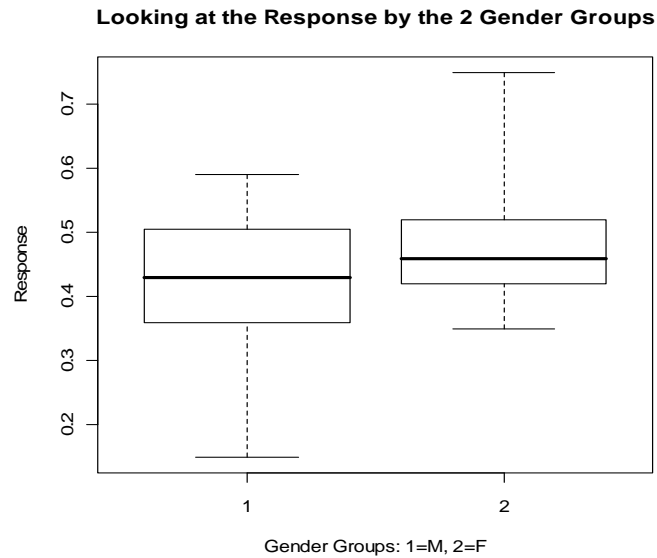
The independent variable of “migration” is grouped into 0, 1-9, and 10+ years of work experience in the city, which in most cases was either Quito or Ambato. Since urban migration for the residents who ultimately remained in the highlands is typically circular and sporadic, the calculation represents an accumulative, as opposed to consecutive, total. As was mentioned above, the first cohort of men who migrated to Quito did so in 1975. Since this initial wave, the majority of young men have supplemented their modest incomes from farming with earnings from construction work in Quito. There are some families who still have not worked in Quito

and who own enough land to make a living from potato farming (category 1 = 0 years of migration); others who find work in Quito whenever their crops have been damaged or overrun with disease (category 2 = 1-9 years of migration); and finally the largest group, who work year-round in Quito, earning almost all of their income through construction work (category 3 = 10+ years of migration).

The level of bilingualism—one’s “preferred” and “stronger” first language—was determined using two measures. First, the bilingual consultant self-assessed her or his level of bilingualism on a scale of “Quichua dominant” / “Balanced” / “Spanish dominant.” Then, speakers who assessed their own level of bilingualism were also evaluated by at least two other consultants in the community. Without exception, the consultants’ self-assessments matched those of the two raters.

#### **4.4.2 Statistical Analysis: Box Plots and ANOVAs**

The dependent variable for all of the statistical analyses is the mean of the loanword percentage for each individual in the transcribed data. The Spanish loanword percentage, the dependent variable, are matched with the 5 social categories mentioned above, the independent variables. Two statistical methods are applied to these five factor groups and the Spanish loanword percentages: Box-and-Whisker plots and ANOVAs. As can be seen in table 4.2, the Box-and-Whisker plot organizes dependent variable so that it summarizes the following 5 statistics: first quartile (bottom line of box), second quartile or median (dark line in the middle of box), third quartile (top line of box), smallest observation (bottom line of “whiskers” or dotted line), and largest observation (top line of whiskers).



**Figure 4.2 Example of Box and Whisker Plots**

These plots are used for summarizing the initial findings, organizing the results visually, and mapping the range of distribution among different groups. However, since many of the groupings have a different number of consultants for each category, it is necessary that the differences perceived in box plots are verified statistically. For example, for the independent variable “education,” 19 consultants attended primary school, while only 4 graduated from *colégio*. If the box plots show a decrease in the use of Spanish loanwords along levels of education, it will not be clear whether this is due to the behavior of 1 or 2 consultants in the *colégio* group or a result of their education. For this reason, ANOVA models are also needed in this analysis because they can be used to verify whether independent variables such as “education” are a statistically reliable factor in Spanish loanword use, given the difference in loanword percentage and the number of consultants sampled.

It is important to note that VarbRul, a computer program typically used for the statistical analysis of sociolinguistic variables, is not suitable for this particular project. Although VarbRul treats the relationship between dependent and independent variables, the dependent variable must be categorical and not continuous. Given the distribution of individual consultants’ loanword percentage as related to the community’s mean, creating dependent variable categories would have been arbitrarily applied. For this reason, loanword percentages were analyzed as a



continuous variable in order to capture the entire range of values. The appropriate statistical model for this kind of dependent variable is ANOVA.

#### **4.5 Ethnography and analysis of language attitudes**

In order to achieve this level of sociolinguistic description, many researchers apply more than one complementary methodology during their field work (Hill & Hill 1986, Eckert 2000). Furthermore, many of these socio-cultural approaches overlap in procedure and objective. Some scholars, for example, find participant observation and ethnography to be more or less the same methodology. For this research project, I will borrow concepts from ‘Ethnography of Speaking’ (Hymes 1964, 1974, Bauman & Sherzer 1974) and participant observation (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, Denzin, 1989), both of which involve what Geertz (1973) calls ‘thick description’, writing about the setting with as much detail as possible, ‘making the familiar strange’ (Kaomea 2003), avoiding given cultural assumptions, and questioning the tacit organization of daily life. These detailed and critical observations were essential for developing inferences about the indirect responses I received during the interviews, especially when the consultants discussed the role of language in the community through the use of metaphor and analogy. As will become apparent in this research, the *emic* perspective of different Quichua varieties is intimately related to attitudes about the social consequences of claiming to be a Quichua and/or Chaupi Lengua speaker.

An ethnography of speaking, ‘the grammar of context,’ is one of the many ways to understand sociolinguistic change. The goal is to synthesize observable group behavior and define the features required for “membership” and acceptance to a group. Hymes (1964) has argued that communicative competence is much more than knowing the grammar or lexicon of a language; it is the awareness of interactional rules: *what* can be said to *whom*, *when*, *how* and *where*. These interactional rules are culturally relative, usually implicit, and generally subtle and complex.

Since the goal of this investigation is to collect linguistic data, historical information, and metalinguistic commentary on the way people in this region “mix” language varieties, it would have been beneficial to observe and record linguistic performances in various settings and during different speech events. Unfortunately, the limited domains in which Quichua is performed in Lagumasa did not permit me to observe the same speakers in a wide range of social spaces. With the exception of short commentary in Quichua by the elders during their weekly

*asambleas*, the majority of the corpus is based on recordings in different households, all of which occurred after the sun had set and dinner was being served. At every recording session, I brought up the topic of “Chaupi Lengua” and asked consultants to identify its characteristics, its speakers, and its meaning.

In my field notes I recorded other aspects of daily life that do not appear in the recordings for this corpus. I took notes of the physical and interpersonal settings in the community (maps of houses, kinship relations, religion, business partners) as well as of individual houses (type of construction, ownership of vehicle(s), amount and location of land). I documented participant interactions during various community events (leadership and service positions, holding the floor during public speeches, language-choice deciders). I also paid careful attention to gossip and particular alliances that were not solely developed among kinship relations. Of particular interest was the division between 7<sup>th</sup> Day Adventists and Catholics because of the former’s sudden increase in membership in the 1990s. The Adventists make up about 15% of the population of Laguamasa and strongly adhere to practices of sobriety, abstinence, and organizations that support women’s’ equal rights. The Adventists in Laguamasa have been demonized by the Catholic Church and many of its practitioners, which has caused conflict and disputes reaching to every aspect of life in the community. The behavior and influence of the Adventists has been a strong catalyst for “resetting” the social organization of the community in such a way that relationships developed through Adventist worship supersedes 3<sup>rd</sup> degree kinship constellations (niece, nephew, aunt, and uncle). The Adventist Church in Laguamasa worships on a more regular basis and conducts more services using materials in Quichua than the Catholic Church.

All of these field notes and observations inform the interpretation of the results in the first part of this sociolinguistic study. The analysis of variance between Spanish loanwords and social factors draws a general picture of how the dominant language is introduced and applied in this bilingual community. The ethnographic work attempts to pull this information together by adding important details of how speakers behave and identify themselves in relation to one another. I also focus on the circumstances under which Quichua is used and the decision-making process the consultants undergo when choosing to speak a particular language in the community. To accomplish this, I address the following topics during the informal interviews: the use of Quichua in the community; the “authentic” Quichua speakers; what it means to speak Chaupi

Lengua; the future of Quichua in Ecuador and the community; and what it means to be indigenous.

#### **4.6 Summary of methodology**

The three studies in this dissertation are inter-related and work in concert toward uncovering not only the outcomes, but the role Spanish lexical borrowing in Quichua may have in formulating Media Lengua-type sentences. The results from the lexical borrowing study (Study #1) are used in the sociolinguistic study when identifying which social groups, if any, employ relatively more or less Spanish loanwords in Quichua. Similarly, the ethnography on linguistic attitudes uses the results from Study #1 to distinguish between “pure” or “unpure” uses of Quichua from the perceptions consultants may have regarding particular Quichua speakers. Finally, in locating the native lexemes and lexical borrowings that are used most frequently in Quichua, I investigate how Quichua bilinguals have not borrowed Spanish lexemes that we would expect them to have borrowed based on the other Quichua dialects in the Andes. Some of these “stand alone” Quichua verbs have experienced structural changes, primarily through calquing Spanish grammatical structures. The results from the sociolinguistic study are used to shed light on the consultants who have developed these newly developed loan translations. Ultimately, the intent of this second study is to determine whether the bilinguals who expand the morpho-syntactic use of the Quichua verb are the same speakers who employ more Spanish loanwords. All of this information is used to describe the types of language varieties that exist in Lagumasa and the kind of bilingual speaker who tends to use them.

# Chapter Five

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## The evidence of lexicon and structure

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the results from the three studies discussed in chapter four: Spanish lexical borrowings in Quichua, Quichua calquing of Spanish auxiliary verbs, and Quichua particles in local varieties of Spanish. In study #1, I report on the overall percentage of Spanish loanwords in Quichua, the effects borrowing has had on Quichua's basic vocabulary and pronoun system, the prevalence of adlexification and its relationship to word frequency, and the role methodology plays in compiling the Swadesh list. Study #2 examines the structural changes that have occurred in Quichua, specifically, the syntactic consequences of borrowing specific Spanish compound-verb constructions. Study #3 views Quichua particles as a variable phenomenon in Spanish vernacular speech, a topic that has not been thoroughly explored in the literature on language contact in the Ecuadorian Andes. The description of these linguistic developments is the basis for analyzing speech in Salcedo along a bilingual continuum starting from the more standard forms of Spanish and Quichua at either end, regional dialects closer together, and finally the local syncretic varieties that meet in the middle. At the center of the continuum is Muysken's Media Lengua which shares several features with Hispanicized Quichua and Quichuacized Spanish. In chapter six, I investigate the role social factors, speech accommodation, and linguistic ideology play on the emergence and practice of the different phenomena presented in the three studies in chapter 5.

### 5.2 Study #1: Spanish lexical borrowing in Quichua

The study on lexical borrowing in Quichua is organized into four subsections that focus on the general issues of rate-of-change and adlexification. The percentages of Spanish-derived word types are calculated and compared to Muysken's (1981, 1997) results on Quichua and Media Lengua. Because basic vocabulary plays such an integral part in Muysken's claim that Media Lengua is a bona fide BML, I tabulate the Quichua basic vocabulary from the Salcedo corpus using similar methods—from elicited responses, which he did for Quichua, and recorded data, which he did for Media Lengua. I also examine word frequency as an extra measure to

verify the results from the Swadesh list. It is revealed that many of the non-basic Spanish loanwords are “cultural” borrowings (Weinreich 1953)—Spanish words that historically have no Quichua equivalent—while a significant amount of the basic lexicon is additive. Both of these results have implications for the relexification hypothesis which states that native Quichua lexemes were replaced wholesale by Spanish phonological shells. Adlexification, either as a cultural borrowing that does not semantically match a native lexeme (e.g., *prisupwistu*- ‘budget’) or a form that alternates with the use of a native equivalent (e.g., Sp. *pan*- and Q. *tanda*- ‘bread’), functions as the central process for lexical change in Salcedo Quichua. This is mainly a result of bilingual speakers’ ability to select from a large number of content items from Spanish that do not have semantically equivalent counterparts in Quichua. This observation has implications for how we conceptualize the influence relexification might have on the composite change of the recipient language’s lexicon. Finally, I show the effects adlexification has had on the pronoun system in Quichua.

### 5.2.1 Spanish content words in Quichua

During the recorded conversations that are used to compile the Salcedo corpus, the consultants used Spanish-derived content words more than other Quichua speakers in the Salcedo region during the 1970’s (table 5.1).

<b>Spanish Loanwords</b>	<b>Types</b>
Quichua (1970’s)	Range: 10-40%
Salcedo Quichua (2000’s)	Range: 15-78% Mean: 58%
Media Lengua (1970’s)	Mean: 90%

**Table 5.1 Overall lexical types from the Salcedo corpus (2006-08) and those from the 1970’s**  
(Muysken 1997:378)

The results from the Salcedo corpus are difficult to compare to Muysken’s Spanish loanword percentages for Quichua and Media Lengua. On the one hand, Muysken estimates Spanish borrowings in Ecuadorian Quichua in the 1970’s with a scale that ranges from 10% to 40%, but does not provide the mean among the total number of speakers. On the other hand, he calculates the mean in Media Lengua, 90%, without providing a range of percentages among the five consultants. The results from the Salcedo corpus suggest that Spanish loanwords have risen precipitously in the last 30 years, that is, if we assume Muysken’s percentages are accurate. If a

mean percentage of loanwords in 1970's Quichua could be approximated to be around 25% (halfway between 10% and 40%), the current percentage in Salcedo (58%) has more than doubled. Likewise, the percentages on the high end of the range have nearly doubled, 40% (1970's Quichua) to 78% (Salcedo Quichua). Notice that the total range of variation has widened in Salcedo Quichua, from 30 percentage points (10-40%) in the 1970's to 63 percentage points (15-78%) in the 2000's. A brief examination of each consultant's demographic information in Appendix D reveals that the lower percentages of Spanish loanwords are not produced by the elders in the community, a result that is quite surprising since the elders, who are all native Quichua speakers, are assumed to have been less influenced by the Spanish lexicon given that they have not attended school or migrated to Quito. The social factors that make up this variation will be discussed at greater length in chapter 6.

These initial results have implications for our study of Media Lengua genesis. Muysken (1997) states, "There is no variety attested in between the most Hispanicized Quichua (40% Spanish types) and Media Lengua (90% Spanish types)" (378). This claim no longer holds for the Quichua spoken in the western highlands of the Salcedo region. In fact, within the Lagumasa farming community, both lower and higher levels of Spanish loanwords are consistently used by a wide range of Quichua speakers. Although none of them use Spanish borrowings at the level reported by Muysken (1997), 90%, the manner in which they use them is the same, i.e., Spanish lexemes are plugged into the morpho-syntactic frame of Quichua and conform to the recipient language's phonology. Whether or not the percentages rise to the level of Media Lengua in the coming years, these results suggest that what Muysken observed in the 1970's could have emerged through heavy lexical borrowing; therefore, scenarios that are posited under the relexification hypothesis would not be necessary to explain this phenomenon. The important sociolinguistic background to these findings (discussed in chapter 6) informs us that for speakers in the Salcedo region, *Chaupi Lengua*<sup>17</sup> is defined linguistically as any sort of lexical borrowing, code-switching, or interlanguage regardless of the degree of Spanish lexical influence. This folk linguistic definition strongly contrasts with Muysken's characterization of Media Lengua which does not show any type of variation in loanword percentage or patterns of

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<sup>17</sup> It is worth repeating that for the current dissertation, the term "Media Lengua" refers to Muysken's data while "Chaupi Lengua" is reserved for Media Lengua-like sentences and other "mixed" codes that can be found in the Salcedo corpus, that is, the data I collected in the Salcedo region.

code-switching. The initial results of Quichua from the Salcedo corpus in table 5.1 do show a wide range of variation in Spanish borrowing that coincides with the descriptions offered by the consultants.

### 5.2.2 Elicitation and Corpus-based Swadesh Lists for Quichua

In this section, I account for the core vocabulary of Quichua by using the 208-word Swadesh list and compare it to the Media Lengua and Quichua lists from the 1970's. Muysken (1997) reports different quantitative results of basic vocabulary in the text (378) than the appendix (421). This discrepancy, discussed in Chapter 3, is related to how the data were compiled—the Quichua Swadesh list was created from elicitation while the Media Lengua list was developed from recorded interviews. In order to compare the results from the two data collection techniques, I composed two lists, one from elicited responses (24 consultants) and the other from the Salcedo corpus (composed of recorded conversations from 30 consultants). All of the 24 consultants from the elicitation of the Swadesh list participated in at least one of the recorded interviews.

The compilation of the two Swadesh lists for Quichua produced two important results: (1) the Swadesh list constructed from the corpus data (37%) produced three times more Spanish loanwords than the one compiled from elicitation (12%) (See table 5.2 below), and (2) the elicitation results were homogenous despite the consultants' different levels of bilingualism.

Methodology	Language Variety	Native Quichua Vocabulary	Spanish Loanwords	# of Word
Elicitation	Muysken's Quichua (p 387)	87%	13%	208
	Salcedo Quichua	88%	12%	208
Corpus	Salcedo Quichua	63%	37%	90
	Muysken's Media Lengua (p 421-23)	10%	90%	118

**Table 5.2 Elicitation and corpus-generated Swadesh Lists for Quichua and Media Lengua** (Muysken 1997, 387 & 421-23 and Salcedo Quichua 2006-08).

Comparing the two Swadesh lists gives us several insights into the “life” of the basic Quichua vocabulary from the Salcedo corpus. First, the results from the two lists, elicitation and corpus, i.e. informal interviews, show us that when a Spanish-derived word from the basic vocabulary is used in speech, it does not necessarily indicate language attrition, but rather a preference for the Spanish loanword. The results in table 5.2 show that 12% of the Swadesh list is comprised of Spanish borrowings (the Quichua equivalents no longer exist) while in recorded conversations, 37% of the list is derived from Spanish. This suggests that about 25% of the words on the Swadesh list are known, but not preferred in ‘natural’ speech. An example of this would be the Spanish-derived root *muri-* ‘die’ which is preferred in speech to native Quichua *wañu-* ‘die’ although *muri-* was rarely mentioned as a possible Quichua word during the Swadesh list elicitation. Based on the corpus data alone, we might have concluded that the native Quichua lexeme had been replaced; however, this was not the case as all 24 consultants were able to provide *wañu-* during the elicitation of the Quichua Swadesh list.

This example leads to the second finding from these results which relates to the consistency in performance from all of the 24 consultants during the elicitation procedure. Not only were the L1 Spanish speakers able to translate as much of the Swadesh list as the L1 Quichua speakers—the results for every consultants was above 80% Quichua—the words they were not able to translate into Quichua were mostly the same. For example, none of the consultants could provide Quichua equivalents for *animal-* ‘animal,’ *viridi-* ‘green,’ *fruta-* ‘fruit,’ or *luna-* ‘moon’ (see Appendix C for complete list). This suggests that about 12% of the basic vocabulary in Quichua is comprised of lexemes that originate in Spanish and are relatively old borrowings. Further verification can be found in Muysken’s estimate for Quichua in the 1970’s, which was 13%.

The results from the two Swadesh lists that I compiled provide evidence that a different methodology can produce a different outcome. In the case of the Swadesh lists that were derived from the Salcedo corpus, the recorded interviews produced a representation of basic vocabulary that is comprised of 3 times as many Spanish loanwords than the list that was developed through elicitation. The difference reported by Muysken (Q. = 13% compared to ML = 89%) cannot be attributed entirely to the error of employing two incongruent methodologies, but together with the other issues of empiricism and analysis (discussed in chapter 3), the gap between Media



Lengua and Quichua basic vocabulary may not be as extreme as he reported it to be. As I show in section 3.3.3, Muysken's list for Media Lengua was just over half-complete, and about 35% of the completed sections of Swadesh list was comprised of adlexemes or well-established borrowings in Quichua.

Overall, we might view the type of wordlist methodology as a difference between *knowledge* of core vocabulary (elicitation) and *practice* of it (derived from the corpus). The knowledge of core vocabulary has not changed much in Salcedo over the last 30 years (13% in the 1970's and 12% in the 2000's), but the practice of employing Spanish borrowings in Quichua has increased (from 10-40% to 15-78%). These Spanish loanword percentages are essentially the only measurements we have when comparing the growth of Spanish lexical influence in Quichua over the last 30 years. Although they are admittedly not ideal and may lack in specific details of topic and domain, these percentages do provide us with a rough estimate of language use and change from the 1970's to the present. However, Muysken was not privileged to base his study on linguistic research that measured lexical change in the Salcedo region during the 1920's-40. The lack of historical and linguistic records is only one factor that complicates his argument for relexification. Since the claim that Quichua basic vocabulary changed quickly and completely during Media Lengua genesis plays such a significant role in classifying this language variety, the empirical evidence ought to be strong and conclusive, especially when we are relying on the data of only five consultants. Muysken's calculations of the basic vocabulary of Media Lengua are not accurate and the methodology to compare it to Quichua is also inadequate, two more elements that work against the relexification hypothesis for the case of Media Lengua.

### **5.2.3 Word Frequency and lexical borrowing**

A brief look at word frequency reveals that, similar to our findings in the Swadesh list, the most frequently used words are still predominantly Quichua while the least frequent words are overwhelming Spanish and level off at around 70% when the 600-800 most frequently used words are taken into account (table 5.3).

Word-Type Frequency	<b>1-100</b> Most Frequent	<b>101-200</b> Most Frequent	<b>201-300</b> Most Frequent	<b>301-400</b> Most Frequent	<b>401-500</b> Most Frequent	<b>501-600</b> Most Frequent	<b>601-700</b> Most Frequent	<b>701-800</b> Most Frequent	...
Percent Spanish Loanword	36%	41%	55%	60%	57%	64%	70%	70%	...

**Table 5.3 Word Frequency and Spanish lexical borrowing in the Salcedo corpus**

The word frequency results are important for our analysis because it gives added support to the results from the Swadesh lists, specifically the one based on the Salcedo corpus which reported 37% Spanish loanwords (table 5.2), a similar figure from the 200-most-frequent words, 39% (columns 1 & 2 from table 5.3). The “frequency” results confirm the general estimates for the basic vocabulary in Salcedo that were based on the Swadesh list (table 5.2). Through elicitation we know that about 12% of the basic vocabulary in Quichua has been replaced by Spanish lexemes while during informal interviews and casual conversations, 37-39% of the basic vocabulary is comprised of Spanish loanwords.

