

# Innovations in the Ecuadorian Converb Systems: Grammatical change in language contact situations



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## List of Abbreviations

1	= first person
2	= second person
3	= third person
ACC	= accusative case marker
BEN	= beneficiary
CONV	= converb
DIR	= directional
DO	= direct object
DS	= different subject
DUR	= durative
EV	= evidential
FUT	= future
GER	= gerund
IMP	= imperative
INF	= infinitive
IO	= indirect object
OBJ	= object marker
PAST	= past tense
PERF	= perfective tense
PL	= plural
POS	= possessive
REFL	= reflexive
SS	= same subject
SUBJ	= subjunctive

## Chapter 0: Introduction

The grammatical system of Quechua, an agglutinative language, differs greatly from the Spanish grammatical system, which is more fusional or inflectional. Nevertheless, shared features can be found even though these features developed separately in both languages. One of these features shared by Quechua and Spanish is the existence of a certain type of non finite verb form, namely the converb. Converbs occur in many different language families in Europe, Africa, Australia, Asia and America. In the book, *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Haspelmath (1995:3) gives a good definition of a converb: *a non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination*. The author (ibidem:4-8) isolates four important qualities a form should possess to be a converb:

1. The form has to be part of the verbal paradigm.
2. It is a non-finite form.
3. It is used adverbially, that is, to modify the verb.
4. It is a subordinated form.

### 0.1 Converbs in Spanish

In previous descriptions, Spanish is not considered to have converbs. However, the Spanish gerund possesses the converb qualities described by Haspelmath (1995). Consider the following example:

- (1) Mis tías        lavan los platos        cont-ando        chismes.  
My aunts        wash the dishes        tell-GER        gossips.  
'My aunts wash the dishes while telling gossips.'

In example (1), the verb *contar* (to tell) is used in the gerund form. The form has verbal qualities, as it governs a direct object: *chismes* (gossips). The verb form is non-finite; it does not have verbal inflection for mood, tense and subject agreement. For instance, the gerund *contando* in (1) has a plural subject. With a singular subject as in (1a) the verb form does not change:

- (1a) Mi tía        lava        los platos        contando        chismes.  
My aunt        washes        the dishes        tell-GER        gossips.  
'My aunt washes the dishes while telling gossips.'

The gerunds in (1) and (1a) are used adverbially. They complementize the action of *lavar los platos* (doing the dishes). Also, the gerund shows what the aunts or aunt do/does while doing the dishes, namely gossiping. The gerund *contando* is not an independent verb; rather, it is subordinated to the verb *lava/lavan*. Therefore, the gerund meets all the requirements to be a converb, according to Haspelmath. Both Haspelmath (1995:2) and König (1995:58) classify the gerund as a converb.

### 0.2 Converbs in Quechua

In the descriptions of Quechua, the term 'converb' is not used either. Nevertheless, Quechua possesses different infinite verb forms, which resemble converbs in other languages. Below, examples are presented from these verb forms in Ayacucho Quechua and Huallaga Quechua. The use of these verb forms does not differ much in the different varieties of Quechua.

- (2) Taki-stin llamka-chka-nku. (Ayacucho, Hartmann 1994:94)  
sing-CONV work-DUR-3PL  
'They are working while singing.'
- (3) chaya-rmiku-ra-:. (Huallaga: Weber 1983:112)  
arrive-CONV eat-PAST-1SG  
'I ate when I arrived'

Both *takistin* in example (2) and *chayar* in example (3) are non-finite verb forms that are used adverbially to modify the head clauses in the sentences. The actions expressed by those verbs are subordinate to the actions of the head clauses. For instance, their temporal interpretation can only be deduced from the temporal interpretation of the head verb: in example (2) the action of singing, *takistin*, has a present interpretation, because the action of working, *llamkachkanku*, takes place in the present. The converb *chayar* in example (3) has a past interpretation, because the verb *mikuraa* 'I ate' occurs in the past. Both verb forms mostly have a simultaneous interpretation in relation to the head clause. All these features make an analysis of these non-finite verb forms as converbs a plausible one.