Table 5.3 shows how the most frequently occurring words are mostly derived from Quichua while the least frequent words are predominantly Spanish loanwords. This result is not unexpected as basic vocabulary is normally slower to incorporate lexical borrowings than non-basic segments of the lexicon. Yet, it is important to note the challenges we face as linguists in determining the boundary where the Quichua lexicon ends and the Spanish lexicon begins. The Salcedo corpus contains about 1000 word types, of which 58% are derived from Spanish. If a corpus were comprised of 2000 or 3000 word types, the overall level of Spanish loanwords would probably increase to 70% of the total Quichua lexicon. This estimate is based on the observation that about 70% of the least frequent words in the Salcedo corpus were derived from Spanish (see columns 6-8 in table 5.3). These words typically belong to semantic domains that are connected to life in the city, such as, technology, government, commerce, machinery, religion, and pop culture. Fields (2002) makes the observation that bilingual speakers in this type of contact situation “may select from an almost inexhaustible store of semantically transparent content items” (112). In this light, the limits of the Salcedo Quichua lexicon play a central role in ultimately distinguishing the overall loanword percentage, which for Muysken would determine whether we were observing Quichua with heavy lexical borrowing or relexified Media Lengua.

Several problems arise in attempting to take inventory of Quichua's "proprietorship" of the Spanish-derived non-basic vocabulary. The exclusion of nonce borrowings i.e., words that occur only once or twice in the corpus, may not be an accurate method in determining whether a Spanish lexeme has been borrowed into Quichua or code-switched. First, the number of tokens may simply reflect the size of the corpus. And second, certain topics of conversation may not evoke the use of some full-fledged lexical borrowings, and vice versa, some nonce borrowings may appear several times in the corpus due solely to the topic that was discussed while collecting data. As an alternative to enumerating the lexicon of Quichua, it might be possible to examine how particular Spanish loanwords in Quichua contribute to building social meaning in interactional contexts. In this way, we might be able to determine whether words have been borrowed wholesale without semantic or morpho-syntactic information (relexification), or borrowed and used with native words for a period of time before replacing them (adlexification).

#### **5.2.4 Adlexification**

One aspect of Quichua adlexification, specifically the use of Spanish loanwords with semantically equivalent Quichua native lexemes, plays an important role in the discussion of lexical borrowing and relexification. Apart from providing an accurate account of lexical usage, analyzing coexistent synonyms from two different languages may indicate the process in which lexical change is occurring. When large amounts of the lexicon are replaced with the phonological representations of Spanish semantic equivalents in a short period of time we can describe this process as relexification, that is, upon proof that the semantic information from the donor language was not transferred into the recipient language. Adlexification occurs when lexemes are added and, sometimes but not always, replace native words of the recipient language. This usually involves an intermediate stage where equivalents from the recipient and donor languages are used synchronically in the speech community. It is important to clarify that cultural borrowings are also instances of adlexification even though they do not pass through a stage during which they are used alternatively with native lexemes.

In the case of Media Lengua, this type of rapid lexical replacement (relexification) is claimed to have occurred at the same level with the content words, the core vocabulary, and the subject pronoun system. As we have seen in the previous section, the evidence for massive lexical replacement is not conclusive, especially when the basic vocabulary methodology is taken into account. With the pronoun system, Muysken (1997) shows a clear divide between

Ecuadorian Quichua and Media Lengua, the former is entirely Quichua-derived while the latter is Spanish-derived. The following sections clearly demonstrate that adlexification in the Salcedo corpus is the primary process in the change of basic vocabulary, non-basic vocabulary, and the pronoun system.

#### 5.2.4.1 Adlexification and Relexification in Basic and Non-basic vocabulary

When we examine the characteristics of the basic vocabulary in Salcedo Quichua, we can confidently state that roughly 12% consists of Spanish borrowings that have replaced native Quichua lexemes (probably over the course of several generations) and another 25% is made up of doublets, a type of “adlexemes” (see section 5.2.2). Word class is not a deterrent as doublets develop in nouns, verbs, quantifiers, demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, and subject pronouns (table 5.4).

Spanish loanword in Salcedo Quichua	Quichua equivalent in Salcedo Quichua	English Gloss
muri	wañu	die
bini	shamu	come, arrive
kima	rupa	burn
disi	ni	say
da/rigala	ku	give
asi	rura	do, make
pudi	washa	be able to
pinsa	yuya	think
añu	wata	year
dia	punchau	day
papa	taita	dad
niño	wawa	child
hinti	runa	people
yo	ñuka	I
nusutru	nukunchi	we
el	pay	he
malu	mana alli	bad
buinu	alli	good
un	shuk	one
poko/pokitu	ashalla/pitilla	little
otru	shuk	other
tudu	tukuy	all
isti/isi/akil/aki/alli	chay/kay/kaypi/chaypi	this/that/here/there

**Table 5.4 Adlexification of Basic Vocabulary in Salcedo Quichua (Salcedo corpus)**

Adlexification in non-basic vocabulary is particularly prominent with verbs while most of the cultural borrowings are nouns. The Spanish loanwords in tables 5.4 and 5.5 are used interchangeably with their Quichua counterparts, that is, without any semantic alternations.

Spanish loanword in LM Quichua	Q. equivalent in LM Quichua	English Gloss
sali	llukshi	leave (verb)
bindi	randi	sell (verb)
dija	kachari	allow, quit (verb)
anda	puri	walk, continue (verb)
lliba	apa	carry (verb)
traí	kisaspi/ wanllamu/apamu	bring (verb)
puíblo	llakta	town (noun)
sulu	washta	only (adverb)
krisi	wuiña	grow (verb)
kiri	manu	want (verb)
bayla	tushu	dance (verb)

**Table 5.5 Examples of adlexification of non-basic vocabulary for Salcedo Quichua** (Salcedo corpus)

Beyond the difference in word class between lexical borrowing in basic and non-basic vocabulary, a larger issue is at play with regards to adlexification and relexification. Since much depends on the presence of near-semantic equivalents, it follows that a native lexeme must first exist in the recipient language in order for relexification to occur. Adlexification, on the other hand, is additive and may be used alternately with a semantic equivalent or introduced as a cultural borrowing. When we consider that the cultural borrowings from Spanish are new concepts for the speakers of the recipient language, words such as the following must be categorized as products of adlexification: Q. *ilikutiru* from Sp. *helicoptero*, ‘helicopter’; Q. *kunfirmasun* from Sp. *confirmación*, ‘confirmation’; Q. *midiku* from Sp. *médico*, ‘physician’; Q. *prístu* from Sp. *pretexto*, ‘excuse’; Q. *bilin* from Sp. *violin*, ‘violin’; Q. *futu* from Sp. *foto*, ‘photograph’; and Q. *gringu* from Sp. *gringo*, ‘white foreigner.’

In order for this process to be verified in the case of Media Lengua, we would need to account for the borrowings that had already taken place before the onset of relexification, the patterns of adlexification, and also the significant number of cultural borrowings from Spanish that could not have replaced native lexemes. Therefore, if relexification had been a process in the emergence of Media Lengua, then it would only account for a small percentage of the overall

Spanish loanwords. The majority of the Spanish borrowings in Sacledo Quichua were comprised of either well-established borrowings, cultural borrowings, or doublets through adlexification.

#### 5.2.4.2 Adlexification and the Quichua Pronoun System

The pronoun system, similar to basic vocabulary, is less likely to be affected by lexical borrowing than non-basic lexemes. In the Media Lengua pronoun system, all of the Quichua subject pronouns were replaced by Spanish equivalents (Muysken 1997). In the Salcedo corpus, Quichua is beginning to incorporate Spanish subject pronouns. This type of pronominal adlexification is particularly prevalent with the first person pronouns *yo* (singular) and *nusutrukuna* (plural), derived from Sp. *nosotros* ‘we’ and the Q. plural suffix *-kuna*. The third person singular pronoun from Spanish *el* also appears in Quichua conversations, though less frequently than the first-person pronouns.

English	Spanish	Ec. Q.	Media Lengua	Salcedo Quichua			
				Q.native	#	Sp-derived	#
I	yo	ñuka	yo, miu	ñuka	77	yo	11
you(sing)	tú, usted (vos <sup>18</sup> )	kan/kikin	bos	kan/kikin	14/2	--	--
he	él	pay	el	pay	61	el	3
we	nosotros	ñukunchi	nustru	ñukanchic	51	nusutrukuna	26
you (pl)	ustedes	kan-kuna	bos-kuna	kankuna	1	--	--
they	ellos, ellas	pay-guna	el-kuna	paykuna	18	--	--

**Table 5.6 Word Frequency of the Pronoun System in Quichua**

In table 5.6, we observe how the three most frequently used Quichua subject pronouns in the Salcedo corpus—*ñuka* (77 tokens), *pay* (61 tokens), and *ñukanchi* (51 tokens)—align with the three Spanish subject pronouns that are employed in Quichua—*yo*, *nosotros*, and *el*. Typically, frequently used words from a closed class of free morphemes such as pronouns are more resistant to change than other aspects of the lexicon. Yet, if we review the overall results of the lexical study, adlexification in the pronoun system is not anomalous when compared to

<sup>18</sup> *Vos* as a 2nd-person singular subject pronoun was used in the area that is now Ecuador during the colonial period. In the Ecuadorian Andean region, it has slowly fallen out of favor and today only survives in the coastal lowlands (Penny, 1991)

other areas of the Salcedo Quichua lexicon: 58% of the content words and 37% of the basic vocabulary are comprised of Spanish borrowings. Also, other function words, such as demonstrative, quantifiers, and numbers have Spanish adlexemes. These adlexified Spanish subject pronouns (about 50%) are simply following a trend that is pervasive throughout the Salcedo region. It is interesting that the adlexification was observed with Spanish pronouns in the subject and not the object position. This may be related to the fact that both Quichua and Spanish are pro-drop languages and that the use of overt subject pronouns does carry special connotations, such as to emphasize contrast or convey emphatic speech.

### **5.2.5 Summary of Study #1**

In study #1, we see how Spanish lexical borrowings have doubled over the last 30 years. Today, well over half of the content words in Quichua highlander speech are derived from Spanish. These results show that an intermediate stage between Quichua and Media Lengua with regards to the lexical inventory exists. Although the findings in study #1 cannot be used as evidence for the existence of an intermediate stage in Quichua prior to the advent of Media Lengua, the vibrant growth and diversification of the lexicon in the Salcedo corpus suggests that Spanish borrowings are continuing to increase without any signs of slowing down. Importantly, the diversification of the Salcedo Quichua lexicon also shows that adlexification is the dominant process leading lexical change, and not relexification.

The results from the study of basic vocabulary also show significant change toward a more Spanish-dominant lexicon. We observed that compiling and calculating the core vocabulary changed drastically when different methodologies were employed: 37% from recorded speech compared to 12% from elicitation. Since Muysken applied two different techniques when estimating basic vocabulary—elicitation for Quichua and informal interviews for Media Lengua—his argument for a precipitous increase from Quichua to Media Lengua's basic vocabularies (from 13% to 90%) needs to be reexamined. The sharp contrast between the results from the two data collecting methods does not explain the relatively large gap between Muysken's Media Lengua and highlander Quichua in the 1970's; however, it does add support to the concerns that were raised in section 3.3.

Of considerable importance, more adlexification has occurred in the 2000's Salcedo data than in the 1970's Quichua data. 24 of the 33 Spanish loanwords from the Swadesh list that occurred in the corpus had Spanish and Quichua equivalents. This shows that if Salcedo

Quichua were to increase its Spanish loanword use to levels that mirror Media Lengua, we would have evidence that adlexification played a significant role in the change of the Quichua lexicon.

As regards to determining whether Spanish loanwords were substituted or added to existing Quichua equivalents, the issue rests on the semantic domains to which many borrowings belong. The overall percentages of adlexemes in Quichua are particularly strong with non-basic vocabulary, a finding that is due to the fact that many Spanish loanwords are cultural borrowings, e.g. *vakuna*- “vaccine”, *traktur*- “tractor”, *prisidinti*- “president”, *urkista*- “orchestra.” This means that a relatively large number of non-basic, cultural borrowings could not have been relexified since native lexemes were not present in Quichua. The subject pronoun system is beginning to incorporate three Spanish pronouns (*yo*, *nosotros*, and *el*) that coexist with their native equivalents, another sign that adlexification is playing a significant role in changing many different aspects of the Quichua lexicon.

### **5.3 Study #2: Structural change in Quichua**

From study #1, we learn that the use of Spanish loanwords is consistently growing in all aspects of Quichua vocabulary. In study #2, I examine the calquing of three complex verbs from Spanish into Quichua. Essentially, these are cases of structural borrowing without the phonological representation from the donor language. Unlike other instances of lexical borrowing that show minimal effect on the recipient language’s grammatical structure, these loan translations introduce new morphosyntactic constructions to Quichua.

We know from linguistic research in the Ecuadorian Andes (Carpenter 1982, Adelaar & Muysken 2004) that some derivational affixes have been introduced through borrowing, such as the diminutive *-ito/ita*, the agentive *-dor/-dur* and the *-ado*, from which past participles in Spanish are derived. These suffixes are used primarily with Spanish borrowings and have been brought into Quichua as complete unanalyzed units. Similarly, other structural changes have occurred in Quichua: higher frequencies of non-verb-final word order, the use of subordinators and conjunctions, and some hybrids and blends e.g., Q. *ima ura* from Q. *ima* ‘what’ and Sp. *hora* ‘hour’ which has replaced the native Quichua interrogative pronoun. In this section, I provide examples of these changes and represent other morphosyntactic developments that are occurring through loan translations, specifically, the expanding grammatical function of Quichua verbs as auxiliaries.



### 5.3.1 Well-established structural changes in Quichua

#### 5.3.1.1 Quichua word order and Spanish subordinators and conjunctions

The use of Spanish conjunctions and subordinators significantly changes the morphosyntactic constructions of Quichua. Many of these borrowings are currently used more frequently than the Quichua suffix morphology that traditionally has been used to mark similar functions. In table 5.7, we see how several of the borrowed subordinators have even conformed to Quichua phonology.

Quichua	Spanish	English Gloss
i	y	‘and’
u	o	‘or’
piru	pero	‘but’
sinu	sino	‘but rather’
tunsis	entonces	‘then’
ni	ni	‘neither, none’
inki	en que	‘in what’
maski	más que	‘even though’
purki	por que	‘because’
usiya	o sea	‘or rather’
anki	aunque	‘meanwhile’
kumu	como	‘like’

**Table 5.7—Spanish Conjunctions and Subordinators borrowed in Quichua (Carpenter 1982, Muysken 1997, 2005, Salcedo corpus)**

The word order of Quichua has changed under the influence of these Spanish function words. In (2), the suffixes *-shina* and *-ntik*, which are normally attached to nouns, are replaced by the Spanish comparative and conjunction *como* and *y*.

#### (2) A shift from Quichua suffixation to Spanish function words

Alku-shina → Kumu alku-ga ‘like a dog’  
 Wawa-kuna-ta kulki-ntik → Wawa-kuna-ta i kulki-ta ‘children and money’  
 (Salcedo corpus)

Notice how *kumu* appears before the noun as it does in Spanish while in canonical Quichua the suffix *-shina* is attached to the noun. Likewise, instead of adding the suffix *-ntik* to the last noun of the NP, the Spanish simple conjunction *i* ‘and’ is placed between the two

Quichua nouns it conjoins. The integration of Spanish conjunctions contributes to Quichua’s increasingly analytic grammatical structure in the sense that syntactic information is expressed through separate grammatical words rather than morphology.

**5.3.1.2 Expanded function of Quichua interrogative pronoun *ima*: copying Spanish’s subordination strategy**

Traditionally, Quichua’s *ima* and Spanish’s *qué* only overlap as interrogatives (3) and not as subordinators. That is, *que* in Spanish is both an interrogative and a subordinator while *ima* is only an interrogative in Quichua.

**(3) Examples of interrogative *qué* and *ima* ‘what’ in Spanish and Quichua**

Sp. ¿**Qué** haces? = Q. **Ima** ruranki? ‘what are you doing’

However, as diagrammed in table 5.8, several tokens of *ima* in the Salcedo corpus confirm that it is functioning both as an interrogative and subordinator in the same way *que* expresses these functions in Spanish.

<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Quichua</b>
Interrogative <i>qué</i>	Interrogative <i>ima</i>
<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Salcedo Quichua</b>
Subordinator <i>que</i>	Subordinator <i>ima</i>

**Table 5.8 Grammatical expansion of Quichua *ima* as subordinator** (Salcedo corpus)

The use of *ima* as a relativizer that introduces a subordinated clause is not typical in Quichua. Traditionally, Quichua employs four different verbal suffixes to mark a subordinated clause<sup>19</sup>, one of which *-chun* (‘different actor purposive subordinator’) can be observed in (5). We see in (4) and (5) that Quichua has adopted the subordinating features of Spanish by employing *ima* as a structural copy of Spanish’s *que*.

<sup>19</sup> The following verbal suffixes are used to mark subordination in Ecuadorian Quichua: *-kpi* ‘different actor’; *-shpa* ‘same actor’; *-chun* ‘different actor purposive’; and *-nkapak* ‘same actor purposive’.

#### (4) Use of Quichua *ima* as subordinator

Q. minga-mu ri-ju-g            warmi-kuna, na    yacha-ni-chu **ima** shaya-chi-ra-rka  
minga-CIS go-PRG-AGN woman-PL, NEG know-1-NEG **that** wait-CAU-RFL-PST  
Sp. mujeres que estaban yendo a la minga, no sabía **que** estuvieron paradas  
'Women that were going to the minga didn't know **that** they had stopped working'

(Salcedo corpus)

Salcedo Quichua also offers structures like (5), in which the new subordinator *ima* co-occurs with the inherited subordinator *-chun* in the same sentence.

#### (5) Quichua *ima* as subordinator together with Quichua subordinator *-chun*<sup>20</sup>

Q. ñucanchi ni-ju-nchi            **ima** pruyiktu wanlla-mu-**chun**.  
We        say-PRG-1PL        **that** project bring-CIS-SUB  
Sp. nosotros decimos **que** traiga un proyecto  
'We say **that** he should bring the project'

(Salcedo corpus)

This is not the only structure that Quichua has copied from Spanish with regard to *ima*. The Spanish borrowing of *hora* 'hour' in Quichua and its frequent use with Quichua *ima* 'what' has produced a new interrogative phrase that essentially has replaced the original Quichua word, *jaicapi* 'when.'

#### (6) Quichua calque of Spanish phrase "What time?" → "When?"

Sp. ¿Qué hora ?            →        Ec.Q. Ima ura?            'When?'

(Salcedo corpus)

These examples illustrate two significant trends in Quichua's grammatical structure that I will highlight in this chapter. The first trend focuses on the move from synthesis to analysis. This can be seen in how the relativizer *ima* precedes subordinate clauses, replacing the subordinating suffixes in Quichua: *-chun*, *-kip*, *-spa*, and *-kapak*. The second trend tracks how frequently used words, phrases, and verbal constructions in Quichua that have not relied on Spanish borrowing are more receptive to calquing and other structural change. Contrary to

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<sup>20</sup> *-chun*, a "Different Actor Purposive" subordinator, shows contrast between the actors of each clause as well as the activity that is being carried out e.g., "**I** do X so that **you** can do Y"

research in several different Quichua dialects (Muysken 1981, Carpenter 1982, Stark & Muysken 1977, Gómez-Rendón 2007), the Spanish loanword *que* does not appear in the Salcedo corpus. In place of lexical borrowing, it appears that speakers of Salcedo Quichua have copied the grammatical function of the Spanish relative pronoun but not the donor phonological “shell.” We will see in the remainder of this chapter how commonly used Quichua verbs that have not been adlexified or replaced tend to incorporate grammatical uses found in Spanish verbs with which they share semantic properties.

### 5.3.2 Loan translations in Quichua modeled on Spanish auxiliary and full verbs

Quichua traditionally uses a set of verbs that when used as auxiliaries can take verbal complements. Yet other grammatical functions in Quichua, such as causation, are expressed by suffixes that are marked on the main verb e.g., the causative suffix *-chi-* is added to the verbal root. Spanish employs periphrasis, specifically the use of auxiliary verbs, to mark these types of constituent relations e.g., Sp. *Me haces dormir*, ‘You make me sleep’.

The infinitival complements to auxiliary verbs in Quichua, when they do occur, are usually nominalized by *-y-da* or *-na-da*. Since the head of the VP in Quichua occupies the right most position, the verbal complement appears before the auxiliaries.

#### (7) Complex Verb Construction in Quichua: INF + *shuy-*

Puñu-y-da	shuy-ju-ni	
sleep-NOM-ACC	wait-PRG-1	
‘I’m waiting to sleep.’		(Salcedo corpus)

#### (8) Complex Verb Construction in Quichua: INF + *muna-*

miku-y-da	muna-ni	
eat-NOM-ACC	want-1	
‘I want to eat.’		(Salcedo corpus)

Following the periphrastic structure of some Quichua auxiliary verbs (7) and (8), a handful of Spanish verbs have been borrowed and inserted into this verbal construction of Quichua. In (9), Sp. *puede* (Q. *pudi-*) is inflected and takes an infinitival complement.

**(9) The use of Sp. *pudi-* in a Quichua complex verbal construction**

Miku-y-ta            mana pudi-ni  
 eat-NOM-ACC      NEG able-1  
 ‘I’m not able to eat’

(Salcedo corpus)

The Spanish borrowing *pudi-* in Quichua is an additive loanword, used alternatively with the Quichua verb of the same meaning, *usha-*. The two verbs, which in the Salcedo corpus are used throughout the community, have a similar relationship with the other constituents, which is, they both can take infinitival complements. In table 5.9, I list the most commonly used Quichua native and borrowed auxiliaries.

muna-	‘want’
shuya-	‘wait’
ni-	‘say’
yacha-	‘know’
mancha-	‘fear’
(Sp.) <i>pudi-</i> / (Q.) <i>usha-</i>	‘be able to’
(Sp.) <i>dija-</i> / (Q.) <i>tukuchi-</i>	‘quit’
(Sp.) <i>sigi-</i>	‘continue’

**Table 5.9-Quichua Auxiliary Verbs**

The auxiliary verb calques that I analyze in the next few sections are different from the Spanish borrowings in table 5.9 in that they generally replace the use of a suffix in Quichua and thus change the morphosyntactic structure.