Quechua has another pair of non-finite verb forms that fit the description of a converb. These verb forms are often interpreted as a consecutive action in their neutral interpretation: the action occurs right before the action expressed by the head clause. The reason for having two of those converbs is that the change of referent is expressed; one form is used when the subject of the subclause is the same

as the subject of the head clause, whereas the other is used when there are two different subjects. This phenomenon is often referred to as switch reference (amongst others Cole 1982:60-66; 1983; Finer 1985; Haiman & Munro 1983). In (4) and (5), examples of switch reference verb forms from Ayacucho Quechua are presented:

- (4) Miku-spa hamu-ni. (Hartmann 1994:94).  
 eat-SS.CONV come-1SG  
 'I go after having eaten.'
- (5) Taki-pti-y kusi-ku-n. (Ibidem:94).  
 sing-DS:CONV-1SG happy-REFL-3SG  
 'He is happy when I sing.'

In example (4), *mikuspa* represents the action of eating. The verb form has no inflection and is used to modify the main verb, *hamuni* 'I come'. The verb *mikuspa* is subordinated to the main verb *hamuni*. The form ending in *-spa*, therefore, seems to meet the criteria for converbs.

The form *takiptiy*, 'when I sing', meets almost every criterion for converbs. It is a subordinated verb form that is used adverbially to modify the verb *kusikun* 'he is happy'. The only criterion the form does not clearly meet is that it has inflection; *-y* is the suffix for first person singular. It is also possible to find the suffix on same subject converbs:

- (6) Miku-spa-n lloqsi-rqa. (ibidem:94)  
 eat-SS.CONV-3SG go-PAST  
 After having eaten, he left.

Still, the inflection on the subordinated forms is not the same as the verbal inflection on the verbs of main clauses. For instance, in example (4) the first person inflection on *hamuni* 'I come' is *-ni* and the first person inflection on *takiptiy* is *-y*.

Haspelmath (1995:5-7) also observes that converbs, especially different subject converbs, but also same subject converbs, are often marked for their subject. Therefore the non-finiteness criterion of converbs can be problematic at times:

*(...) non-finiteness as a definitional criterion for converbs does not always give clear results because of the finite / non-finite distinction is a scale with various intermediate points rather than a neat binary division. (Ibidem:7)*

Despite these problems, however, the author still considers the converbs with subject marking as markers of the subject to be converbs. Therefore, although the Quechua subordinate verb forms ending in *-spa* and *-pti* can still be considered as converbs, according to Haspelmath's analysis (ibidem).

### 0.3 Converbs in Imbabura

In this study, the converb system of the Imbabura varieties of Quichua<sup>1</sup> and Spanish are discussed. Imbabura is a northern province in Ecuador as can be seen on map 1:



Map 1: Map of the provinces of Ecuador.

The Imbabura varieties of Spanish and Quechua were chosen because of the tremendous changes that have been reported by different scholars in both language systems (among others, Cole

<sup>1</sup> The name Quichua is used for the Ecuadorian varieties of the Quechua language family.

1982, 1983; Haboud 1997,1998; Niño-Murcia 1995). Interestingly, we find a considerable degree of contact between the two languages in the province, as indigenous people are much more present in public functions than in other parts of the country. This also works the other way around; because the indigenous community has high level of bilingualism of Spanish and Quichua, Imbabura Spanish also has been influenced by Quichua.

One of the many changes that Imbabura Quichua has undergone is that the use of inflectional suffixes on converbs was lost. Therefore, the problem of verbal inflection on converbs does not exist in Imbabura Quichua. These changes in the Imbabura converb system caused the verb forms to fit perfectly into Haspelmath's (1995) description of converbs.

The reason why the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish were chosen for this study is that in both Imbabura Quichua and Spanish many changes can be found. Interestingly, linguists have found very similar verbal periphrases in the varieties of both languages, which do not occur in other varieties of the languages. The verbal periphrases take similar converbs as non-finite verbs in both languages. Examples of these verbal periphrases are presented by Niño-Murcia (1995:90-97) and Toscano Mateus (1953:284) and are shown below:

- (7) da-me            pasa-ndo. (Niño-Murcia 1995:89)  
 give-1SG:IO    hand-GER

'Hand it to me.' or 'Hand it to someone else for me.'