**5.3.2.1 Shift to analytic verb construction –*chi-* → [INF + *hace*]**

In Spanish, the causative is expressed through a periphrastic verb phrase in order to show who or what controls the actions of others.

**(10) Spanish use of a periphrastic causative with an infinitival complement**

Me *hace*      *cantar* cada rato.  
 me make-3.S    sing    every time.  
 ‘She *makes* me *sing* all the time’

Quichua uses the modal suffix *-chi-* to express a similar relationship. In (11), *-chi-* depicts the agent or cause of death.

### (11) Causative suffix –chi- in Quichua

ñuka-ka ashku-ta wañu-ra-**chi**-ni  
1-TOP dog-ACC die-PST-CAU-1  
'I killed the dog.' (literally: 'I made the dog die')

(Salcedo corpus)

In Salcedo Quichua, the causative suffix –*chi*- can be substituted with the Spanish verb construction [*hace* + INF], though the constituent order in Quichua is different from Spanish and would appear in Quichua as [INF + *hace*]. In (12), the auxiliary function of *hacer* is inserted into the Quichua VP and expresses causality, in this case, how something is causing a person's foot to swell.

### (12) Spanish *hacer* borrowed and incorporated into the Quichua VP

ñuka chagui-chu-ga pungui-y-da **asi**-n  
my foot-DIM-TOP swell-NOM-ACC make-3.S  
'It makes my foot swell'

The closest semantic equivalent in Quichua to the lexical verb *hacer* 'to do, to make' is *rura*- 'to do, to make, to build.' In the (13), *rura*- 'to make' is used as a causative auxiliary verb instead of the nativized Spanish borrowing *asi*.

### (13) Spanish verbal construction [*hace* + INF] calqued in Quichua as [INF + *rura*]

chimunda baili-y-da **rura**-ngu-na  
later dance-NOM-ACC make-PST-3  
'Later they made him dance.'

By ordering the example sentences as (12) and (13), I am not implying that the diachronic change progressed in this manner. In fact, the Spanish loanword *hacer* 'to do, to make' has relatively few tokens in the Salcedo corpus. The causative function of [INF + *rura*-] was observed more often in the data than [INF + *asi*-]. It could be argued that the first step was to calque by adopting the Spanish structure while using Quichua's lexicon and morphology; the second step would have involved the borrowing of the Spanish verb (*hace*). If this were the case, the speakers would have incorporated a foreign syntactic construction through calquing instead of adopting the lexical item directly. In chapter 6, I propose that the highly frequent Quichua

verbs have in a sense resisted borrowing the phonological representation from Spanish, while incorporating the morpho-syntactic information of these three Spanish verbs. Also relevant to this discussion is the type of bilingual speaker who tends to make use of these loan translations, another topic that is addressed in chapter 6.

### 5.3.2.2 VP calques from Spanish [*andar* + gerund] to Quichua [gerund + *puri*-]

Another example of Quichua loan translation can be seen in the [gerund + *puri*] construction, similar to the periphrastic gerund verbal [*andar* + gerund] common in many Spanish varieties including Andean Spanish.

**(14) Spanish use of [*andar* + gerund].**

*Anda cant-ando la melodía.*  
 go.3.S sing-GER the melody.  
 ‘He/She goes singing the melody’

Periphrastic gerunds in Spanish that have durative aspect are comprised of an auxiliary verb and a gerund, such as in (14). The Spanish gerund *-ando* or *-iendo* is usually used with *estar* to form the progressive e.g., *Estoy comiendo* ‘I am eating.’ Yet, it can also be used with other verbs to form VPs that convey durative aspect (table 5.10).

estar +	gerund
ir +	gerund
venir +	gerund
andar +	gerund
llevar +	gerund
seguir +	gerund

**Table 5.10 Spanish durative aspect expressed through auxiliary verb + gerund**

*Andar* as a full lexical verb typically denotes ‘to walk, to go’; however, in Andean Spanish, *andar* followed by a gerund can have two readings, one is ‘to go around doing stuff whimsically’ (15) and the other is to ‘continue doing something’ (16) (Haboud 2003).

(15) Pedro anda cantando todo el día. ‘Pedro goes around singing all day.’

(16) Anda durmiendo la niña. ‘The girl continues sleeping.’

(Salcedo corpus)

Historically, Quichua has formed durative aspect with the progressive markers *-ju-* or *-sha-* which are attached to the main verb of the sentence. Notice in (17) that the progressive in Quichua is formed without an auxiliary verb.

**(17) Quichua durative aspect**

Q. Pai papa-ta miku-**ju**-n.  
He potato-TOP eat-PRG-3.S

Sp. El está com-iendo papa-s.  
He be.3.S eat-PRG potato-PL  
'He is eating potatoes.'

(Salcedo corpus)

Similar to *andar* in Spanish, the lexical use of *puri-na* in Quichua means 'to walk.' However, more recently [gerund + *puri-*] has begun to express actions of durative aspect in similar periphrastic contexts as the Spanish construction [*andar* + gerund], that is, "to continue to do something" (18).

**(18)** Q. Chari-sha pai taita-wa-ga trabaha-**sha puri-n**  
have-PRG he father-DIM-TOP work-PRG continue-3.S.  
'Having worked, he, our dear dad, continues working.'

(Salcedo corpus)

The utterance in (18) is another clear example of how a loan translation from Spanish is making Quichua more analytic. Unlike the situation with the causative periphrastic calque (section 5.3.2.1), where an auxiliary verb replaces a modal suffix, the durative aspect that is expressed by the use of [gerund + *puri-*] is additive—it does not replace a different auxiliary verb or suffix that carries the same function. Also, notice how the calquing preserves Quichua word order in that the head of the VP is maintained at the right-most position [gerund + aux], rather than adopting Spanish word order, [aux + gerund].

Another similar shift in structure that occurs in the Salcedo corpus was observed, one that copies the Spanish [copula + gerund] construction. Given that the Quichua durative [gerund + copula] appears only two times in the corpus and by the same speaker, it does not appear to be as established as the [gerund + *puri-*] construction which occurs 12 times by four different consultants. Yet, the structural copy is identical in the two languages and may indicate that a paradigmatic shift is under way, one that could eventually follow all of the Spanish verbs that are





example of this type of structural copying, Spanish's [*tener que* + INF], is discussed in the next section.

### 5.3.2.3 Spanish [*tener que* + INF] calqued in Quichua, [INF + *chari-*]

Maintaining the focus on periphrastic constructions in Spanish, expressions of obligation and necessity in Quichua are converging with the Spanish modal periphrasis [*tener que* + INF] which is one way to express 'necessity' in Spanish.

- (21) Sp. *tener que* + INF = 'to have + INF'  
 Sp. *Tienes que comer* = 'You have to eat.'  
 (Salcedo corpus)

The auxiliary *tener* from the modal construction in (21) can also be used as a lexical verb with properties that denote 'possession' and 'ownership' (22).

- (22) *Tengo cinco dolares* 'I have five dollars'  
 (Salcedo corpus)

In Quichua, 'necessity' and 'obligation' have been traditionally expressed through the periphrastic phrase [INF + *ka*-<sup>21</sup>]

- (23) *miku-na-mi ka-ni*  
 eat-NOM-EMP be-1  
 'I have to eat'  
 (Salcedo corpus)

while the main verb that signifies "ownership" or "possession" is *chari-*.

- (24) *Kimsa dular-kuna chari-ni*  
 five dollar-PL have-1  
 'I have five dollars'  
 (Salcedo corpus)

I have observed in the data set that expressions of obligation in Salcedo Quichua are beginning to employ [INF+ *chari-*] (25-26) which is a calque of Spanish [*tener* + INF]. The new calque has not replaced the traditional construction, [INF + *ka-*], but is employed just as often.

- (25) Q. *Pai yuya-i-da chari-n-mi*  
 he remember-INF-ACC have-3-AFF  
 'He has to remember.'  
 (Salcedo corpus)

<sup>21</sup> The Quichua verb *ka-/ga-* in Quichua can appear as an auxiliary, a copula, or an existential

- (26) Q. Sumak-mi kai, llanka-na-wa      **chari-sha-ga**  
           good-EMP this, work-NOM-DIM      have-1.FUT-TOP  
           ‘It’s good that I’ll have to work.’

(Salcedo corpus)

Unlike the other examples of loan translations in this study, a new periphrastic phrase was not introduced, only a change to the function of *chari-* has occurred. And similar to the semantic distinction between modal ‘necessity’ and lexical ‘possession’ of *tener*, *chari-* does not inherit the lexical properties i.e. ‘possession’ in its modal construction.

All of the lexical and structural changes discussed in this section help us understand the details and nature of the different speech varieties in the Salcedo region. I have demonstrated in this chapter that Spanish lexical borrowing and adlexification have contributed the most to the expansion of the Quichua lexicon and thus to linguistic developments that make local Quichua varieties most resemble Media Lengua. The changes in the Quichua verbal paradigm, specifically the use of auxiliary verbs in periphrastic structures, have introduced a variant into the bilingual community, but it does not produce more ‘mixed’ sentences. We will learn in chapter six that the speakers who employ Spanish structural copies are in fact the same speakers who tend to use less Spanish loanwords. The calques in Quichua appear in the Salcedo corpus with more standard forms of the language. Yet, not all structural changes from language contact play a peripheral role in producing significant ‘mixture’ between Spanish and Quichua. Strong substratum effects from Quichua into Spanish, particularly the use of Quichua particles, do have an influence on syncretic speech varieties in Salcedo.

#### **5.4 Study #3: Quichua particles in Spanish**

Pan-Andean and Ecuadorian Andean Spanish varieties are generally accepted as stable languages spoken primarily by Quichua-Spanish bilinguals and at times by monolingual Spanish speakers in colloquial contexts. In the Salcedo speech community, both descriptions of Andean Spanish varieties apply, and henceforth, will be referred to as Andean Spanish. A handful of male migrant workers who have worked in Quito have acquired a closer-to-standard variety of Ecuadorian Spanish and employ it within the community along with other uses of Andean Spanish.

In addition to the structural changes in Spanish discussed in section 2.5.2 above, a number of Quichua particles appear in the Salcedo Spanish data set. The particles that are attached to Spanish words loosely follow the morphological patterns in Quichua, the only difference is that verbs maintain Spanish morphology. The most heavily utilized Quichua suffix is the topicalizer *-ga*. In Quichua, it marks new information, a change in topic, or emphatically focuses semantic information on one or more words in an utterance. Some of these functions are observed in Spanish as well (Carpenter 1982), though *-ga* has been argued to function primarily as a discourse marker (Muysken 1997).

<b>-ga</b>	<b>-mi</b>	<b>-wa</b>	<b>-da/-ta</b>	<b>-bi</b>	<b>-bu/-bo</b>	<b>-munda</b>	<b>-wan</b>	<b>-mu</b>
TOP/FOC	AFF/EMP	DIM	ACC	LOC	GEN	ABL	INST	CIS
Most Frequent		→	→	→	→	Least Frequent		

**Table 5.12 Order of Quichua particles in Andean Spanish by frequency of use**

The distribution of Quichua particles from most-to-least used in table 5.12 cannot be described as proportionate or balanced. For example, *-ga*, *-mi*, *-wa*, and *-da* appear in the corpus more often than the particles on the right side of the chart, *-munda*, *-wan*, and *-mu*. The most frequent particles were employed by a wide range of speakers and for a number of different pragmatic goals, though even among these particles, *-ga* was clearly employed the most, appearing 6 times more often than the emphatic marker *-mi*. The least frequent particles were generally used during emotional and animated speech and sometimes were accompanied by code-switching, as we observe in line 14 from the dialogue in table 5.13.

<b>Line</b>	<b>Salcedo Spanish</b>	<b>English</b>
1	S2: <i>¿Anoche?</i>	Last night?
2	S10: <i>La seis-wa-da-mi rinimos</i> At six-DIM-ACC-AFF we met	At six we met each other.
3	S2: <i>Ya</i>	Ay
4	S10: <i>Poquita-wa-ga ya</i> (drinking motion) A little-DIM-TOP already	A little (drinking motion to imply being tipsy)
5	S2: <i>Ya.</i>	Ay
6	S10: <i>De-alli-ga, tia Ortencia Cayencela-bo</i> From there-TOP, tia Ortencia Cayencela-GEN, <i>tia Maria Luiza-bo merienda-ga comieron.</i> aunt Maria Luiza-GEN dinner-TOP they ate.	Then aunt Ortencia's [family] and aunt Maria's [family] ate dinner.
7	S2: <i>Ya.</i>	Ay

**Table 5.13 (continued) Dialogue in Spanish with Quichua particles**

8	S10: <i>De alli-ga, ya taita Juan Carlos vuelta</i> <sup>22</sup> <i>invit-ó</i> From-there- <b>TOP</b> , already taita Juan Carlos invite-3.S.PST	And then taita <sup>23</sup> Juan Carlos invited us.
9	S2: <i>Ay carambas.</i>	Oh boy.
10	S10: <i>De alli-ga, taita juan carlos-bu ... vuelta entramos</i> From there- <b>TOP</b> , taita Juan Carolos- <b>GEN</b> enter-1.P.PST	Then we went into taita Juan Carlos' [house]
11	S2: <i>Bueno.</i>	Good
12	S10: <i>De-alli-ga, iglesia-bi vuelta pasó</i> From there- <b>TOP</b> church- <b>LOC</b> come-3.S.PST	Then in church he came by
13	S2: <i>Ja Ja.</i>	Ha ha
14	S10: <i>De-alli-ga pasa-mu-ki-ga,</i> From there- <b>TOP</b> pass- <b>CIS-DS-TOP</b> , <i>vuelta taita Manolo chiquita confirmación hizo</i> then taita Manolo little confirmation do-3S.PST.	Then, while he (Juan Carlos) was passing through, Taita Manolo did the confirmation
15	S2: <i>Ya</i>	Ya.
16	S10: <i>Estamos caminando y ese chiquita-mi llama,</i> Copula-1.P walking and this little guy- <b>AFF</b> calls, <i>“arriba don Humberto-bo casa”</i> “Up to Don Humberto- <b>GEN</b> house”	We were walking and this little kid calls out “Up to Don Humberto’s house!”
17	S2: <i>Ay</i>	Ay
18	S10: <i>Alli-munda ya fuimos regresando</i> There- <b>ABL</b> already leave-1P.PST returning	From there we went up on the way back.

**Table 5.13 (continued) Dialogue in Spanish with Quichua particles**

For the most part, the grammatical function of these particles in Quichua is maintained in the Spanish dialogue from table 5.13 even though there are a couple exceptions. The one exception is the use of the cislocative *-mu* in line 10 which typically expresses movement toward the speaker. In this utterance, S10 is describing movement away from the speaker and toward Taita Juan Carlos. When S10 switches to Quichua in line 14, the cislocative is employed “correctly” to convey that Taita Juan Carlos, though only passing through, was moving toward the speaker.

The type of Andean Spanish in Salcedo that employs Quichua particles contributes important information to our discussion of Media Lengua genesis. Although the utterances in table 5.13 resemble Media Lengua in that all of the content words are from Spanish, there is still a great and significant difference between them. For example, the grammar and inflection is

<sup>22</sup> *Vuelta* is a discourse marker in Ecuadorian Andean Spanish. It is used for a number of pragmatic functions, such as, to hold the floor, to show sequence in events, and to resume a narrative that had been interrupted. It can usually be translated into English as “and then . . .”

<sup>23</sup> Some of the particles and words in Andean Spanish and Quichua are difficult to render in English and have been left untranslated.

derived from both Spanish and Quichua, while Media Lengua was purely Quichua-based. Therefore, it would not appear that Salcedo Spanish with Quichua particles represents a possible path from Andean Spanish to Media Lengua; however, this syncretic variety of Spanish is essential to how we conceptualize the kind of language varieties that were in contact with each other when Media Lengua emerged in the Salcedo region. Contrary to Muysken’s representation of relatively ‘unmixed’ Spanish and Quichua as the two source languages of Media Lengua, local varieties of Spanish and Quichua might have already been “mixed” to a large degree before Media Lengua was created. Rather than assume that the phonological shells of a lexeme, such as *iglesia* ‘church,’ were borrowed into Quichua and then underwent morphological changes, we can posit that a limited level of suffixation (e.g., *iglesia-bi* “in church”) was well underway in Spanish when Media Lengua emerged. Several morphosyntactic elements from the two languages were probably available to the bilingual speaker when using either code, a position that is supported by the type of language use I observed in Salcedo. It is for this reason that I characterize particles such as *-bi* [LOC] as syncretic, belonging as much to Quichua as they do to Spanish.

### 5.5 Discussion: Syncretic language use and Salcedo’s bilingual continuum

The results from the three studies presented in this chapter help to inform us about the main features found in the linguistic varieties of Spanish and Quichua in Salcedo. Rather than depict the language contact situation as a dichotomy between Spanish and Quichua, the speech variation in this region can be described as a continuum ranging between standard forms of Quichua and Spanish (table 5.14). This language contact continuum allows us to recognize these local speech varieties as dynamic systems with several overlapping features, an important perspective since Muysken presents Media Lengua as a separate, discrete language which had emerged from two separate and discrete language systems, Spanish and Quichua.

<b>Standard Quichua</b>	<b>Central Ecuadorian Quichua</b>	<b>Hispanicized Quichua</b>	<b>Quichuacized Spanish</b>	<b>Andean Spanish</b>	<b>Standard Spanish</b>
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**Table 5.14—Language contact continuum in Salcedo**

In Salcedo, standard forms of Spanish and Quichua are regarded as prestige varieties and their exclusive use have become a marked style within the community. Although there are only a handful of consultants who consistently employ these standard registers in the community, it is

a recognizable reference point from which we can compare other local varieties. For this reason, they are included at each end of the continuum. Regional varieties, marked as “Andean Spanish” and “Central Ecuadorian Quichua” in table 5.14, are spoken within the home communities as well as in the urban areas; the latter is characterized by the use of Spanish lexical borrowings, while the former, by heavy substratum interference from Quichua (see 2.5 above). Finally, “Hispanicize Quichua” and “Quichuacized Spanish” are the speech varieties most akin to Muysken’s Media Lengua; the former is often times identical to Media Lengua while the latter only resembles it. Hispanicized Quichua has developed through extreme lexical borrowing and contrasts with other forms of regional Quichua only through the quantity of Spanish loanwords that are employed when speaking it. In addition to sharing all of the features of Andean Spanish, Quichuacized Spanish is characterized through the use of Quichua particles. Although multiple dimensions exist within each speech variety (some of which are not discussed in this dissertation i.e., prosody, pragmatic use), the example sentences below illustrate some of the contrastive features in each segment of the continuum.

### (27) Example of Standard Quichua

Achka miku-na-ta allich-shka-ni,  
 much food-NOM-TOP prepare-SD-1  
 ‘I prepared a lot of food’

kankuna wiksa hunda-ta miku-chun.  
 they stomach fill up-TOP eat-SUB  
 ‘So that everyone eats well’

Chaimanta tukuy-kuna shamu-rka,  
 then all-PL come-PST-3  
 ‘So then, they all came’

wawa-kuna-ta apa-shpa.  
 child-PL-TOP bring-SUB  
 ‘bringing their children.’

The infrequent use of Spanish borrowings typifies Standard Quichua in Salcedo. Notice in (27) that none of the lexical roots or suffixation is derived from Spanish. In other Quichua varieties, the following native Quichua lexemes might have been substituted by Spanish loanwords: *llina-* for *hunda-* ‘fill’; *vini-* for *shamu-* ‘come’ and *lliba-* for *apa-* ‘bring.’ Also, each

clause in (27) is consistently verb-final which does not always occur in regional variants of Quichua.

### (28) Example of Standard Spanish

Aunque todos sabe-mos que el presidente ha actu-ado  
eventhough all know-1.PL that the president has behave-PP  
'Eventhough they all know that the president has behaved'

de manera incorrecta, en la comunidad  
in fashion improper in the community  
'improperly, in the community'

se le tiene bien considerado  
IMP IO have good reputation  
'he is in good standing'

Given their access to nationally syndicated media and urban employment, the consultants from Salcedo are in contact with standard forms of urban, Ecuadorian Spanish. Although most of them do not speak “professional” registers of standard Spanish (academic, scientific, literary, political), their speech is considered “mestizo” and “urban” when most of the rural, substratum influences typical of Andean Spanish are absent. In (28), standard rules of number and gender agreement are performed in all of the utterances. For example, standard agreement is accomplished between the determiner and noun, *el presidente*; noun and modifier, *manera incorrecta*; and past participle and noun *presidente . . . . considerado*. In addition to agreement, other features of Andean Spanish (discussed in 2.5.2) are generally avoided in standard Ecuadorian Spanish.

### (29) Central Ecuadorian Quichua

Q. Kunan-shina-lla-tak **mal timpu**-kuna-llari  
now-CMP-LIM-EMP bad moment-PL-AFF  
'Just like today, those were bad moments'

Q. **Diablu mayurdumu** tukuk-lla shamu-rka  
devil manager-CIS become-LIM come-PST  
'The (hacienda) manager came as if he was the devil'



Q. Chai runa jatun-mi sinchi-pish-mi  
 that person big-AFF strong-ADD-AFF  
 ‘That man was big and strong’

Q. Ñuka taita-bu atalpa-ta jamingu-pish-ta apa-rka-mi  
 my father-GEN chicken-ACC llama-ADD-ACC take-PST-AFF  
 ‘He took away my father’s chicken and llama’

The Central Ecuadorian dialects of Quichua share several linguistic features that distinguish them from Non-Central varieties (see figure 2.1 for map). For example, the benefactive suffix *-bu* or *-bo* in (29) *ñuka taita-bu atalpa-ta* ‘my father’s chicken’ is a variant of *-pak/-paj* found in non-central dialects in Ecuador (Carpenter 1982). Different from standard Quichua, a large portion of the vocabulary in regional Quichua is borrowed from Spanish. For example in (29), the following content words originate from Spanish: *mal* ‘bad’; *timpu* ‘time’; *diablu* ‘devil’; and *mayurdumu* ‘care taker’. In the Salcedo corpus, 58% of the content word types, 39% of the basic vocabulary, and about 50% of the subject pronouns have undergone lexical borrowing (see tables 5.1-5.3, 5.6). Since standard Quichua limits its use in Spanish lexical borrowing, Salcedo Quichua is marked by the fact that over half of its lexicon is derived from Spanish

### (30) Andean Spanish

A.Sp. Si, hablar con los vecinos hablo sobre las papas y otro cosa-s  
 yes, talk.GER with the neighbor-PL talk-1 about the potato-PL and other.M thing.F-PL  
 ‘Yes, talking with the neighbors, I talk about potatoes and other things.’

A.Sp. Cuando me voy a Salcedo le pido a la Señora Luisa  
 When I go.1 to Salcedo her ask-1 to the Señora Luisa  
 ‘When I go to Salcedo I ask Señora Luisa’

A.Sp. si tiene la bondad de dar-me rega-ndo la-s matica-s  
 if have-2 the goodwill of giving-me water-GER the-PL plant pot-PL  
 ‘if she would be kind enough to water my plants’

A.Sp. Ella rapidito, rapidito respond-e, si, claro Señora Paula  
 she quickly, quickly respond-3 yes, of course Señora Paula  
 ‘She quickly responds, ‘yes, of course Señora Paula.’

Unlike regional varieties of Quichua, Andean Spanish is not characterized by heavy lexical borrowing, but rather substratum interference. In (30), we observe a number of Andean Spanish features (discussed in 2.5.2.): repetition (*hablar . . . hablo* ‘talking . . . I talk’) and (*rapidito, rapidito* ‘quickly, quickly’); number and gender agreement (*otro* ‘other’ [masculine and singular] *cosas* ‘things’ [feminine and plural]); and polite requests (*darme regando* ‘water the plants’).

### (31) Hispanicized Quichua

<b>HQ.</b>	<b>Pidru</b>	<b>irmana-wan-mi</b>	<b>puiblu-man</b>	<b>maniha-rka</b>	
	Pedro	sister-ADD-AFF	town-to	drive-PST	
<b>Q.</b>	Pidru	pani-ADD-AFF	llakta-to	maniha-PST	
	‘Pedro and his sister drove to town’				
<b>HQ.</b>	<b>pan-wan</b>	<b>sal-wan</b>	<b>tragu-wan</b>	<b>kumpra-rka</b>	
	bread-ADD	salt- ADD	liquor-ADD	buy-rka	
<b>Q.</b>	tanda-ADD	kachi-ADD	millbu-ADD	randi-PST	
	‘They bought bread, salt, and liquor.’				
<b>HQ.</b>	Chaimanta	pai	<b>vini-shpa-ga</b>	<b>kumparsa-kuna-ta</b>	<b>fiha-rka</b>
	Then	he	come-SUB-TOP	outfits-PL-ACC	look-PST
<b>Q.</b>	Chaimanta	pai	shamu-SUB-TOP	kumparsa-PL-ACC	riku-PST
	‘Then he came back and looked at the festive costumes.’				
<b>HQ.</b>	Taita <b>Alejandro-bu</b>	<b>kumbida-kuna-ta</b>	<b>brinda-rka-ni</b>		
	taita Alejandro-GEN	gift-PL-ACC	prepare-PST-1		
<b>Q.</b>	Taita Alejandro-GEN	kumbida- PL-ACC	kara- PST-1		
	‘I prepared Taita Alejandro’s gifts.’				

Hispanicized Quichua occurs when speakers employ a relatively large amount of Spanish lexical borrowings, either doublets (*irmana* ‘sister,’ *puiblu* ‘town,’ *pan* ‘bread,’ or *kumpra* ‘to buy’); cultural borrowings (*tragu* ‘alcohol,’ *kumparsa* ‘traditional attire worn for festivals,’ *maniha* ‘to drive or control’); or older established borrowings (*vini* ‘come,’ *brinda* ‘to toast,’ ‘to share food,’ *kumbida* ‘gift’). The degree in which Spanish-derived lexemes are utilized constitutes the main difference between (29) regional Quichua and (31) Hispanicized Quichua. The Media Lengua-like utterances in (31) do not represent a full-fledge language per se, but

rather functions as a speech register for some consultants during informal or intimate interactions.

### (32) Quichuacized Spanish

<p><b>Lindero-ga</b>, lindero no está ricto  Pues lindero está  Ya así echo curva  <b>Intos-ga</b> tal vez yo también eso pensaba.  Ya viene de abajo así viene  ...  Si es que enderezamos de <b>abajito-ga</b>  Si es que enderezamos de <b>abajito-ga</b>  vuelta así <b>cortando-ga</b>  ya allí al camino sale  ...  <b>Aurita-ga</b> si es que conviene si es que  ellos <b>aceptan-ga</b> mas o menos viendo todo  y si algunos compañeros que vea en filo de camino  no más por que enderezar con mojón <b>anterior-ga</b>  mojón no está recto pues ya que juera recto claro  De hay, claro mojón <b>viejo-munda</b>  así <b>yendo-ga</b> casi al filo del camino sale</p>	<p>The boundary line is not straight  but there is a boundary line  yes, it is curved  So then, I also thought that it was possible  that it runs like that down to the bottom  ...  Maybe we should start putting it straight down there  Maybe we should start putting it straight down there  and then start cutting it  from where the path comes out  ...  Now, if this works, if  they accept this (boundary), by viewing all of the facts  and if some neighbors see the path's row  as reasonable because straightening it out as it was before,  since the marker is not straight, it would make it right.  Then, we'd have a marker from the old days  that goes almost from the path's trajectory</p>
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In (32) we notice that *-ga*, similar to its use in Quichua, is attached to different word classes: verbs (*dici-ga*, *conformando-ga*), adverbs (*aurita-ga*, *anterior-ga*, *intons-ga*), and adjectives (*viejo-ga*). Also, when the ablative *-munda* 'from' is used in *viejo-munda* 'from old (days),' there is no indication that the matrix language changes as it would have done in alternational code-switching. Other Quichua particles are also commonly employed in Quichuacized Spanish (see tables 5.12 & 5.13 and section 5.4 above). Apart from the use of these particles, Quichuacized Spanish shares all of the characteristics of Andean Spanish. Notice in (32) several instances of verbs in utterance-final position (*lindero está*, *eso pensaba*, *al camino sale*, and *del camino sale*); the omission of articles (*pues [el] lindero está* and *en [el] filo de camino*); and the elipsis of object pronouns (*Si es que [lo] enderezamos de abajito-ga*).

By visually representing the speech varieties in Salcedo as a continuum, we are able to clearly view how the contact situation involves several speech variants and not only two separate languages (cf. Pandharipande 1982). In conceptualizing the formation of Muysken's Media Lengua, the inclusion of the regional and local varieties represented on the continuum in table 5.14 would change our analysis significantly. Since the linguistic outcome of Media Lengua is indistinguishable to the utterances found in Hispanicized Quichua, relexification is not the only

plausible historical development to have produced such a variety. Similarly, the features of “Central Ecuadorian Quichua” are evidence that an intermediate stage between Quichua and Media Lengua is not only plausible, but actually occurring in the highland communities in Salcedo today.

## **5.6 Summary of lexical and structural results**

It was observed in study #1 that Quichua experienced a considerable increase of Spanish lexical borrowing in different areas of its lexical inventory. The overall percentage of Spanish content lexemes in Quichua is nearing 60% which is at least a two-fold increase from 30 years ago. The basic vocabulary for Salcedo Quichua is nearing 40%, also a substantial increase. Finally, half of the subject pronouns have undergone adlexification, particularly with the first-person singular and plural. Together these results indicate that the Spanish language continues to have a strong influence in most areas of the Salcedo Quichua lexicon similar to the changes that were described during the genesis of Media Lengua. Even though these developments in Salcedo over the last 30 years were not as dramatic as the ones that are claimed to have occurred during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the results from study #1 clearly indicate that an intermediate variety, one between Quichua and Media Lengua, has emerged. Within the Salcedo speech community the variation of Spanish loanword use ranged between 15-78%, demonstrating that the consultants from this study exploit a number of different speech styles and types of Spanish borrowings. The variation in the Salcedo corpus contrasts sharply with the lack of fluctuation in Muysken’s data, Quichua 10-40% and Media Lengua 90%. The fact that variation in Media Lengua’s Spanish loanword percentage was not reported by Muysken made the comparison to the current study difficult. Unfortunately, this was not the only methodological obstacle from study #1 as his Swadesh lists for Quichua and Media Lengua were compiled using two different techniques, elicitation and informal interviews. In replicating his approaches, elicitation produced 37% Spanish loanwords while informal interviews resulted in 12%. These discrepancies, along with the general critique of his study (see 3.3), call into question the reliability of earlier claims of relexification and language mixture.

In study #2 and #3, we observed the effects of contact on the structural components of each language. In Quichua, the focus was given to the structural copies of Spanish verb phrases, and in Spanish, the use of Quichua suffixation. When these new developments are added to the features already present in Andean Spanish and Central Ecuadorian Quichua (e.g., conjunctions,

subordinators and function words), we can begin to see how the two languages are converging structurally in addition to sharing vocabulary. The loan translations are contributing to making Quichua grammar more reliant on separate words than on morphemes to express syntactic relationships. This has been accomplished by bilingual speakers who have used a small set of Quichua lexical verbs to copy the structure of Spanish verbs, ones that double as both lexical and auxiliary verbs. This has occurred with frequently-used Quichua verbs that have not borrowed lexical counterparts from Spanish. Quichua has not borrowed the Spanish lexemes *estar*, *tener*, *hacer*, or *andar*, yet the auxiliary functions of these verbs in Spanish have been introduced into Quichua through periphrastic VPs that mimic those of Spanish. The move to a higher level of analyticity in Quichua's verbal paradigm supports the other accounts of Quichua and Spanish sharing grammatical features (word order, function words, and conjunctions) and moving toward a type of structural convergence.

In study #3 the focus of structural convergence turned toward local varieties of Andean Spanish as consultants were observed adding Quichua particles to Spanish lexemes as part of its inflectional system. It was noted that the evidential marker *-mi* and the topic/focus marker *-ga* were used most frequently, a result that appears to be related to the grammatical properties they hold in the Quichua grammar system. The incorporation of these suffixes in Spanish simply shows the range of grammatical features at play in the use of Spanish or Quichua. In fact, several utterances of Quichuacized Spanish strongly resemble varieties of Hispanicized Quichua. The main implication of these results is that some of the "mixed" utterances or varieties observed in Salcedo may indeed be Quichuacized Spanish, with discourse particles constituting the starting point for Quichuacization.

# Chapter Six

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## The role of social factors in the Salcedo bilingual continuum

### 6.1 Introduction

The sociolinguistic analysis that is offered in this chapter provides us with a guide for interpretation and analysis of the different speech styles described in the bilingual continuum (table 5.14 in chapter 5). The level of Spanish lexical borrowing and the features of structural convergence together with the sociolinguistic account of language choice and use provide an important perspective on language contact in the Salcedo region. In identifying how Media Lengua-type sentences have emerged in Salcedo, the analysis in this chapter offers a fuller understanding of the linguistic factors at play when Muysken's Media Lengua speakers developed their speech variety. Since the syncretic codes on the bilingual continuum constitute the unmarked speech styles during informal and colloquial language use, we can assume that Muysken's consultants also would have had access to varieties of Spanish and Quichua that were already 'mixed' i.e., Spanish loanwords in Quichua basic vocabulary; several Spanish function words producing more analytic structures in Quichua; strong substratum influences ('imposition') from L2 learners of Spanish; and Quichua particles incorporated in Andean Spanish. The level of linguistic syncretism in Salcedo clearly indicates that most bilingual speakers tend to incorporate both lexical and grammatical features from both languages, many times to such a degree that the matrix language is difficult to determine.

The demographic information in Appendix D is the starting point for the social analysis of these linguistic developments. Each consultant's individual loanword percentage (from study #1) is measured and consultants are grouped into the following socio-demographic categories: age, gender, urban migration, education, and bilingualism. First, I sketch the relationship between these social groups and Spanish loanwords by using whisker box plots. Visual inspection of these box plots allow the reader to see which groups might be employing less or more Spanish borrowings. Then, in order to show the degree of confidence in identifying these groups as "heavy" or "light" lexical borrowers, loanword usage among these groups is submitted to analysis of variance (ANOVA).

For the study on structural change, I characterize the pervasiveness of the Spanish verb

phrase calques in Quichua and the Quichua particles in Spanish. In identifying the speakers who tend to employ these structural features the most, I describe the ways in which they have become a community-wide norm. Then, I show how the context of the speech event itself influences the results from chapter 5 and our interpretations of them. Finally, I explore the implications of these changes in Hispanicized Quichua, Quichuacized Spanish, and Media Lengua-type sentences.

Typical of a language or dialect continuum, the shared linguistic material can produce language varieties with overlapping boundaries. Woolard (1998) and others (Hill & Hill 1986, Makihara 2006) argue that these seemingly opposing linguistic and social values can exist simultaneously in the same speech register. What we find in the entire range of speech performances in Salcedo are ‘mixed’ varieties that have not undergone institutionalization, but rather belong to a larger range of communicative styles. Since different communicative styles are evaluated, selected, altered, and performed by the members of this speech community, their thoughts and attitudes about language use itself is a strong indication of how and why particular linguistic practices are maintained, ignored, innovated and institutionalized—a topic that will be discussed in the second half of this chapter.

## **6.2 Spanish loanwords and social factors**

The results from the lexical study (section 5.2) show that the use of Spanish loanwords has increased in Quichua throughout the community in both basic and non-basic vocabulary. In this section, I will measure the relationship between particular social groups and their loanword usage. Because Muysken attributes Media Lengua genesis to the men who migrated to Quito, the study is designed to answer the following research questions: How does Spanish loanword use differ between older, non-migrating males (55+ years) and the first and second generations of males who have migrated to Quito? How does it differ between males and females of the same age cohort? Are there any other identifiable groups who use significantly less or more Spanish loanwords? Since other factors may influence Spanish lexical use in Quichua, I examine each individual’s loanword percentage with five socio-linguistic categories: age, sex, level of education, language dominance, and total number of migrating years. The objective is to identify particular groups that may employ more Spanish lexical borrowings than others and determine whether variation in the use of Spanish loanwords can be attributed to the social

factors listed above.

In Muysken's (1981, 1997) research of Media Lengua, the innovators were claimed to be male construction workers who began migrating to the major cities of Ecuador in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the western Salcedo region, most of the male adults have been migrating to Quito for employment in construction; however, different from Muysken's Media Lengua consultants, the Salcedo highlanders began their migration in the 1970's. This parallel phenomenon of circular migration in Muysken's communities from the 1970's and the western Salcedo communities from the 2000's was thought to be a significant feature of this study on social variables and the use of Spanish loanwords; however, as the results from this study show, this social group does not employ Spanish loanwords more than the rest of the community. In fact, none of the social factors that were listed showed significant variation in Spanish borrowing, suggesting that (a) the community norm is relatively stable and (b) the fluctuation in loanwords is interactionally constructed.

### **6.2.1. Whisker Box Plots<sup>24</sup>**

In Appendix D, I list demographic information for each consultant together with the total percentage of Spanish loanword use. The total word count for each consultant was configured by adding all of their transcribed conversations. Some consultants only had one recorded conversation while others had many. By simply examining the lexical use of the 30 consultants in Appendix D, it is difficult to identify which groups may have established a pattern of innovative or conservative loanword usage. For this reason, the data are depicted here in box plots to illustrate any potential differences between groups in each category.

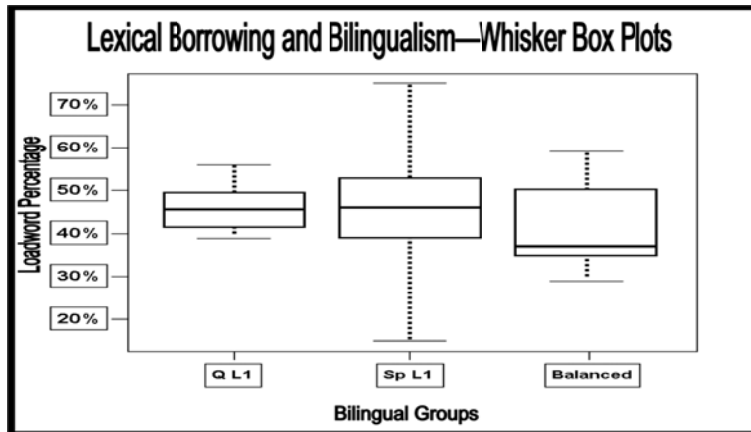
Although these differences are relatively small, the box plots analysis indicates how, if at all, a further analysis would be potentially fruitful in identifying particular social groups as innovators of Spanish loanword usage. In box plot diagrams, the bottom line of the box indicates

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<sup>24</sup> The community norm for Spanish loanwords is 58% and was calculated following Muysken's method which was to divide the total number of content words by the total number of Spanish loanword types. Muysken did not show the loanword variation for each of the five consultants. We can observe in Appendix D that most consultants' percentages are lower than 58% which is due to the fact that the most frequently used words are still mostly Quichua. The median and mean for the consultants' individual performances is 47%. Looking at the indicators that would appear to be influential for Spanish borrowing—age, migration, education, L1, and gender—it is difficult to develop a pattern that would explain the use of content words from Spanish. The oldest members of the community show similar levels with the others consultants: S1 (41%); S4 (56%); S6 (42%); and S14 (47%).

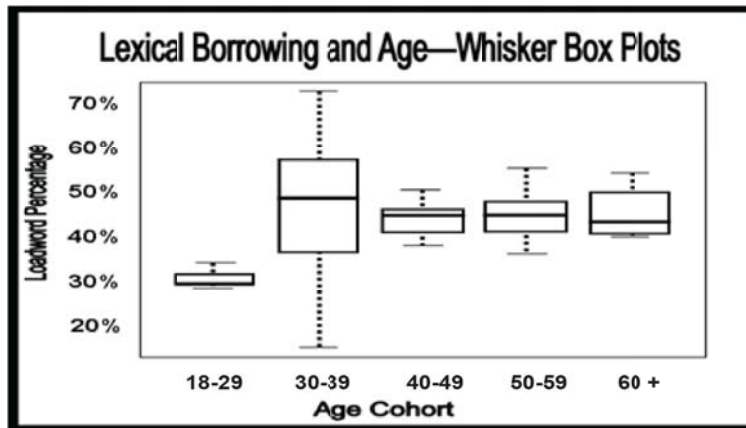


the first quartile, the dark line in the middle marks the second quartile (the median), and the top line of the box equals the third quartile. The vertical “whiskers” indicate the largest and smallest observation in the data, that is, consultants who used the highest and lowest percentage of Spanish loanwords.



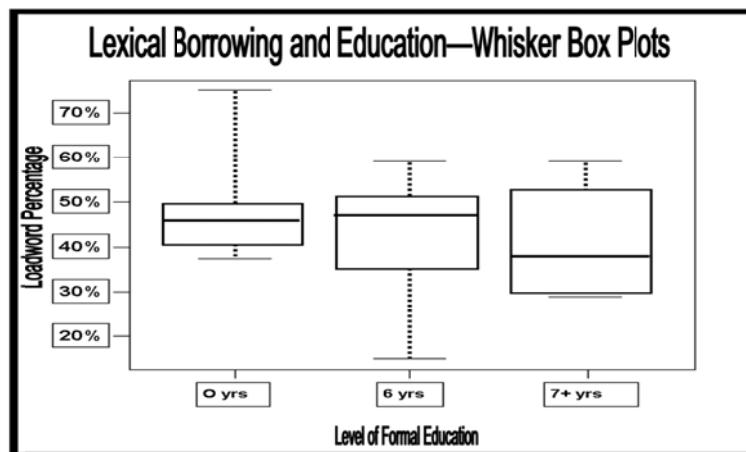
**Table 6.1 Whisker Box Plots: Lexical Borrowing and Bilingualism**

By observing the box plots for bilingualism in table 6.1, we see that the balanced bilinguals had a lower median of loanwords than the other two groups. Judging from the relatively small space between the first and second quartile, we know that 25% of the balanced bilinguals used a similar amount of loanwords in their speech while the highest and lowest scores do not vary greatly from the median. The Spanish-dominant bilinguals on the other hand show a more equal distribution above and below the median with two consultants who represent the minimum and maximum percentages in the corpus. Since these extreme values are in the same group, they balance each other out and the results are not skewed by either of the consultants’ Spanish loanword use. Finally, the Quichua-dominant speakers employed Spanish loanwords more consistently than the other groups, both in terms of min/max values as well as the quartiles above and below the median. Although the median for the L1 Quichua group is on par with the other groups, they do stand out in their relative homogeneity.



**Table 6.2 Whisker Box Plots: Lexical Borrowing and Age**

The box plot in 6.2 indicates that the age cohort 18-29 has a lower median for loanword use, while the second cohort, 30-39 is the highest. Again as with table 6.1, the two consultants with the minimum and maximum values cancelled each other out as they belong to the same age group. While the first two age cohorts appear to be below and above the average, respectively, the other three groups (40-49, 50-59, and 60+ years old) have similar levels when each median is compared. The fact that the younger generation uses fewer Spanish loanwords is surprising since all of them are Spanish-dominant bilinguals. Before we begin to speculate as to the cause of their loanword use, it is important to note that only three of the 30 consultants belonged to the 18-29 bracket. Therefore, the lower median score may be a result of the smaller sample size for this group. In the next section on ANOVAs, I measure the statistical significance of the younger group's lack of parity with other age groups.