- (8) yali-shpa            cu-hua-i. (ibidem:97)  
 Hand-SS.CONV    give-1SG:OBJ-IMP

'Hand it to me.' or 'Hand it to someone else for me.'

- (9) da-me            hacie-ndo        el trabajo. (Toscano Mateus 1953:284)  
 give-1SG:IO    do-GER        the homework

'Do the homework for me.'

- (10) rura-shpa            cu-hua-i. ( Niño-Murcia 1995:97)  
 do-SS.CONV        give-1SG.OBJ-IMP

'Do it for me.' or 'Give it to me after doing it.'

- (11) dejó                      cocina-ndo. (ibidem:90)  
 leave.3SG.PERF      cook-GER  
 'He/she left it after cooking it.'
- (12) ñawi              yanu-shpa              saqui-rca. (ibidem:97)  
 already              cook-SS.CONV      leave-PAST  
 'He/she left it for me after cooking it for me.'
- (13) me              mandó              habla-ndo. (ibidem:90)  
 1SG.IO              send.3SG.PERF      speak-GER.  
 'He/she scolded me (and sent me away).'
- (14) rima-shpa              cacha-hua-rka. (ibidem:97)  
 talk-SS.CONV              send-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
 'He/she scolded me and sent me away.'
- (15) vine                      comie-ndo. (ibidem:90)  
 come.1SG.PERF      eat-GER  
 'I came while eating' or 'I came after having eaten.'
- (16) micu-shpa      shamu-ni. (ibidem:97)  
 eat-SS.CONV come-1SG  
 'I come after having eaten.'

The examples (7)-(16) show different combinations of the verbs *dar* or *cuna* 'to give', *dejar* or *saquina* 'to leave', *mandar* or *cachana* 'to send' and *venir* or *shamuni* 'to come' and a converb, with the converb being the gerund in Spanish and the converb ending *-shpa* in Quichua. All these combination have grammaticalized to a different degree in the two languages. Nevertheless, these constructions seem very similar in Quichua and Spanish.

Interestingly, some of these constructions do not exist in any other variety of Spanish or in any other variety of Quechua. Therefore, it is not possible to explain these similarities by claiming that the

features are language universals. These verbal periphrases are innovations<sup>2</sup> in both Spanish and Quichua. However, it seems too much of a coincidence that these constructions developed separately in the two languages. The contact between Quichua and Spanish seems to play an important role in the development of the constructions. This could mean that the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish are converging. Gumperz & Wilson (1971), in their study of four different languages of the Kupwar village in India, describe how these languages converge grammatically; that is, how they obtain many structural similarities. It would be interesting to see whether the same process can be found in the case of these innovative verbal periphrases in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish.

The emergence of verbal periphrases is not the only change in the converb system of Quichua. In Imbabura Quichua, a whole new set of subclauses that often express a purpose has developed. This set consists of a same-subject converb and a different-subject converb. Cole, in his grammar of Imbabura Quichua (1982:63-64) and in his article on switch reference (1983:6-13), and Jake (1985:36-37) describe the use of this set of converbs<sup>3</sup>. Examples of these converbs are presented below:

(17) Kitu-man ri-rka-ni chay-pi trabaja-ngapaj. (Cole 1982:63)  
 Quito-to go-PAST-1SG that-in work-SS.SUBJ.CONV  
 'I went to Quito to work.'

(18) Kitu-man ri-rka-ni ñuka wambra kolijyu-pi yachaju-chun. (ibidem:63)  
 Quito-to go-PAST-1SG 1SG child high school-in learn-DS.SUBJ.CONV  
 'I went to Quito in order for my child to study in high school.'