**Table 6.3 Whisker Box Plots: Lexical Borrowing and Education**

In figure 6.3, the consultants who attend *colegio* (expressed as “7+ years”) use less Spanish loanwords than other groups in this box plot. For the first time the two extreme values belong to different groups which may have a slight effect on the overall median. The median for the consultants with no formal education may be somewhat lower with the minimum value in the calculation; just as the consultants with a 6<sup>th</sup>-grade education might have had a slightly higher median without the maximum value. In any case, it would appear that those who received more education used fewer Spanish loanwords. When we compare the median scores in each of the box plots, dominant language (table 6.1), Age (table 6.2), and Education (table 6.3), at least one group shows a noticeable difference from the others. The balanced bilinguals (6.1), the 18-29 aged speakers (6.2), and the *colegio* graduates (6.3) all appear to use fewer loanwords than the other groups. Although most of the *colegio* graduates are between 18-29, there is not much crossover between balanced bilinguals and *colegio* students or those between 18-29. In the box plots above, we do not have a group who performed significantly above the median, suggesting that no particular group (e.g., middle-age, migrating males) is responsible for leading the influx of Spanish borrowings in Quichua.

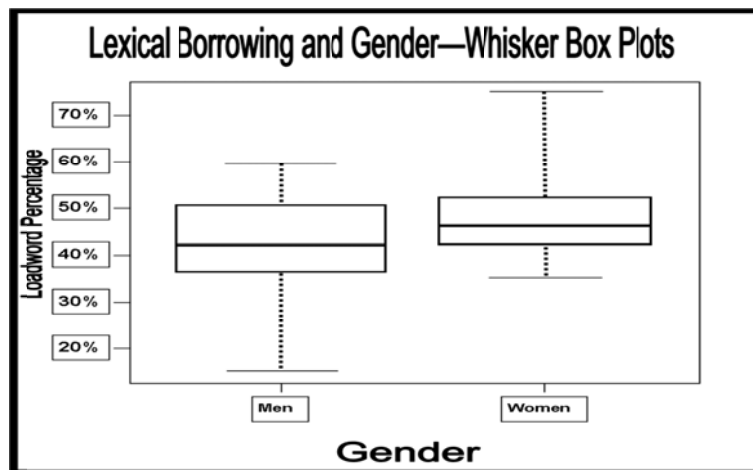
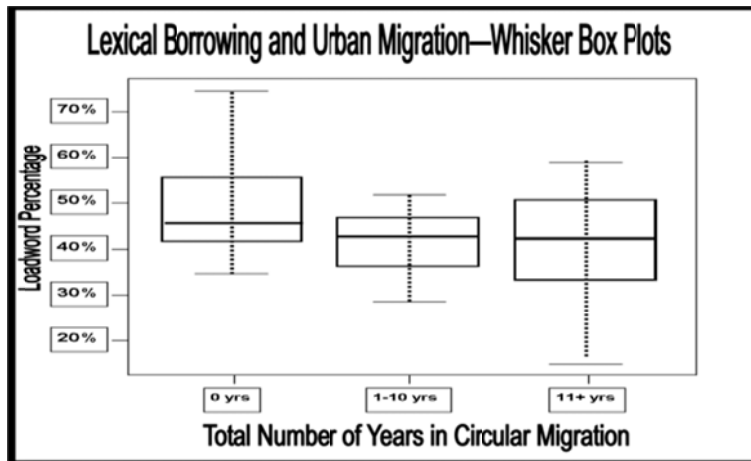


Table 6.4 Whisker Box Plots: Lexical Borrowing and Gender



**Table 6.5 Whisker Box Plots: Lexical Borrowing and Migration**

The Gender (6.4) and Migration (6.5) box plots show relatively similar patterns among the different groups. Women (6.4) employed a bit more loanwords than men, though it is such a small amount that it is difficult to know if the results are circumstantial. Likewise, the median scores for the three groups in table 6.5 are quite similar. The group that had never migrated to the city used slightly more Spanish loanwords than those who had migrated, though the median may have been pulled higher by the maximum value in the group.

Two speakers in this corpus are responsible for the relatively long whiskers in all of these box plots, S5 (78% Spanish loanwords) and S31 (15% Spanish loanwords). During my fieldwork, I observed S5 consistently speaking above the community-wide norm and S31 below it, but they were only recorded for a brief period in Quichua i.e., as passing interlocutors to the interviewees whom I was recording. Similarly, S16 and S23 (taken out of this data set because the total recorded word count was too low) also used 70+% Spanish loanwords in Quichua. It is the brevity (less than 25 words each) of their recorded conversations (for S16, S19, S22, S23, S28) that makes their particular results a bit less reliable. In all five box plots, the longest minimum and maximum samples expressed through the stretched whiskers (e.g., “18-29” column in 6.2, “Sp L1” in 6.1) represent these two consultants (S5 and S31). Yet, despite the fact that they were not recorded for longer stretches of discourse, they cannot be disregarded completely. Their particular speech style and interactional behavior is discussed in greater detail in section 6.4 of this chapter.

These initial results answer two important questions regarding migration and gender: these two social variables are not directly related to the increased use of Spanish loanwords. In

fact, the non-migrating women use Spanish loanwords slightly more than the migrating men, a result that dispels the idea that men who work during the week in Quito incorporate more Spanish loanwords when speaking Quichua. Yet, since the box plots are designed as only an exploratory analysis of data, initial readings of their results may not be supported after further examination.

One problem of applying box plots to the Salcedo data set using these five social variables can be seen in the unequal number of consultants for each group. For example, 19 of the 30 consultants had no formal education while only 4 had graduated from *colegio* (9 years of education). These four *colegio* graduates showed a lower percentage of Spanish loanwords compared to the other groups. Could this difference be a result from their experiences in the education system and the belief that the two languages shouldn't be 'mixed' together? Or is it simply a result of not having a sufficient number of consultants for a statistical analysis? After all, it would only take 1 or 2 consultants from the *colegio* group to lower the overall percentage.

### **6.2.2 Analysis of Variance: Measuring the level of confidence of the observed differences reported in the whisker box plots**

In order to determine whether these differences of loanword usage are statistically significant, this section presents the results of ANOVA tests. The goal is to relate the distribution of each group's mean in order to determine the reliability of any perceived differences, the null hypothesis being that loanword usage does not vary among subjects of different ages, genders, migration histories, education levels or degrees of bilingualism.

For three of the independent variables (Age, Gender, and Migration), I employ parametric ANOVAs while for the remaining two (Education and Bilingualism), I use nonparametric ANOVAs. Because the dependent variable, loanword percentages, did not meet the quality of variance assumption for ANOVA, I decided to run a nonparametric test. This was necessary given the appearance of non-normality of the loanword percentage.

For the ANOVA test, standard practice in social sciences assigns statistical significance to results in which  $p < .05$ , otherwise the null hypothesis cannot be rejected and measurement error is assumed. In other words, if the  $p$ -value is greater than .05, we accept the null hypothesis of equal group means for the independent variables. The same applies for the nonparametric ANOVA, except in this case it is the  $Pr > \text{Chi-Square}$  that indicates probability and when it is greater than 5%, the null of equal means across groups is accepted. A one-way factorial

ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of socio-demographic variables on loanword usage. The results indicate no statistically significant differences among groups of variable ages [ $F(4, 29) = 1.37, p = 0.27$ ], genders [ $F(1, 29) = 2.47, p = .13$ ], years of urban migration [ $F(2, 29) = 1.78, p = .19$ ], education levels [ $\chi^2(2, N = 30) = 0.64, p = .72$ ] or bilingualism [ $\chi^2(2, N = 30) = 0.79, p = .67$ ].

The  $p$ -values show that the appearance of variation among the different groups in the box plots was not statistically significant and that no particular social grouping has employed more Spanish loanwords in the Salcedo corpus than any other (see Appendix E for detailed numbers). The F-value and Chi-square, whose numbers are quite small, also show no significant difference across each group in these five independent variables. For example, the loanword percentage is not significantly different for Men and Women.

Although the initial readings of the results for the box plots might have given the impression that some groupings were different, they are not, statistically speaking. However, these results, though not significant, do help us understand the nature of language change in the community. First, they indicate that Spanish lexical borrowing is evenly distributed throughout the community when these social groups are taken into account. Elder speakers who have never migrated to the city or attended school and learned Spanish as adults incorporate Spanish loanwords into their speech as often as those who have migrated, attended school, and always used Spanish as their L1. The equal distribution of Spanish loanwords also reveals that no identifiable group can be shown to be spearheading the use of Spanish borrowings in this community.

If we were to pool the various factors that would be indicative of greater Spanish dominance or exposure to Spanish (education, gender, urban migration, being a Spanish-dominant bilingual) we would get a clear, even if at first sight, paradoxical trend: Better knowledge of (or access to) Spanish correlates with a lower number of hispanicisms in Quichua. A plausible explanation would indeed be that there is an element of trying to keep the languages separated (perhaps because of increased awareness of their differences). The ANOVA results suggest that no one factor, taken by itself, is statistically significant; but that leaves the overall, cross-factor correlation (greater familiarity with Spanish equals fewer hispanicisms) out of consideration. Missing from this analysis are descriptions of the relationship between Spanish

loanwords and speech accommodation (6.2.3), loan translations (6.3), and language attitudes (6.4).

### 6.2.3. Speech accommodation

One possible explanation as to why the ANOVA analysis failed to identify any relationship between Spanish loanword use and social grouping may have to do with speaker accommodation. 9 of the 30 consultants in the corpus appear in more than one recording and for several of them, their loanword usage varies greatly. For example, S9's two conversations averaged 57%, however in her first conversation the loanword percentage was 80% and the second was 47%. Likewise, I have several recordings with S2 in which he not only accommodates to the phrases of his interlocutors, but also to their loanword use. In (1), S2 repeats words that were spoken by S1 in the first utterance: *soltira* 'young', *mama-* 'sweetheart', and *bintidos* 'twenty-two.' Typical of the sequence in the first three utterances where *bintidos* is repeated in each line, the conversation style in Salcedo, and perhaps in the Andes, is patterned on positive update through the "echoing" of similar phrases.

#### (1) Speech accommodation through "uptakes" in adjacency pairs

S1: ñuka-ga **soltira** **mama**-guna-da **tari**-nga-ga **binti-dos** año-da  
 I-TOP young women-PL-ACC find-NOM-TOP twenty-two year-ACC  
 'I was 22 when I was finding a lot of young ladies.'

S2: Ay **binti-dos**  
 Ay, twenty-two  
 'Ay 22.'

S1: **binti-dos** año-kuna  
 Twenty-two year-PL  
 '22 years'

S2: hari  
 yes

S1: chay-pi ñuka catsa-ra-shka-ni kai ñuka warmi-da  
 Here-LOC I marry-RFX-SD-1.S this my woman-ACC  
 'I married this woman here.'

S2: hari. Y kikin-bo sumag **mama**-wa-ga, somag **soltira** kuya-illa  
 yes. And you-GEN beautiful mama-DIM-TOP beautiful young guinea pig-DIM  
 'Yes, your beautiful little mama, beautiful young bunny.'

S2: mashna wata-da chari-rka, kikin **tari-xu-shka** rato-ga  
 How many year-ACC have-PST, you find-PRO-SD time-TOP  
 ‘How long ago did you met her?’

(Salcedo corpus)

A relationship between speech accommodation and Spanish loanword percentage does appear to exist. Since interlocutors repeat a speaker’s words or phrases as a form of uptake and politeness, the overall percentage of Spanish borrowings tends to be similar between interlocutors of the same conversation. As we observe in (1), S2’s accommodation to S1 produces the articulation of the same words (*soltira, binitdos*). In column 1 from table 6.6, notice how S2’s loanword use (40%) approximates to S1 (49%). In subsequent conversations (#2, #4-#7), S2 approximates to his interlocutor’s level of loanword usage.

<b>Interaction →</b>	<b>#1</b>	<b>#2</b>	<b>#3</b>	<b>#4</b>	<b>#5</b>	<b>#6</b>	<b>#7</b>
<b>S2</b>	40%	31%	33%	47%	37%	46%	42%
<b>Interlocutor</b>	49%	39%	66%	44%	39%	42%	44%

**Table 6.6 Speaker accommodation through Spanish loanwords**

Giles et al (1973) discuss convergent and divergent directions of speech accommodation and claim that they depend on the speaker’s efforts to accentuate or reduce the social distance an interlocutor may feel toward the person with whom they are conversing. In conversation #3, S2 showed many signs of divergent behavior with his interlocutor, such as, performing minimal uptake, recasting his sentences when too many loanwords were used, and employing fewer hispanicisms. With the exception of #3 in table 6.6, S2 clearly altered his speech style to match his interlocutors’ level of loanword use.

<b>Interaction →</b>	<b>#1</b>	<b>#2</b>
<b>S1</b>	50%	39%
<b>Interlocutor</b>	49%	31%

**Table 6.7 Speaker accommodation from the oldest member of the community**

Another strong example of convergent accommodation can be observed with S1 in table 6.7, the oldest speaker of the community. Although it is generally assumed that elders employ fewer loanwords and expect others to accommodate to their speech style, the results in table 6.7 show this not to be the case. S1 is both (a) above the mean of Spanish loanword use and (b) willing to accommodate to other interlocutors. What may not be clear is whether S1 is moving



closer to the loanword usage of the interlocutors or vice versa. Given that the speech style in Salcedo tends to produce a series of echoed rephrasing of previous utterances, the confluence of loanwords may be mutual constructed.

### 6.3 Measuring the use of calques and native Quichua constructions

Three structural changes were discussed in chapter 5: causative *-chi* → [INF + *rura-*]; durative aspect *-ju* → [gerund + *puri-*]; and obligation → [INF + *chari-*]. In this section, I measure how often they occur in the Salcedo data set and identify the consultants who employ them. Due to the relatively low number of their overall appearances in the corpus, I do not calculate the token-per-#words frequency. The low number of tokens for these calques may be due to the fact that they are additive, in alternation with the native Quichua expressions. Yet, the data offer two clear patterns: these native Quichua lexemes, *chari-*, *rura-*, and *puri-* (a) are highly frequent lexical verbs and (b) have experienced minimal lexical borrowing from Spanish, i.e. doublets or other forms of adlexification.

The native Quichua lexical verbs in table 6.8 represent the traditional usage and meaning. Study #2 demonstrated how these verbs have expanded in terms of grammatical function, specifically, their use as auxiliary verbs in complex verb constructions. In this study, I describe how speakers copy identical verbal structures from Spanish while using native Quichua lexemes. But why did the verbs in table 6.8 resist lexical borrowing (i.e. *tener* ‘to have’, *hacer* ‘to do’ and *andar* ‘to walk’ were not borrowed into Quichua), and copy the morphosyntactic structure of the Spanish verbs? We can observe that the lexical verbs *chari-* ‘have’, *rura-* ‘do, make’, and *puri-* ‘walk’ are high-frequency verbs in the Salcedo corpus (table 6.8). For instance, only the copula verb *ka-* is used more often than *chari-* which is the 2<sup>nd</sup> most frequently used verb.

Quichua lexical verbs	Tokens	Frequency ranking for verbs
<i>chari-</i> ‘have’	75	2 <sup>nd</sup>
<i>rura-</i> ‘do, make’	31	26 <sup>th</sup>
<i>puri-</i> ‘walk’	8	52 <sup>nd</sup>

**Table 6.8 Quichua lexical verbs, number of tokens, and frequency ranking**

Although the high level of frequency in the pronoun system did not deter the adlexification of Spanish pronouns (see section 5.2.4.2), the heavy use of these lexical verbs may explain why they resisted adopting donor labels from Spanish.

Line	Salcedo corpus	Tokens
A	rura- ‘do’, ‘make’	31
B	asi- ‘do’, ‘make’	3
C	modal suffix -chi-	18
D	[INF + rura-]	6
E	[INF + asi-]	2

**Table 6.9** Frequency count of lexical *rura* and *haci*-, modal suffix *-chi*-, and grammaticalized *rura*- and *haci*- in Quichua

As can be observed in table 6.9, the native Quichua lexical verb *rura*- ‘do’, ‘make’ (line A) has a doublet in the Spanish borrowing of *hace* ‘do, make’, realized in Quichua as *asi*- (line B). We might characterize *asi*- as a ‘weak’ doublet since there are only three tokens in the corpus. The auxiliary function of *rura*- (line D) does not occur as often as the lexical use (line A) nor as often as the modal suffix *-chi*- (line C), which is the traditional marker of ‘causation’ in Quichua. However, the complex verbal construction developed through calquing, [INF + *rura*-] (lines D) appears more frequently in the corpus than [INF + *asi*-] (line E).

Line	Salcedo corpus	Tokens
A	puri- ‘walk’	8
B	anda- ‘walk’, ‘go’	1
C	gerund suffix -ju-, -sha-	119
D	[gerund + puri-]	12
E	[gerund + anda-]	0

**Table 6.10** Frequency count of lexical *puri*-, *anda*-, and grammaticalized *puri*-, and *anda*- in Quichua

In table 6.10, the native Quichua lexical verb *puri*- ‘walk’ (line A) is matched by a very weak doublet *anda*- ‘walk’, ‘go’ (line B). Given that the Spanish word *andar* ‘to walk, to move’ only appears once in the entire corpus (cf. lines B and E), we have strong evidence that the

complex verb phrases were calqued straight away and did not emerge first through lexical borrowing. Durative aspect occurred frequently in the data (line C) and was usually marked with Quichua suffixes. The use of auxiliary *puri-* in [gerund + *puri-*] occurred more times than the lexical use of *puri-* ‘to walk, to go.’

Line	Salcedo corpus	Tokens
A	chari- ‘have’	75
B	tini- ‘have’	1
C	[INF + ka-]	11
D	[INF + chari-]	5
E	[INF + tini-]	0

**Table 6.11 Frequency count for *chari-* and *tini-* as lexical and modal verbs and *ka-* as an auxiliary verb**

The native Quichua lexical verb *chari-* ‘have’ (line A) in table 6.11 is similar to *puri-* (table 6.10) in that the semantic equivalent *tener* ‘to have’ in Spanish was not borrowed (cf. lines B and E). This is particularly noteworthy because *tini-* ‘to have’ is often cited as an established borrowing in the central Ecuadorian dialects (Muysken & Starks 1978, Carpenter 1982, Haboud 2002). Notice how the auxiliary use of *chari-* in [INF + *chari-*] (line D) is approximating Quichua’s traditional complex construction [INF + *ka-*] (line C).

From tables 6.9-6.11 we can surmise that the pattern of calquing is quite unrelated to lexical borrowing, that is, the Spanish lexical verbs that are semantically equivalent to their Quichua counterparts are not well-established borrowings (lines B) and neither are the Spanish auxiliaries (lines E). We might characterize lexical borrowing as a type of language change that is different, and perhaps unrelated, to structural change such as calquing. From the patterns that are observed from these three Quichua verbs (*chari-* ‘have’, *rura-* ‘do, make’, and *puri-* ‘walk’) it does not appear that the lexical form is borrowed before the morpho-syntactic information is introduced into Quichua. If this were the case, we would expect the Spanish borrowings (lines B and E) to outnumber the structural copies (line D). Rather, it appears to be a case of straight-away calquing of the Spanish complex verb phrases, a phenomenon that is assumed to be a recent development given that it is rarely if ever talked about in the literature on Quichua dialects.

### 6.3.1 Identifying consultants who calque

To find more evidence that these calques have emerged recently in the community it is necessary to examine their distribution in the Salcedo corpus. As we can observe in table 6.12, only 4 of the 30 consultants used at least one of the three aforementioned loan translations. Keeping in mind that only five-minute segments were randomly chosen to be transcribed for the Salcedo corpus, we may agree that the verbal calques have gained a foothold with certain speakers, i.e. at least 12.5%, or 4 of the 30 consultants, use these calques. The fact that such a small percentage of speakers employed these loan translations may actually make it easier to identify who is introducing them into their Quichua conversations.

Consultant	INF + rura	INF + chari	Gerund + puri
S2	X	X	X
S8	X		X
S1			X
S31			X

**Table 6.12 Consultants in the transcribed data who employ Spanish calques in Quichua complex verb constructions**

In table 6.12 (and tables 6.9-6.11 lines D) we see that the [gerund + *puri*-] construction is the most wide-spread loan translation in the community, both in the total number of tokens and the number of consultants who have used it. Contrarily, [INF + *chari*-] is the least common construction among the four consultants. Also in table 6.12, S2 is the only consultant who was recorded to have used all three loan shifts, a result that may be explained by the relatively high number of times he appears in the corpus (7 in total).

Consultant	Age	Dominant Language	Total Loanword %
S1	76	Quichua	41%
S2	51	Balanced	46%
S8	55	Quichua	52%
S31	47	Balanced	15%

**Table 6.13 Background information of the four consultants who employ Spanish calques in Quichua**

In table 6.13, no sharp contrast in age, dominant language, and overall lexical borrowing distinguishes the consultants from each other with the exception of S31 who has a conspicuously low loanword percentage and S1 who is one of the four elders in the community. With regard to language dominance, it is important to note that none of the consultants who use these calques were L1 Spanish bilinguals, while the two balanced bilinguals speak closer-to-standard varieties

of both Spanish and Quichua.

To summarize our findings for this section, we may state that Quichua’s class of auxiliary verbs has expanded through the use of calquing and generally occurs with high-frequency lexical verbs that do not have Spanish verbal counterparts from lexical borrowing. By examining the frequency of the verbs used in Salcedo Quichua, I describe how this type of structural innovation has been developed by advanced or L1 Quichua bilinguals who are at least 47 years old. Age and migration may be significant variables since 3 of the 4 consultants listed in table 6.13 (S2, S8, and S31) were part of the group who first migrated to Quito in the 1970’s. Although the results are far from being conclusive, there does appear to be a pattern that relates to the lexical borrowing results in chapter five. Consultants who have employed loan translations tend to use fewer Spanish loanwords, though the difference is not statistically significant. The three early migrants that were mentioned above (S2, S8, S31) also belong to the group of language ‘purists’ that I describe later in section 6.4 of this chapter.

### 6.3.2 Identifying consultants who employ Quichua particles in Spanish

In section 5.4 of chapter five, I noted that the Quichua particles *-ga*, and to a lesser extent *-mi*, were used by speakers throughout the community regardless of age, level of bilingualism, or years of schooling. With that said, it was also observed that the speakers who use the rest of the particles listed in table 5.13 of chapter 5 (particles other than *-ga* and *-mi*) have a different L1 from those who calque Spanish verb constructions into Quichua, that is, the consultants who used the complex verbal calques in Quichua (S1, S2, S8, S31) were not the same consultants who consistently employed the Quichua particles in Spanish.

Consultant	Age	Bilingualism	Sex	Loanword %
S33	32	Spanish	F	35%
S9	65	Balanced	F	57%
S20	46	Spanish	M	47%
S14	74	Quichua	F	47%
S11	66	Quichua	M	52%

**Table 6.14 Consultants that use a wide range of Quichua particles in Spanish**

Based on the information in tables 6.13 and 6.14, we can put forth some general observations about the speakers who incorporate Quichua particles in Spanish. First, 3 of the 4 consultants who used calques are male (table 6.13) while 3 of the 5 who used particles in Spanish are female. Second, all of the “calquers” were either balanced or L1-Quichua bilinguals while

two of the consultants from table 6.14 were L1-Spanish bilinguals. And third, none of the “calquers” were closely related to each other, while S11, S14 and S33 (table 6.14) are relatives.

Based on the general background information of the consultants who have been identified as “innovators” of structural change in Quichua (table 6.13) and Spanish (table 6.14), it is difficult to pinpoint a common feature that is shared by each group. Similar to the findings from our study on lexical borrowing, no independent social variable can be used to unequivocally identify a group as using the language differently from the rest. These results do suggest that the local varieties of Spanish and Quichua that differ so greatly from standard forms of the language are employed throughout the community, that is, they are community-wide norms. And although linguistic variation clearly exists among the consultants, and also among speech events by the same consultant, the five social variables analyzed in these studies do not account for its variation. For this reason, I now turn to the ethnographic research from my fieldwork as a way to further contextualize the consultants’ relationship to ‘mixed’ language forms and their perceptions of Chaupi Lengua.

#### **6.4 Bilingual Continuum revisited: Interpreting language attitudes and defining Chaupi Lengua**

In reporting the results on lexical borrowing in chapter five, we observed a considerable degree of variation in Spanish loanword percentages in Salcedo Quichua (between 15-78%). Although none of the five ‘traditional’ socio-demographic variables (age, education, gender, urban migration, and type of bilingualism) could explain the level of loanword use (section 6.2.2), lexical variation among individual speakers commonly occurred when they interacted with different interlocutors as a result of their convergent accommodation (see Tables 6.6 and 6.7 in Section 6.2.3). Speech accommodation was documented with the handful of consultants who were recorded in more than one speech event; however, not enough data were gathered to reveal the underlying factors that influence different forms of convergent and divergent accommodation.

Yet, despite the tendency to accommodate to an interlocutor’s level and type of Spanish loanwords, lexical variation still exists. In this section we examine the influence of religious practice on linguistic attitudes and performance, the linguistic ideologies of “pure” and “mixed” language use, and the perceptions consultants hold of who speaks the “best”, most “authentic” Quichua. These ideologies together with the other results from chapter six (specifically tables

6.13 and 6.14), outline the general relationship between the speech style found on the bilingual continuum and the type of speaker who tends to use it. As with most kinds of variation, no exclusive or one-to-one relationship exists between speech form and speaker, especially in the case of Salcedo Quichua where all of the consultants for this study are able to perform each style along the continuum. Rather, the goal is to describe the tendencies of particular speakers and the social meanings that are associated with these linguistic styles.

#### 6.4.1 Bilingual continuum revisited

In this section, I sketch the general relationship between the type of speaker and the speech style that is associable to their linguistic performance and ideology. Since each of the speech styles represented in table 6.15 are composed of different types of linguistic influence, the sociolinguistic discussion will be accompanied by a more detailed account of where the lexical and structural features fit into the bilingual continuum.

Language Variety	Standard Quichua	Central Ecuadorian Quichua	Hispanicized Quichua	Quichuacized Spanish	Andean Spanish	Standard Spanish
<b>Distinguishing Feature</b>	Minor influence from Spanish & calquing	Sp. lexical borrowing	Heavy Sp. lexical borrowing	Andean Sp features & Q. particles	Substratum Interference from Q.	No effects from Quichua
<b>General type of speaker</b>	Language Purists/Religious Leaders	All bilingual speakers in community	All bilingual speakers in community	Informal Speech by much of the community/ typically women	Entire community	Some migrants/ colegio grads/ language purists

**Table 6.15 Bilingual continuum in Salcedo and its relationship with other bilingual phenomena**

##### 6.4.1.1 Standard Quichua

Per our previous discussions on Spanish lexical borrowing in Salcedo Quichua, Standard Quichua is marked by verbal hygiene, i.e. a less-than-normal use of hispanicisms. I characterize the speakers of Standard Quichua as ‘language purists’ in part for their tendency to introduce Quichua neologisms instead of using more commonly used Spanish borrowings and also for their practice of recasting interlocutors’ utterances with ones that have fewer hispanicisms. Also, this group of language purists is consistent in two other areas: they helped introduce the new Spanish loan translations discussed in section 5.3, and when speaking Spanish, they rarely use any of the

Quichua particles characteristic of Quichuacized Spanish. I labeled this group of men (S2, S31, and S35) ‘purists’ for their concerted efforts to use both standard forms of Quichua and Spanish in a wide range of domains and contexts. Many of the bilingual consultants that I interviewed were worried about the loss of the Quichua language in their community, yet what distinguished the purist’s perspective could be found in their aspiration of language *improvement* and not mere *maintenance*. For them, speaking a form of Chaupi Lengua or Hispanicized Quichua is less preferred than reviving a variety of Quichua with less Spanish loanwords.

Their sense of urgency and activism can be seen interactionally when they recast interlocutors’ Quichua sentences into ones with fewer hispanicisms, sometimes employing neologisms for commonly used Spanish loanwords. In (2), the standard word *kishka-* is used for non-standard *yuya-* or *apindi-* ‘to learn’ in line 2; *kishkana huasi* and *yachana huasi* for *kulijiu* ‘school’ in lines 3 & 7; and *runapak shimi* for *lingua* ‘language’.

## (2) Standard Quichua use by S31

Line 1: *ñuka, siertu, kai ñuka ruku pachapi*  
 ‘I, truthfully, in my advanced age’

Line 2: *ashata kishka kishkaikati wasipi purijuni,*  
 ‘I am learning to write in my house’

Line 3: *kayaka ñukaka kishkana wasimun rrina kani*  
 ‘tomorrow I have to go to school’

Line 4: *examen kunata kujuni*  
 ‘in order to take an exam’

Line 5: *y chaimanta mashi Marco*  
 ‘and for this reason Mister Marco’

Line 6: *ñuka shuj ayudata mañashpa shamurkani*  
 ‘I’ve come to ask for some help’

Line 7: *kayaka yachana wasimun rrina kani.*  
 ‘tomorrow I have to go to school’

Line 8: *Mashi Marco kai kishkay katika (ma)na ñukanchij runapak shimi kan*  
 ‘Mr. Marco, this assignment that we are learning isn’t my native tongue’

Line 9: *kizás kikipaj shimi kan ingles*  
 ‘Maybe English is your language’



The influence of Quichua radio, a strong promoter of standard, non-hispanicized Quichua, reaches all of the communities in the Salcedo region. The radio stations that broadcast religious programs are one of the resources helping this group of purists affect language change in the community. Different from the initial goal of this study which was to single out the linguistic innovators who were responsible for the increase of Spanish loanwords into Quichua, it appears that this group of speakers are leading lexical change by decreasing their use of them. We did establish in section 6.2 that the level of Spanish loanwords (58%) was relatively consistent and community-wide. With the small group of language purists who are trying to replace Spanish borrowings with less commonly used neologisms, the introduction of new Spanish loanwords may level off or even diminish. Of course, this trend relies on the degree to which these purists will influence other members of the community. In the case of Quichua neologism, the effects until now have been minimal.

In table 6.16, all of the language purists in the community are either at or below the Spanish loanword mean for individual speakers. Part of the fluctuation may be explained through speech accommodation (discussed in 6.2.3 of this chapter). Although S2 also tends to use Spanish loanwords below the mean, his accommodation to interlocutors who used more Spanish loanwords increased his overall percentage. Had S2 communicated with S31 or S35, his percentage would have been much lower, assuming he continued his pattern of convergent speech accommodation.

<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Spanish loanwords</b>	<b># of words</b>
S2	46%	1039
S31	15%	71
S35	30%	320

**Table 6.16 Salcedo Quichua language purists and their use of Spanish loanwords**

Apart from the linguistic tendencies mentioned above, these speakers have more features in common with each other—all three were laymen in religious organizations for several years. S35 lead catholic catechism while S2 and S31 played important roles in the formation of the Seventh Day Adventist church in the community. As religious leaders, they often conducted prayer services and read from religious texts in both Spanish and Quichua. The training and proselytizing of the Adventists was different from the Catholics. Similar to the other evangelical churches in the region, the main objective of the Adventists was to talk with other farmers about

their religious beliefs and try to convince them to reconsider their devotion to the Catholic Church. The proselytizing usually occurred in Quichua.

Stemming from their religious engagement, another shared practice among the three consultants was the use of religious texts (hymn and prayer books, biblical lessons, and leadership guides) in standard Quichua, a dialect that contains a reduced number of Spanish loanwords and traditional Quichua word order. Their use of standard Quichua forms may originate from their practice with different written texts while performing their religious leadership roles, yet this would only explain their linguistic acclimation. The language attitude that motivates their behavior of separating Spanish-derived lexical items from Quichua is supported by other important cultural institutions (NGOs, local government initiatives, religious organizations, and the Pachakutik party). Some of the political, religious, and educational leadership in the Salcedo region was not only bilingual, but also unashamed to speak Quichua in public settings. The families of these three purists are active participants in organizations that promote the use of Quichua and the values of the Adventist church. The fact that only 3 of the 30 consultants held these purist ideologies may come as a surprise, but when the larger Ecuadorian society and workforce is taken into account, the prestige of speaking Quichua still remains low.

#### **6.4.1.2 Regional Quichua and Hispanicized Quichua**

Contrary to the Quichua purists who in practice and in ideology promote a standard variety of the language, the speakers who use Regional and Hispanicized forms of Quichua are more difficult to identify. For instance, unlike S2 who clearly articulated a desire to avoid hispanicisms, none of the consultants intended to introduce more loanwords into their use of Quichua. This is probably because the speech styles in this part of the continuum are the norms in the Salcedo sierra and represent how Quichua is typically spoken among community members in domestic and informal settings. Since the percentages from each conversation were made cumulative in order to apply a statistical analysis to the data, some of the loanword variation by individual consultants is not always apparent in appendix D. For example, S9 was recorded in two conversations. In the first she used 80% Spanish loanwords (Hispanicized Quichua) and in the second only 47% (Regional Quichua). I argue that in both conversations, her speech represents the typical discourse in the community in the sense that each of her linguistic

performances would be considered “normal” by other residents.

The distinction that is made between Regional and Hispanicized Quichuas is one that I apply to the data in order to express the difference in Spanish loanword use; however, it was not a consensus of the consultants. Although some of them would label Hispanicized Quichua (HQ), “Chaupi Lengua,” their use of the term functions not only as a linguistic description, but also as a social evaluation (see section 6.5 below).

### (3) Hispanicized Quichua (HQ) and Regional Quichua (RQ)

<b>HQ.</b>	Chaimanta	pai	<b>vini</b> -shpa-ga	<b>kumparsa</b> -kuna-ta	<b>fiha</b> -rka
	Then	he	come-SUB-TOP	outfits-PL-ACC	look-PST
<b>RQ.</b>	Chaimanta	pai	shamu-SUB-TOP	<b>kumparsa</b> -PL-ACC	riku-PST
	‘Then he came back and looked at the festive costumes.’				

<b>HQ.</b>	Taita <b>Alejandro</b> -bu	<b>kumbida</b> -kuna-ta	<b>brinda</b> -rka-ni
	taita Alejandro-GEN	gift-PL-ACC	prepare-PST-1
<b>RQ.</b>	Taita <b>Alejandro</b> -GEN	<b>kumbida</b> - PL-ACC	kara- PST-1
	‘I prepared Taita Alejandro’s gifts.’		

The main difference between these two speech styles is the quantity of Spanish lexical borrowing that is employed. As we can observe in (3), frequently used content words in Quichua, such as *shamu*- ‘come,’ *riku*- ‘look,’ and *kara*- ‘prepare’ are not always used in Hispanicized Quichua. Since all of the HQ speakers and many passive bilinguals know these basic words, we cannot attribute the use of Spanish borrowings to language attrition. Rather, the choice is a stylistic one. In fact, RQ and HQ together share more features than they do with standard Quichua. As was mentioned in the previous section, standard Quichua in Salcedo is characterized by the use of neologisms, limited use of Spanish loanwords, and the use of Spanish calques, all of which are features that are not found in either RQ or HQ.

#### 6.4.1.3 Quichuacized Spanish and Andean Spanish

Quichuacized Spanish is marked by the use of several Quichua particles. In addition to these particles, this speech style incorporates all of the features of Andean Spanish that are discussed in chapter two. Apart from the topicalizer *-ga* which is used by everybody in the community, I identified five consultants (table 6.14) who employ a wider range of Quichua

morphology in their use of Spanish. Three of the five are women who belong to the same extended family and live near each other. The ethnographic work for this project does support the assertion that most women than men in the Salcedo region typically speak Quichuacized Spanish. Beyond the grammatical elements from Quichua, other features of speech mark this variety as syncretic, such as prosody, accent, and phonetic modifications. For example, a phonological feature typical of Andean Spanish is the palatalization of the standard Spanish trill [r]. Andean speakers pronounce *perro* ‘dog’ [peʃo] instead of the standard form of [pero]. Women in Salcedo tend to employ ‘Quichua’ pronunciation more frequently than men.

Substrate features from Quichua appear in the speech of women primarily because they are typically denied access to education more often than their male counterparts and siblings, and they tend not to migrate to the city for work in construction. Most adult males in each family usually spend the work week in Quito while the elders and women remain in the community in order to look after their children, take care of the livestock, tend to the fields, and manage their homes. On the weekends, the male migrants return home and labor in the fields. When a potato harvest produces enough crops for the market, the women might accompany their husband and children to town in order to sell their product and buy provisions. The lack of schooling and exposure to urban dialects of Spanish are the main factors in women’s use of non-standard varieties of Spanish and Quichua.

Despite the fact that the statistical analysis did not indicate women as exceptionally high users of Spanish loanwords when speaking Quichua, other pieces of information support the position that they tend to use non-standard forms of both Quichua and Spanish. First, the maximum value in the box plots analysis, S5, 78% is female. Likewise, 80% of one conversation of S9 was comprised of Spanish loanwords. Since the median does not indicate a higher use of Spanish loanwords by women, it may be argued that they show the great range of variation. Second, three of the four consultants who use Spanish calques and all three of the speakers who I identified as language purists are male. Third, the consultants who I observed to use standard forms of Spanish during religious ceremonies and *asambleas* are men, which is due primarily to the fact that women tend not to have leadership roles in these areas of community life. Finally, three of the five speakers who were recorded using of Quichua particles in Spanish are female.

As a general trend throughout the entire community and especially for women, lack of

education and employment in the larger towns and cities fosters an acceptance to syncretic speech forms. The Spanish-centric ideologies promoted by Ecuadorian society emphasize the importance of maintaining the two language varieties separate for fear of continued ‘mixture’ and influence through contact. The Salcedo highlanders who do not have consistent access to city do not seem to subscribe to this ideology of language separation. For this reason, a relatively large number of speakers have made the syncretic speech styles (such as Quichuacized Spanish and Hipanicized Quichua) the communicative norm. Reducing the lexical influence in Quichua or the structural influence in Spanish typically represents the unmarked form, though there are certainly domains in which the standard languages are appropriate (church, *asambleas*, and school).

#### **6.4.1.4 Standard Spanish**

The rewards of learning and speaking standard Ecuadorian Spanish continue to outweigh those of Quichua. Apart from the Quichua language purists mentioned above, several groups of consultants speak “clean” Spanish, that is, without any substrate influences from Quichua. Migrants who have worked in Quito and held leadership positions in unions often times manage the town hall meetings in their home communities, delegating who serves on subcommittees and how revenue should be spent. While conducting the town hall meetings using formal, parliamentary procedures (motioning, amending, seconding, following an agenda, taking minutes), the elected officials in the community tend to speak closer-to-standard Spanish. However, when heated discussions and debates take place, these same officials often times employ more features of Andean Spanish as well as Quichua particles *-ga* and *-mi*.

The younger generation of high school students who have studied in either Salcedo or Latacunga also employs standard forms of Spanish. Andean and Quichuacized Spanishes mark a speaker as “rural”, “uneducated”, and “poor”. In avoiding unwanted attention in school, many highlander youth go to great measures in hiding their rural dialects. One consultant who was certified as an electrician and worked for a multinational company in Quito told me that he had created an alternate identity so that his co-workers wouldn’t suspect that he was from *el campo* ‘the farm.’ Since his co-workers were originally from Quito, he was able to describe to them the high school he never went to, the parents he never had, and the friends he never made while growing up in Latacunga. Of course, none of this was true. Linguistically, he achieved this

newly-constructed, *mestizo* identity through his impeccable acquisition of standard Spanish, often times speaking more formally than middle-class Ecuadorians from prestigious high schools in Quito. Nonetheless, when these high school graduates are playing soccer in Cusubamba and they are caught up in the game, Quichua particles also emerge in their Spanish. It was not an infrequent occurrence to have children and teenagers use a Quichua particle, such as *-ga*, when speaking with me, only to self-correct and repeat the same utterance without the particle.

All of these examples suggest that rural residents from Cusubamba who have access to employment or education in the city are acutely aware of standard and non-standard forms of Spanish. Town hall meetings, church, and school are domains in which standard Spanish is most commonly observed. Similarly, teachers, priests, provincial politicians, and foreigners (like myself) are the type of interlocutor who evokes the use of standard forms of language.

#### **6.4.2 Language attitudes**

When conducting fieldwork, the topic of ‘Chaupi Lengua’ and ‘mixed’ language tended to encourage consultants to comment metalinguistically on language use in the community. Their ideologies about language use provide us with important insights into the direction of language change and the domains in which particular speech styles are deemed appropriate and normative. Vital to our conversation of ‘mixed’ languages is correctly identifying when consultants are using ‘Chaupi Lengua’ as an evaluation of a person’s character and when they are describing a speaker’s linguistic performance. Of equal importance is determining the denotational and connotational values of its use. For instance, ‘Chaupi Lengua’ as a linguistic speech style denotes several difference kinds of influence from Spanish when speaking Quichua. Unlike the specialized descriptions given by linguistics (insertional codeswitching, alternational codeswitching, lexical borrowing, substratum influence, convergence) the application of ‘mixed’ language terminology (*Chaupi Lengua*, *Media Lengua*, *Chaupi Shimi*) is not consistently applied to the same kind of linguistic phenomenon. The attitudes that are typically expressed toward the speaker who uses these ‘mixed’ language labels however, do reveal information about how consultants position themselves in the social constellation of the speech community.

The topic of labeling these speech styles either ‘Quichua’ or ‘Chaupi Lengua’ is quite complex though important for our discussion of *Media Lengua* genesis since Muysken claims that it was consciously and deliberately constructed through the awareness the speakers had of their own sense of group identity. Although there are several competing ideas of how to define

Chaupi Lengua in present-day Salcedo, who speaks it, and whether it differs at all from Quichua, some basic positions can be articulated to characterize the consultants' attitudes toward different speakers and varieties of Quichua.

First, using Spanish elements in Quichua is generally viewed as a negative practice, except when having no Quichua alternative for the Spanish loanword. This perspective is partly due to the kind of Spanish borrowings that are employed. Spanish loanwords in Quichua that sound “educated”, “professional”, or “governmental” will index the speaker as someone who has been more intimately involved in employment in the larger Ecuadorian cities or even abroad. Some examples of such loanwords are: Sp. *pretexto* Q. *prististo*- ‘pretext’; Sp. *producir* Q. *produci*- ‘produce’; Sp. *presupuesto* Q. *prisupuistu*- ‘budget’; and Sp. *dominar* Q. *dumina*- ‘control’, ‘master’. In (2), S18 adds a Spanish loanword, *dumina*-, that is similar, if not synonymous, to the previous word in the utterance, *yacha*-. The use of this Spanish loanword appears to have been done to index the speaker as ‘knowledgeable’, ‘trained’, and ‘competent.’

## (2) Recasting with Spanish loanwords

S18: ñukunchi ña	yacha-nchi	<b>dumina</b> -nchi	
We	already	know-1.PL	master-1.PL
‘We already know it, we know it.’			(Salcedo corpus)

While it is the case that certain Spanish loanwords can carry prestige, the majority of the lexical borrowings in the Salcedo corpus were not of this type. The consultants typically referred to Spanish loanwords as a kind of inevitable encroachment on the Quichua language, something to be avoided if at all possible. Surprisingly, the general feeling in the community was that many of the speakers had forgotten the basic words of Quichua; however, as we observed from the results of the Swadesh list (Section 5.2), almost all of the consultants provided Quichua translations to 80% of the basic vocabulary despite the fact that only about 60% of it was produced in speech. We may conclude that many of the consultants have a strong passive knowledge of Quichua and actually know more Quichua vocabulary than they think they know.

Several consultants commented that the level of Spanish loanwords employed in speech influenced their evaluation of whether the person was a ‘good’ Quichua speaker or simply a ‘mediocre’ Chaupi Lengua speaker. Chaupi Lengua may be partially defined by the type of Spanish borrowing and the associations that are made with particular slang, taboo, or ‘uncouth’

words. Yet for most people, Chaupi Lengua does not meet any type of linguistic criteria or Spanish loanword threshold; rather it is simply an evaluation of the speaker. Calling somebody a “Chaupi Lengua speaker” in Salcedo is on a par with calling them a “poor Quichua speaker.” Some bilinguals in Salcedo feel that everybody is a poor speaker, and thus claim that all of them speak Chaupi Lengua, while others reserve the term for pejorative use, primarily for people who they do not like or respect.

The consultants who believed there was a difference between Quichua and Chaupi Lengua gave me the names of speakers who represented both language varieties; however, there were many problems in verifying the people who were identified by others as Chaupi Lengua speakers. First, each consultant gave names that did not match the names from other consultants; that is, they did not form a distinguishable group that everybody could agree was the “Chaupi Lengua-speaking” group. Second, the Spanish loanword percentages for these claimed Chaupi Lengua speakers were not higher than the community mean. Third, the people who were identified did not see themselves as Chaupi Lengua speakers, unless of course they thought that everybody in the community was also a Chaupi Lengua speaker. Finally, these speakers did not have any demographic or sociocultural history in common.

The perspective that these labels, Chaupi Lengua and the Quichua, are commensurate to social status is illustrated in the following example. At one of the Lagumasa *asambleas*, two men argued at length with the community’s elected officials about a land dispute along a shared property line. The argument was mostly in Spanish with one of the landowners speaking in Quichua (S11). After the meeting, three men from the meeting, knowing that I was researching language use in the community, told me that S11 was speaking Chaupi Lengua. They also went on to say that he was being stubborn and irrational during the meeting, and that this was his normal behavior. Having recorded this particular town hall meeting, I reviewed the recording of the dispute and was not able to find above-average levels of Spanish loanwords in his use of Quichua or any other feature that seemed unusual. However, S11 did code-switch between Spanish and Quichua throughout the meeting, though not specifically during the argument to which they referred. Later, I discovered that for many bilinguals in Salcedo, “Chaupi Lengua” describes any type of Spanish influence in Quichua—lexical borrowing, code-switching, prosodic changes, and other interlingual phenomena. Chaupi Lengua is more than a label for a range of linguistic forms that resemble Hispanicized Quichua. As was clear with the land



dispute at the town hall meeting, it is also an evaluation of one's social standing and character.

The surprising fact about S11, the Quichua-speaking man involved in the land dispute at the *asamblea*, was his age. He was 76 years old. For about half of the consultants I interviewed, the assessment of Quichua competence was an expression of respect and reverence for their elders. For them, the “best”, “purest”, and “most authentic” speakers were the elders of the community, the ones who were born before 1950 and grew up speaking Quichua during the *hacienda* and *wasipungo*<sup>25</sup> eras. Although the elders learned Andean Spanish as an adult, their use of Spanish loanwords matches the mean for the entire community. On several occasions, middle-aged consultants who also grew up with Quichua as their first language referred me to an elder for questions about Quichua and for “better” recordings.

What may be of particular interest here are the cases in which an elder is said to have spoken “poor” Quichua, that is, to have spoken Chaupi Lengua, which was the case for S11 when he was involved in this land dispute. In fact, this kind of evaluation is not surprising at all when we look at some of the other perceptions about Quichua purism and competence.

As I mentioned above, the belief that some Quichua speakers are “better” than others only exists for about half of the consultants; however, when they compare themselves to other indigenous communities, they unequivocally position themselves as the Chaupi Lengua speakers and the others as the “real” Quichua speakers. Their point of reference for “good” Quichua is usually the *Otalaveños*, Quichua-speaking Peruvians, or leaders of the Pachakutik party in Ecuador.

#### **(4) Identifying Otavalan Quichua as “authentic”**

*S20: Mana perfektamente kichuhuada rimay pudinchi porque mana ñukunchi kichua perfektu rimagag. kai ecuadorpi rimaika Otavalo llaktamanda. Chi Otavalo pueblomanta chi aylluguna perfektamente kichuadaga rimanguna. ñukunchiga siempremi chaupi lenguada rimanchi pero ña entendinchi mucho. Porque Otavalo Perú chigunash kichua rimanguna pero diferente otro kichua.*

‘We are not able to speak Quichua perfectly because we don’t speak (practice) perfect Quichua. The language here in Ecuador is from the Otavalo region. The people from Otavalo and the families from this place are the ones who speak perfect Quichua. We always speak Chaupi Lengua, but we understand quite a bit. Because in Otavalo and Peru the people there speak Quichua, but use a different kind of Quichua.’

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<sup>25</sup> *Wasipungo* was a type of agrarian reform during the first half of the 20th century. *Wasipungoeros* (participants in the land reform), in exchange for labor, earned ownership of small plots of land (1/2 to 5 hectares), although they were usually steep, infertile, and remote.

The indigenous populations in the Andes have lived with many disparaging representations of their way of life, perhaps most clearly seen through attitudes of how they use the language. They have been told both directly and indirectly in schools, market places, local governmental buildings, banks, and on television and radio that they neither speak Spanish nor Quichua correctly. These relentless forms of discrimination have generated ideas and jokes about them not “controlling” their own language and in a sense, their own “culture.” The feeling that other communities speak better Quichua is propagated by purist ideas of maintaining the two languages separate.

### (5) Defining “pure” Quichua

*S7: kumu mana praktikabi churasha. ñukunchi ñukunchi idioma mana prácticamente rimashami. chaupi lengua derepente rimanchi. Kuti Otavalo familia chi aylluguna chigunaga. Solo kichua direktamente rimashaga perfekto kichuada rimanguna paigunaga. Pero chaiga kichua purito. siempre ñukunchiga huakinbi huakinbi chaupi lengua rimarinchimari. Pero intindinchi. paiguna paiguna rimashcada ñuka limpio entindini. y ñuka rimashcada paigunash limpio entindin.*

‘Since we aren't able to practice we don't use our language for everything. We talk suddenly in Chaupi Lengua. On the other hand, the families in Otavalo, these families speak directly in Quichua and for that reason they speak perfect Quichua. But this is pure Quichua. We always speak Chaupi Lengua, but we understand. I understand everything they say in Quichua. And when I speak they also understand everything.’

(Salcedo corpus)

Self-deprecating comments about Quichua language inadequacies are often followed by ones that diminish their claim to an indigenous identity. In their efforts to unite native communities through one common language (i.e., Quichua), the indigenous organizations in Ecuador have created an image and discourse of ethnic identity that is difficult for many highlanders to live up to. The same can be said for the language policies that replaced well-established Spanish loanwords with Quichua neologisms. The irony, of course, is that the language variety that connotes “real” indigenous ethnic identity, standard Quichua, is primarily acquired in formal education settings which are difficult to access for most children from rural communities. Yet, this is not to say that some rural residents in Salcedo do not attempt to provide this kind of educational experience for their children. Although knowing standard Quichua does not promise as many economic opportunities as standard Spanish, the public’s

embrace of their ancestral culture and language is still a valuable asset for some of the families in Salcedo.

### **6.5 Summary of sociolinguistic analysis**

In the current chapter, we discussed the relationship between the type of speaker who can be associated with the lexical and structural features discussed in chapter five. Box plots showed that migration and gender were not directly related to the increased use of Spanish loanwords. These two variables were particularly important given the great amount of time that male migrants spend in Spanish-speaking cities. As it turns out, it may be their exposure to urban dialects of Spanish that has instilled in them an ideology of maintaining the two languages separate. Although the results were not significant, the box plots on gender did show that the non-migrating women used Spanish loanwords slightly more than the migrating men.

In order to determine whether these differences of loanword usage were statistically significant, loanword usage among the different socio-demographic groups were submitted to an ANOVA. The results showed that the appearance of variation among the different groups in the box plots, including the one that measured gender, was not statistically significant and that no particular social group employed more Spanish loanwords in the Salcedo corpus than any other group. With regard to these five social variables, Spanish lexical borrowing was evenly distributed throughout the community. These results suggest that the level of Spanish loanwords (58%) represent a community-wide norm. It also points to one of two developments: either (a) the use of loanwords has been at this level for several years, or (b) if the use of loanwords has increased only recently, the L1 Quichua elders have adapted to this lexical change relatively quickly.

A relationship between speech accommodation and Spanish loanword percentage was shown to exist which might explain how elders have increased their use of lexical borrowings. Since interlocutors tend to repeat a speaker's words or phrases as a form of uptake and politeness, the overall percentage of Spanish loanwords tends to be similar between interlocutors of the same conversation.

The introduction of new loan translations from Spanish was performed mostly by four male consultants, three of which (S2, S8, S31) I label 'purists' because of their tendency to use closer-to-standard forms of Quichua. There is no evidence that these particular calques emerged during other types of speech styles on the continuum; however, this does not imply that the

speakers who used these calques never “cross” (Rampton 1995) and employ features from different communicative styles on the continuum. We witnessed S1 and S2, who used more calques than any other consultants, accommodate to an interlocutor’s speech by increasing and decreasing the use of Spanish loanwords. In analyzing the sociolinguistic profiles and linguistic performances, there does seem to be a relationship between linguistic ideology and calquing. The consultants who hold strong ideals of language purism are also the consultants who use a lower percentage of lexical borrowings, recast interlocutors utterances into ones with fewer hispanicisms, and calque Spanish grammatical structure. Since linguistic structure is much more difficult to adopt than lexical items, the process of calquing may simply be an approach to exploit the full range of expression through Spanish-inspired constructions without the appearance of Spanish influence.

The middle sections of the continuum that represent syncretic codes (Regional Quichua, Hispanicized Quichua, Quichuacized Spanish, and Andean Spanish) to a large degree represent unmarked language use in informal speech settings. The ethnographic work for this project does support the assertion that most women in the Cusubamba region typically use forms of Quichuacized Spanish and other Andean Spanish features more than men. Substrate features from Quichua appear in the speech of women primarily because they do not embody the same standardizing ideology of language discreteness, and thus, are more accepting of syncretic ways of speaking. Their male counterparts, both in their use of standard forms of Quichua and Spanish as well as in metalinguistic evaluations of language, strongly support practices of maintaining the two languages separate.

Despite the common practice of language syncretism and the use of what speakers call “Chaupi Lengua,” most kinds of language ‘mixing’ are viewed negatively. My ethnography of Salcedo Quichua speakers revealed that ‘Chaupi Lengua’ functions primarily as an evaluation of a person’s character, and to a lesser degree, a description of a speaker’s linguistic performance. Therefore, the application of the term can be complicated and quite context-dependent. First of all, ‘Chaupi Lengua’ does not clearly describe a specific type of linguistic phenomena, but rather depicts any type of influence from Spanish. Within the community, it is typically used pejoratively, either as an insult or an expression of disapproval. When the community as a whole is compared to other indigenous groups, the consultants categorically identified their home community as “Chaupi-speaking.” The other indigenous groups, such as the Otavalans from the

north of Quito, are described to be the “real,” “authentic” Quichua speakers. The Quichua language is assumed to be a defining aspect of indigenous identity and other speakers outside of the Salcedo region are assumed to speak it more “purely,” that is, with fewer hispanicisms.

# Chapter Seven

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## Conclusions

### 7.1 Introduction

In this dissertation, we have examined lexical and structural changes in syncretic varieties of Quichua and Spanish as well as the social evaluations often attached to their use. Comparing these syncretic ways of speaking to the case of Muysken's Media Lengua has allowed us to contextualize the nature of language change in the Salcedo region and make some inferences regarding Media Lengua genesis which is claimed to have occurred in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Although several observations and insights about language contact in the central Ecuadorian Andes are presented in the current study, the most significant contribution shows evidence for an alternative explanation for the emergence of Media Lengua. The results in the present thesis show that the recent increase of Spanish lexical borrowing in Salcedo Quichua both in the basic and non-basic vocabularies as well as in the subject pronoun system has occurred primarily through adlexification. By all measures, highlander Quichua in Salcedo represents what would have been an intermediate variety between the Quichua of the 1970's and Muysken's Media Lengua. If the current rate of lexical borrowing continues, the rural, highlander Quichua in Salcedo will become quite similar to Media Lengua for which we will have documentation that it had occurred through adlexification. Already, several discursive chunks of the consultants' speech from the Salcedo corpus resemble the example sentences in Muysken (1981, 1997).

When comparing Media Lengua in (1) with Hispanicized Quichua in (2), we observe how both utterances are characterized by Spanish-derived content words in a Quichua morpho-syntactic frame. Yet, the primary difference between the two varieties resides in the quantity of Spanish lexical borrowing in the collected data, Media Lengua containing 90% Spanish lexemes while present-day Salcedo Quichua contains 58%.

- (1) a. ML: **Kuyi-buk**                      **yirba**                      **nuwabi-shka**  
          Cavia-BEN                      grass                      there.is.not-SD  
          'There turns out to be no grass for the caviás'  
b. Q: Kuyi-buk k'iwa illa-shka  
c. Sp: **No hay hierba para los cuyes.**                      (Muysken 1997: 366)

- (2) a. Loc Q: Titiku, **kuniju-ta**      **buska-shpa**    ri-xu-k                      **sabi-ngui**  
                  Uncle, rabbit-ACC    search-GER    go-PRG-AGN              know-2  
                  ‘Uncle, you know how to look for rabbits’  
 b. Q:      Titiku, kunuta maskashpa rijuk yachangui  
 c. Sp:      **Tío, sabes ir en busca de conejo**                      (Salcedo corpus)

It is clear from (1) and (2) as well as from the Salcedo corpus that the characteristics of heavy lexical borrowing and relexification are often times difficult to distinguish in particular stretches of discourse. I have shown in this dissertation that the syncretic ways of speaking Quichua have emerged through adlexification and cultural borrowings. I argue that this fact makes it possible to explain Muysken’s Media Lengua, not as resulting from an exceptionless relexification process, but from the well-precedented processes of lexical borrowing and code-mixing that are cross-linguistically found in language contact. All that would be necessary to lead to the crystallization of Media Lengua as a separate linguistic entity would be a social motivation to make the kinds of utterances exemplified in (2) a marker of group identity. As in all such cases, this step will remain beyond our grasp; but that is not surprising, given Labov et al’s well-known ‘actuation problem’ (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968).

Muysken (1979, 1981, 1989, and 1997) defines Media Lengua as a ‘mixed’ language characterized by its split between the source languages of the grammar and lexicon, i.e. 90% Spanish-derived lexicon in a Quichua morpho-syntactic frame. The 90% figure applies to the non-basic vocabulary as well as to the pronoun system and the basic vocabulary. He estimates the new language to have emerged in one or two generations during the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Muysken contends that Media Lengua is a full-fledged language, an assertion he based on the inability of other non-Salcedo Quichua speakers to understand the recordings he made in the field. Claiming that this new Quichua-Spanish mixed language was independent from Quichua, he documents Media Lengua’s new structural developments that had not occurred in Quichua. Without substantial precedents of recently emerging contact language in the Andes, Muysken attributed Media Lengua genesis to relexification and rejected the role prolonged lexical borrowing and adlexification might have played in its development. He also ruled out the influence from other bilingual phenomena might have contributed in its development, such as code-switching, structural convergence, and interlanguage.

The impetus of this current study stems from the number of unanswered questions and

unproven claims in Muysken's research on Media Lengua and language contact in the Salcedo region. First and foremost, the qualitative differences between Media Lengua and Quichua with heavy lexical borrowing remain unclear. At the center of this distinction is the issue of relexification and adlexification. Muysken (1997) defines relexification as a process that copies only the "phonological shape" of the donor lexeme which in turn *replaces* a semantically equivalent native lexeme. In contrast, adlexification and prolonged lexical borrowing occur when speakers borrow phonological *and* semantic material from a donor language which is inserted into the morphosyntactic frame of the recipient language. Since the issue of these two lexical developments centers on semantic transfer, one would have to empirically prove that a donor lexeme carries with it, or does not carry with it, semantic information. Evidence of this sort could be partially shown through polysemous donor lexemes if its multiple denotational meanings are eliminated to conform to the recipient language meaning. In any case, no attempt of any kind was made by Muysken to demonstrate the inner workings of relexification with the content words that were brought into Media Lengua sentences.

Second, Muysken does not provide the necessary historical linguistic evidence to support his position that Media Lengua developed through relexification only, or that it had occurred in one or two generations. Third, only three native and two non-native speakers of Media Lengua were recorded and analyzed for Muysken's study. Such a small number of consultants raises questions regarding the study's generalizability and representation of language contact in the Salcedo region. Unfortunately, little in the way of socio-cultural information is known about his consultants, such as their level of Quichua or Spanish proficiency, occupation, education, home communities, or self-ascribed ethnic identity.

Fourth, Muysken employed two different methodologies when calculating the basic vocabularies of Media Lengua and Quichua; the former was compiled through informal conversations while the latter through elicitation of the Swadesh list. Different methodologies, especially when one is based on natural speech and the other on the elicitation of a word list, typically produce different results. The elicitation of the Quichua Swadesh list will have the tendency to yield careful speech (in this case, few Spanish loanwords) while natural speech in Quichua usually generates informal speech (many Spanish loanwords). The use of two different methodologies in determining the basic vocabulary may have contributed to the creation of such a marked discrepancy in the final outcome.



Fifth, Muysken asserts that Media Lengua, as a language independent of its source languages, had undergone structural innovations that had not occurred in local varieties of Quichua (reduplication, regularization, freezing). As I show in section 3.3.1, these innovations were not particular to Media Lengua as several Quichua dialects have experienced similar, if not, identical changes.

Sixth, in support of his relexification hypothesis, Muysken fails to clarify the methods he employs to ensure that existing historical borrowings and cultural borrowings in early-20th-century Quichua were not included in his calculation of Spanish loanwords in Quichua or Media Lengua. Had these well-established borrowings been accounted for, the roles that adlexification and relexification played in Media Lengua genesis could have been made transparent. Other inconsistencies in the methodology put the results of Media Lengua's basic vocabulary into question, such as Muysken's enumeration of well-established borrowings and adlexemes in Quichua as part of his relexification tally for Media Lengua (see section 3.3.3). Finally, in an attempt to demonstrate the 'mixed' as opposed to 'creole' features of Media Lengua, Muysken's asserts that the innovators had consciously created the new language, a claim that is unsubstantiated.

### **7.1.1 Review of fieldwork site, methodology, and research objectives**

The shortcomings in Muysken's research on Media Lengua motivated the current thesis; however, upon conducting my first trip to the Salcedo region, I realized that the direction of my research would need to change based on the present day status of Media Lengua speech communities. Since the 1970's, when Muysken conducted his fieldwork for Media Lengua, the farming communities surrounding the town of Salcedo have shifted to Spanish. Instead of continuing my fieldwork in the former communities that once spoke Media Lengua, I decided to work with the highlander communities which were mostly Quichua dominant when Muysken collected data, but have since become bilingual with the younger generation passively acquiring the Quichua language.

The focus on Spanish lexical borrowing in Quichua was a logical starting point to follow up on Muysken's research on Media Lengua since the lexicon was the central focus of the linguistic change he documented. However, during my second trip in 2007, I observed extensive use of non-standard structural features in different Spanish and Quichua varieties and wanted to account for their role as possible source languages to Media Lengua and Media Lengua-type

sentences. The Quichua conversations and interviews that I had recorded and entered into the Salcedo corpus were conducted in consultants' homes, usually during the evening. The Spanish recordings were more varied in location and context, though over half of them documented the weekly *asambleas* where residents discussed local political and social issues.

Five minute samples randomly chosen from each speech event were transcribed. Then each transcribed lexical item was entered into a spreadsheet, and labeled for language, part of speech, and speaker. The enumeration of Spanish loanwords and the statistical analysis of lexical borrowings were based on this data. When studying the recordings in Spanish, I transcribed both standard and non-standard uses of language for further analysis.

The basic vocabulary of Quichua was determined using three methods. First, I created two Swadesh lists for Quichua, one from the Salcedo Quichua corpus and the other through formal elicitation. Then, I identified the 200-most-commonly-used words in the Salcedo corpus as a way to verify the results from the corpus-based Swadesh list. With this information, I measured individual Spanish loanword use and compared it among five separate social groups using visual inspection of box plots and ANOVAs. The results from the studies on Spanish and Quichua structural changes were examined on a case-by-case basis given the low number of tokens. Finally, the on-going ethnography that I had been writing was introduced into the analysis and helped to ground many of the results from the lexical and grammar studies.

Overall, this dissertation is developed around four main objectives: (1) to describe the variation of Spanish loanwords within a bilingual community in Salcedo; (2) to analyze some of the prominent and recent structural changes in Quichua and Spanish; (3) to determine whether Spanish loanword use can be explained by the relationship consultants have with particular social categories; and (4) to analyze the consultants' language ideologies toward syncretic uses of Spanish and Quichua.

### **7.1.2 Review of Salcedo's bilingual continuum**

Before I summarize the results and analysis for each of these research objectives, it would be helpful to review the general features for each of the speech varieties belonging to the bilingual continuum of Salcedo (table 6.15).

Language Variety	Standard Quichua	Central Ecuadorian Quichua	Hispanicized Quichua	Quichuacized Spanish	Andean Spanish	Standard Spanish
<b>Distinguishing Feature</b>	Minor influence from Spanish & calquing	Sp. lexical borrowing	Heavy Sp. lexical borrowing	Andean Sp features & Q. particles	Substratum Interference from Q.	No effects from Quichua
<b>General type of speaker</b>	Language Purists/Religious Leaders	All bilingual speakers in community	All bilingual speakers in community	Informal Speech by much of the community/ typically women	Entire community	Some migrants/ colegio grads/ language purists

**Table 7.1 Bilingual continuum in Salcedo and its relationship with other bilingual phenomena**

At either end of the continuum are standard varieties of Quichua and Spanish, both of which are marked forms within the community. Only a handful of speakers use standard Quichua, and even then, only in formal contexts, such as for religious ceremonies or public speaking. It is characterized by its use of Quichua neologisms, Spanish calques, and limited Spanish loanwords. Standard Spanish on the other hand is used extensively in Salcedo, particularly during the weekly *asambleas* and other organized meetings. The migrants to Quito and the high school students who study in Latacunga or Salcedo were found to use more standard forms of Spanish than adult women and younger children.

The four speech styles in the middle of the continuum (Regional Quichua, Andean Spanish, Hispanicized Quichua, and Quichuacized Spanish) are examples of language syncretism. These speech varieties are distinguished from each other by at least one contact features, yet they all share several overlapping features. Andean Spanish is distinguished from Standard Spanish by several substrate influences (such as agreement, word order, ellipsis, reduplication, semantic redundancy, regularization, word formation, and semantic accommodation (Escobar 2000:24)( see section 2.5.2). Quichuacized Spanish shares all of the features of Andean Spanish, but is further distinguished from it through the use of Quichua particles, a grammatical element that is also employed in all of Quichua varieties. Similarly, both Regional Quichua and Hispanicized Quichua overlap with Spanish syncretic codes in the areas of vocabulary, subordination, and conjunctions. The use of linguistic elements from two historically different languages is described as ‘syncretic,’ and the speech style as a ‘syncretic code’ (Hill & Hill 1986) as a way to recognize that speakers may not perceive these features as

belonging to different languages. The observation that syncretic codes either influence the source languages in language development, or actually *are* the source languages, has implications for our analysis of Media Lengua genesis. If Media Lengua emerged as a product of Quichuacized Spanish and Hispanicized Quichua, the results would not have been so conspicuous. Yet, when the assumed source languages are Standard Quichua and Standard Spanish, Media Lengua would appear to be in a category by itself.

Pandharipande's (1982) study of lexical borrowing and convergence between Hindi and Puñeri Marathi in the Nagpur region of central India demonstrates how language change in seemingly "bilingual" contexts goes beyond our conception of two languages in contact with each other. In this particular case, she identified four language varieties. Many of the lexical and structural features that were borrowed from Puñeri Marathi into Hindi mark Nagpuri Hindi separately from Hindi spoken elsewhere. And vice versa, Hindi influence on Nagpuri Marathi is also distinguishable from Puñeri Marathi in other regions. Therefore, any analysis of Hindi and Marathi language change must take into account the contact features that have already been incorporated into the local linguistic varieties.

In the remainder of this chapter, I review the major findings that support a syncretic account of language change and the production of Media Lengua-type utterances in Salcedo. In section 7.2, I report on the lexical borrowing results, focusing on basic and non-basic vocabularies, the pronoun system, and role of adlexification. In 7.3, I discuss the structural changes of both Quichua and Spanish and how these changes relate to the speech varieties in the bilingual continuum. In 7.4, I briefly summarize the sociolinguistic study that examines the relationship between lexical borrowing and social variables as well as the other social factors that I observed in the field. In 7.5, I restate the final conclusions on the bilingual continuum, language contact in Salcedo, Muysken's Media Lengua, and the field of BML.

## **7.2 Spanish lexical borrowing in Quichua**

I address the first objective in section 7.1.1 (Spanish loanword variation) by examining the (1) percentage of Spanish lexical influence in Quichua, (2) rate at which it has changed since the 1970's, (3) effects it has had on the basic vocabulary and pronoun system, (4) degree to which native words have been replaced or added, and (5) role methodology plays in calculating basic vocabulary.

Overall, 58% of the content words, 37-39% of the basic vocabulary, and about 50% of

the subject pronouns in the Salcedo corpus were derived from Spanish. When compared to Muysken's description of highlander Quichua in the 1970's, Spanish loanwords have more than doubled in each category. The overall level of Spanish loanwords in Salcedo Quichua has grown to a level between highlander Quichua in the 1970's and Media Lengua.

Similar to Spanish's lexical influence in Media Lengua, the increase of Spanish borrowings in today's rural Quichua can be seen in non-basic and basic vocabularies as well as the subject pronoun system. The basic vocabulary of Salcedo Quichua is predominantly derived from native Quichua lexemes (61%) while the least frequently used words mostly originate in Spanish (60-70%). Adlexification plays a prominent role in the basic vocabulary since Spanish loanwords and their native Quichua semantic equivalents are both used throughout the community. Adlexification also occurs in the non-basic vocabulary of Quichua, though a slightly different kind given the influence of cultural borrowings that do not have semantic parity in Quichua. We also found Quichua beginning to incorporate Spanish subject pronouns. This type of pronominal adlexification is particularly prevalent with the first-person pronouns *yo* (singular) and *nusutru-kuna* (plural), derived from Sp. *nosotros* 'we' and the Q. plural suffix – *kuna*. Significantly, most of the growth has occurred through forms of adlexification i.e., doublets, well-established borrowings, and cultural borrowings, suggesting that 'ordinary' lexical borrowing also produces significant change in the Salcedo region.

Because basic vocabulary plays such an integral part in Muysken's claim that Media Lengua is a bona fide BML, I tabulate the Quichua basic vocabulary from the Salcedo corpus using similar methods—from elicited responses, which he did for Quichua, and recorded data, which he did for Media Lengua. Also, I wanted to determine the degree to which methodology affects the tabulation of lexical borrowing in the basic vocabulary. The Swadesh list constructed from the corpus data (37%) produced three times more Spanish loanwords than the one compiled from elicitation (12%). Muysken's argument for a precipitous increase from Quichua to Media Lengua's basic vocabularies (from 13% to 90%) can be partially explained by the use of these different methodologies in compiling the Swadesh lists. The difference reported by Muysken (Q. = 13% compared to ML = 89%) cannot be attributed entirely to the error of employing two incongruent methodologies, but together with the other issues of empiricism and analysis (discussed in chapter 3), the gap between Media Lengua and Quichua basic vocabulary may not be as extreme as he reported it to be.

### 7.3 Structural developments in syncretic Spanish and Quichua

I approach the second objective (section 7.1.1) by investigating two separate phenomena related to structural convergence. The first examined the complex verbal constructions that have developed in Quichua through Spanish loan translations while the second described the type of Quichua particles that are attached to Spanish lexemes while speaking Spanish. In chapter 5, we observe how three lexical verbs in Quichua (*puri-* ‘to go, to walk,’ *chari-* ‘to have, to possess,’ and *rura-* ‘to do, to make’) are also functioning as auxiliaries in the following constructions [gerund + *puri*] ‘duration,’ [INF + *chari-*] ‘obligation’ and [INF + *rura-*] ‘causation,’ all of which are modeled on the following Spanish VPs [*anda* + gerund] ‘duration,’ [*tiene* + INF] ‘obligation’ and [*hace* + INF] ‘causation.’ The results from this study, as it turns out, do not contribute directly to our discussion of Hispanicized Quichua since the speakers who employed them, did so while using relatively standard Quichua.

The changes in the Quichua verbal paradigm, specifically the use of auxiliary verbs in periphrastic structures, have introduced a variant into the bilingual community, but it does not produce more ‘mixed’ sentences. As we discovered in chapter six, three of the four speakers who employ Spanish structural copies are in fact the ones who tend to use less Spanish loanwords. The calques in Quichua appear in the Salcedo corpus with more standard forms of the language. Yet, not all structural changes from language contact play a peripheral role in producing significant ‘mixture’ between Spanish and Quichua. Strong substratum effects from Quichua into Spanish, particularly the use of Quichua particles, do have an influence on syncretic speech varieties in Salcedo.

The structural influence of Quichua in local varieties of Spanish attests to the existence of another syncretic variety in Salcedo. In this study, we observed how several Quichua particles appear in the speech of Quichuacized Spanish: *-ga* Topicalizer, *-mi* Affirmative, *-wa* Diminutive, *-da/-ta* Accusative, *-bi* Locative, *-bu/-bo* Genitive, *-munda* Ablative, *-wan* Instrumental, and *-mu* Cislocative. Although the use of Quichua particles was probably not the main catalyst engendering Media Lengua, its contribution as a source language to other ‘mixed’ varieties, such as Media Lengua, cannot be ignored. This syncretic variety of Spanish is essential to how we conceptualize the kind of language varieties that were in contact with each other when Media Lengua emerged in the Salcedo region. Contrary to Muysken’s representation of relatively

‘unmixed’ Spanish and Quichua as the two source languages of Media Lengua, local varieties of Spanish and Quichua might have already been ‘mixed’ to a large degree before Media Lengua was created.

#### **7.4 Sociolinguistic analysis**

The third objective (see 7.1.1) attempted to draw a relationship between particular social variables and the use of Spanish loanwords; however, no connection was discovered. This was surprising given that speakers’ practices are structured along a generational scale of language use: elders tend to be dominant in Quichua, most middle-aged adults are bilingual in that they speak both Quichua and Spanish, and the young people are monolingual Spanish speakers employing only a handful of Quichua words when using Spanish (Ridstedt & Aronsson 2002). It was predicted that L1 Quichua speakers would use fewer Spanish loanwords than other bilinguals whose L1 was Spanish.

Inspection of whisker box plots and ANOVAs were used to determine which social group, if any, have been introducing new Spanish borrowings into the bilingual communities in Salcedo. Specifically, I controlled for age, education, native language, urban migration, and gender. The results (chapter 6) indicate that none of the groups represented by each of the five social variables displays higher or lower loanword use. The implication of these results are twofold: (a) when lexical borrowing occurs, it is immediately adopted as the community-wide norm and spoken by members from different backgrounds and generations, or (b) the level of Spanish borrowing (58%) is not a recent phenomenon. If (a) is true, then certain speakers, such as the elders who have never migrated to the city or attended school, are following the lead of the younger Quichua speakers by incorporating more Spanish loanwords into their speech. This would suggest that we cannot rely on the eldest speakers of the community to represent how Quichua was once spoken in the past. When Muysken compared Media Lengua to Quichua in the 1970’s, he made the assumption that the monolingual Quichua speakers in the highlands represented the way Quichua was spoken during the 1920’s when Media Lengua is thought to have been developed. Since we cannot rely on the oldest members in the community to accurately represent the way the language has always been spoken, we may question Muysken’s original estimate of Spanish loanword percentages in Salcedo around the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. If (b) is true, then the level of Spanish lexical borrowing in highlander Quichua during

the 1970's might not have been as low as Muysken describes it to be (i.e. 10-40%), in which case, the gap of loanword use between local Quichua and Media Lengua would be smaller than reported.

There exist two prevailing attitudes about Spanish lexical borrowing in Salcedo. On the one hand, incorporating too many Spanish loanwords is often looked on negatively and a sign of 'poor' Quichua, the entailments of which include 'losing one's culture', not being connected to one's 'history' or 'roots', and being 'uneducated' and 'ignorant'. On the other hand, certain types of Spanish loanwords can index a speaker as being 'knowledgeable' and 'educated'. From what I observed during my ethnographic fieldwork, these loanwords are usually cultural borrowings:

- Q. *bakuna*- from Sp. *vacuna* 'vaccine'
- Q. *traktur*- from Sp. *tractor* 'tractor'
- Q. *prisidinti*- from Sp. *Presidente* 'president'
- Q. *urkista*- from Sp. *orquestra* 'orchestra'
- Q. *ilikutiru* from Sp. *helicoptero*, 'helicopter'
- Q. *kunfirmasun* from Sp. *confirmación*, 'confirmation'
- Q. *midiku* from Sp. *médico*, 'physician'
- Q. *pritistu* from Sp. *pretexto*, 'excuse'
- Q. *bilin* from Sp. *violin*, 'violin'
- Q. *futu* from Sp. *foto*, 'photograph'
- Q. *gringu* from Sp. *gringo*, 'white foreigner'

When Spanish, the language of prestige and power in Ecuadorian society, is evoked through 'educated' loanwords, then the evaluation of this type of influence is more positive. In Hill and Hill's (1980, 1985) work on language contact between Nahuatl and Spanish, the hispanization of Nahuatl gave the syncretic language (called '*Mexicano*') more status and prestige. Thus, they labeled the speech varieties with more Spanish loanwords the "power" code. High prestige speakers of *Mexicano* tended to use a higher level of lexical borrowings while low prestige speakers decreased their use of them. With the exception of the few educated-sounding words I highlighted above, this kind of correlation found with *Mexicano* speakers does not exist in Salcedo. In fact, the opposite was true. Less hispanicized Quichua was considered 'ideal', 'authentic', 'indigenous', and 'educated'. Yet, for Media Lengua to have been chosen as a marker of group identity in the beginning of the 20th century, the evaluation of its Spanish loanword use would have had to have been similar to that of *Mexicano*.

Incorporating Spanish lexemes might have indexed a person as having been, lived, or worked in



the ‘big city.’ But similar to the case of Mexicano, the Media Lengua speech communities have since shifted to the dominant language, Spanish.

## **7.5 Ethnography and bilingual continuum**

The fourth and final objective draws on my ethnographic research which addresses attitudes toward syncretic language use. As with many language contact situations, the variety of linguistic practices can be as diverse as the opinions about them. Information about the status, current state, and value of Quichua in Salcedo was gathered through informal interviews during town-hall meetings, celebrations, soccer games, dinners, and harvests. These language attitudes and self-reports address the conditions that evoke heavy usage of Spanish loanwords. Generally, Quichuacized Spanish and Hispanicized Quichua are highly stigmatized varieties spoken by the country’s most marginalized populations and families, yet within the community, syncretic ways of speaking are in fact the norm. This does not mean, however, that the pejorative evaluations from Ecuadorian society fail to permeate the linguistic ideologies of community members.

These standardizing forces are indeed working against the overarching trend of lexical borrowing and code-mixing in Quichua. It was shown that there exists a range of different linguistic definitions for ‘Chaupi Lengua’ and other syncretic language practices as well as many contrasting connotations, most of which were negative. One theme that emerged from the interviews was that speaking syncretic varieties of Quichua weakened the consultant’s claim to an indigenous identity. The ‘strong’ version of this perspective was embodied in the attitudes of three consultants that I labeled Quichua “purists” (S2, S31, and S35). On several occasions, they expressed negative opinions about the encroachment of Spanish vocabulary on Quichua. They also shared some common experiences—all of them were at one time religious leaders in the community: teaching catechisms, leading prayers and hymns, and giving brief homilies during church services. Many of the texts that were used for these ceremonies were published in Standard Quichua, a language they tried to incorporate into their religious practices. Whether the speech behavior of these Quichua purists will have a lasting effect on the overall trend of Spanish lexical borrowing in the community is still yet to be seen, but the presence of the indigenous political parties and the evangelical churches do add an element of ideologized language preservation that did not exist in great force 30 years ago. The movement toward bilingual education, the use of Quichua in evangelical church services (to which many

Ecuadorians are beginning to attend), and the maintenance of speaking Quichua in domestic domains may help the bilingual communities in Salcedo remain bilingual.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

The linguistic and social data presented in this dissertation supports an alternative view to Muysken's relexification hypothesis, one that has the advantage of operating with well-precedented linguistic processes and which is actually observable in the present-day Salcedo area. The results from the study on lexical borrowing are significant because they demonstrate how a dynamic bilingual speech community has gradually diversified their Quichua lexicon under intense pressure to shift toward Spanish. Although the speech variety that I label "Hispanicized Quichua" shares several features with Media Lengua, its use has not developed into a separate language that marks ethnic or group affiliation. Rather, the significance of these shared features comes from the fact that Hispanicized Quichua clearly arose from adlexification and prolonged lexical borrowing, and is one of at least six identifiable speech styles found in Salcedo. These results challenge particular interpretations of language contact outcomes, such as, ones that depict source languages as discrete and 'unmixed.' The bilingual continuum presented in this thesis shows on the one hand, the range of speech styles that are accessible to different speakers, and on the other hand, the overlapping, syncretic features that are shared among the different registers and language varieties. It was observed that syncretic speech styles in Salcedo are employed by different consultants in varied interactional contexts, and in turn, produce different evaluations by other fellow community members. Though we may not discover all of the nuances of each speech variety even in the bilingual communities in the Salcedo region, this dissertation brings us closer to understanding the complexity that is involved in the type of language change occurring in the central Ecuadorian Andes.

On closer examination of Media Lengua, we find that uncertainties of the evidence outweighs the verifiable aspects: the claimed innovations are in fact features of other Quichua dialects (see section 3.3.1); much of the basic vocabulary may not have been relexified but adlexified (section 3.2.3); the assertion that Media Lengua emerged in 1 or 2 generations is undocumented (section 3.2.3); and the linguistic profiles and backgrounds of the five consultants in the study remain a bit obscure (section 3.3.2). We know that lexical borrowing is one of the main catalysts in the process of linguistic change through contact. When the intensity of

language contact increases and the socio-political environments change for minority language speakers, borrowing is often augmented, even to levels that radically alter the recipient language system. Given the fact that Media Lengua communities in the foothills of Salcedo have shifted toward Spanish monolingualism, it would appear that this contact variety has followed the *death-by-borrowing* trajectory described by Croft (2003). In such scenarios, the last stage of language shift toward the target language is characterized by extreme lexical borrowing. The proximity and frequent interaction between these communities and the nearby cities might have forced the younger speakers to assimilate to the dominant culture due to the intense political and economic pressure represented by the linguistic practices in the workplace and schools. When Quichua in the Salcedo region experienced this strong influx of Spanish vocabulary that extended to nearly all aspects of its lexicon, the speech community might have given way to Spanish monolingualism (cf. Dorian 1989). This might explain how the extremely heavy lexical borrowing that occurred in Media Lengua could have belonged to a larger process of language shift rather than one of new language creation. It is of great interest that we follow the patterns of lexical change in the western region of Salcedo in order to observe the role heavy lexical borrowing plays in language shift and death in the coming years.

It has been argued that language death does not differ in kind from other types of linguistic change (Dorian 1985, 1989), a position that has also been put forth in the formation of BMLs (Thomason 2003). We began our discussion of BMLs and Media Lengua by addressing the challenges of defining the phenomenon in a way that clearly and unequivocally separates it from other processes and outcomes of external change, such as lexical borrowing, code-switching, interlanguage, shift, and convergence. In the current dissertation, I challenge the claim that relexification and Media Lengua-type sentences developed in isolation and without the influence of other bilingual phenomena. Based on Muysken's Media Lengua example sentences and the speech varieties from the Salcedo corpus, I argue that Media Lengua may have arisen as an institutionalized variant of the highly mixed "middle ground" within the range of the Salcedo bilingual continuum discussed above. Rather than characterize these linguistic features and their associable social values as two separate and static systems, a syncretic analysis is preferred as it attends to the dynamic nature of sociolinguistic change and the varied interpretations of these changes in interactional contexts.

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# Appendix A

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## Grammatical abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
AFF	affirmative (evidential)
AGN	agentive nominalizer
BEN	beneficiary
CAU	causative
CIS	cislocative
DIM	diminutive
EMP	emphatic
FTN	future tense nominalizer
IMP	imperative mood
INF	infinitive
LIM	delimitive ('only')
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
NOM	nominalizer
PL	plural
PRG	progressive
PST	past tense
REC	reciprocal
RFL	reflexive
S	singular
SD	sudden discovery tense
SUB	subordination
STA	state
TOP	topic
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person



# Appendix B

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Overall results of content words from Salcedo corpus

Spanish Noun Types =	247	70%
Spanish Verb Types =	135	46%
<b>Total Sp Type =</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>58%</b>

Quichua Noun Types =	107	30%
Quichua Verb Types =	157	54%
<b>Total Q Type =</b>	<b>351</b>	<b>42%</b>

# Appendix C

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Established Spanish borrowings in Quichua from elicited Swadesh List

<b>Spanish Borrowings in Quichua Basic Vocabulary</b>	<b>English</b>
Largu	Long
Anchu	Wide
Gurdu	Fat
Animal	animal
Pez	Fish
Sirpinti	Snake
Fruta	Fruit
Pluma	Feather
Ala	Wing
Picho	Chest
Chupa	lick, suck
Vumita	vomit
Uya ← oye	hear
Apuñala	stab
Vula	Fly
Canta	Sing
Fluye	flow
Luna	moon
Istrilla	Star
Cilo	Sky
Nivi	snow
Virdi	green
Rictu	straight
Ridundu	round
Afiladu	sharp

# Appendix D

## Speaker Spanish loanword percentage and demographic Information

ID	Birth	Educ	L1	Sex	Yrs. Migr	Type %	Words
S1	1932	0	Q	M	5	41%	227
S2	1957	9	Bal	M	35	46%	1039
S3	1958	6	Bal	M	25	49%	124
S4	1922	0	Q	M	0	56%	486
S5	1960	0	Bal	F	0	78%	87
S6	1933	0	Q	F	0	42%	81
S7	1942	0	Q	M	5	45%	242
S8	1953	0	Q	F	0	52%	466
S9	1943	0	Bal	F	0	57%	218
S10	1964	3	Bal	F	0	59%	53
S11	1942	0	Q	M	5	52%	55
S12	1940	0	Bal	F	0	47%	172
S13	1944	0	Bal	F	0	46%	36
S14	1934	0	Q	F	3	47%	323
S15	1962	9	Sp	M	31	59%	182
S17	1946	0	Q	F	0	46%	134
S18	1944	0	Bal	M	45	39%	30
S20	1962	6	Sp	M	5	47%	346
S21	1950	0	Q	F	0	44%	146
S24	1953	0	Q	M	8	39%	183
S25	1955	0	Q	F	0	40%	155
S26	1984	9	Sp	M	5	29%	51
S27	1943	0	Sp	M	48	37%	191
S29	1965	6	Sp	M	16	53%	358
S30	1952	0	Q	F	0	46%	352
S31	1961	6	Bal	M	30	15%	71
S32	1974	0	Bal	F	8	39%	292
S33	1976	6	Sp	F	0	35%	260
S34	1968	6	Sp	M	4	35%	85
S35	1974	9	Bal	M	0	30%	320

# Appendix E

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## ANOVAS for Spanish loanwords and socio-demographic categories

### **Independent Variable: Age**

The MEANS Procedure: Age Groups

<b>AgeGrp</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Variance</b>
1	3	3	0.3133	0.3000	0.0321	0.0010
2	9	9	0.4775	0.5000	0.1827	0.0334
3	7	7	0.4514	0.4600	0.0463	0.0021
4	9	9	0.4613	0.4600	0.0642	0.0041
5	4	4	0.4650	0.4450	0.0686	0.0047

### **Independent Variable: Education**

The MEANS Procedure: Level of education

<b>EdGrp</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Variance</b>
1	20	20	0.4684	0.4600	0.0892	0.0080
2	8	8	0.4186	0.4700	0.1478	0.0218
3	4	4	0.4100	0.3800	0.1431	0.0205

### **Independent Variable: Bilingualism**

The MEANS Procedure : Level of bilingualism

<b>BilGrp</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Variance</b>
1	13	13	0.4583	0.4550	0.0525	0.0028
2	12	12	0.4564	0.4600	0.1567	0.0245
3	7	7	0.4214	0.3700	0.1101	0.0121

### **Independent Variable: Gender**

The MEANS Procedure : Gender

<b>BilGrp</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Variance</b>
1	17	17	0.4200	0.4300	0.1137	0.0129
2	15	15	0.4821	0.4600	0.1010	0.0102

**Independent Variable: Migration**

The MEANS Procedure: Years of Urban Migration

<b>BilGrp</b>	<b>Obs</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>	<b>Variance</b>
1	16	16	0.4886	0.4600	0.1030	0.0106
2	8	8	0.4188	0.4300	0.0743	0.0055
3	8	8	0.4100	0.4250	0.1401	0.0196