This set of converbs is not used in this way in other varieties of Quechua. The use of *-chun* in Imbabura Quichua resembles the use of the subjunctive in Spanish; in subjunctive subclauses with, for instance, *para que* 'so that' the use of the subjunctive is mandatory. Therefore, it is not strange that Cole (1982:63-64 and 1983) calls this new set of purpose converbs subjunctive verbs. It is possible that the intensive contact with Spanish has played a part in these developments in Imbabura Quichua. Other historical factors, such as older substratum influence, may also have had an important influence in these enormous changes in the Quichua converb system. Nevertheless, the origin of the switch reference subjunctive converbs in Quichua has not been studied.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'innovation' is used in this study in a historical perspective. Therefore, a feature is innovative when it is not traditionally found in the language. An innovation has not necessarily developed in the last few years.

<sup>3</sup> Although Cole and Jake do not call the verb forms converbs.

#### 0.4 Research questions and hypotheses

Both the development of verbal periphrases in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua and the development of a set of switch reference converbs in subjunctive clauses might be the result of intensive language contact in this northern province of Ecuador. To be able to get an idea about the importance of language contact for the developments in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua described above, these processes should be described thoroughly. With this purpose some research questions have been formulated:

1. To what extent have the innovative constructions of verbs and converbs (the gerund in Spanish and the form ending in *-shpa* in Quichua) grammaticalized and can they be called verbal periphrases now?<sup>4</sup>
2. How did the switch reference subjunctive converbs develop? Are the suffixes *-ngapaj* + *-chun* reanalyzed under the influence of the Spanish subjunctive, and is it an internal change or is there a possibility of older substratum influence?
3. Can we call the converb system that exists in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua a case of convergence<sup>5</sup>? In other words, can we say that the two systems have converged?

To be able to answer these questions, two hypotheses are presented:

Hypothesis 1:

The use and structure of the verbal periphrases in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish are similar to such an extent that the languages have converged when it comes to this feature.

Hypothesis 2:

The structure and use of the set of subjunctive switch reference converbs in Imbabura Quichua resembles the subjunctive use in Spanish; this is another part of the converb system of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish that has converged.

#### 0.5 Structure of the study

In order to answer the research questions and discuss the hypotheses, it is important to address various

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<sup>4</sup> If this were the case for Quichua, it would mean a tremendous change in the grammatical system of the language. As an agglutinative language, Quechua does not have many verbal periphrases. The development of this feature would mean that the language is obtaining through a grammaticalization process a feature of inflectional or fusional languages.

<sup>5</sup> The term convergence will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

different topics. In the first chapter, the social and historical background, the history and the recent situation of the different languages in contact in Imbabura are described. The first part of the description (1.2.1) consists of the pre-incaic situation. The languages that were spoken in Imbabura before the introduction of Quichua may also have had an influence on the languages spoken in Imbabura nowadays. The second part of this description is the history of the use of Quichua in Imbabura (1.2.2). By doing this, some developments and features in the language can be understood better, because different Quechua varieties have different features and have developed differently. Therefore, it is important to understand which varieties of Quechua influenced the language (there has been a lot of contact between varieties in Imbabura). In paragraph 1.2, the more recent social background of both Spanish and Quichua in Imbabura will be presented.

In chapter 2, the theoretical framework with respect to how languages change in contact situations will be presented. In chapter 3, methodological considerations, I will discuss how I will use the theory presented in the previous chapter for my analysis of the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. In chapter 4, I will provide an analysis of the innovative periphrases in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. First, I will present the results from the fieldwork. Then, I will determine what changes may have occurred in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, so that these innovative verbal periphrases came into being and finally I will present a possible scenario of development. In chapter 5, the innovative converb set *-ngapaj* and *-chun* will be studied. First, I will present the results from the fieldwork. Then, I will determine the changes that may have occurred and finally, present a possible scenario for the development for these innovative forms

In chapter 6, I will draw conclusions on whether the converb systems in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish have converged and whether these processes were more internal or external; that is, what was the exact influence of the contact between the languages on the changes that have occurred? In the final chapter, chapter 7, I will present some suggestions for future research.

## Chapter 1: Historical & social background

### 1.1 Introduction

Ecuador has a long history of language contact, even before the present situation in which Spanish and Quichua coexist in close contact. Before the arrival of the Spanish colonists, other indigenous languages were spoken, so there was also contact between those languages and Quechua. Not all of these pre-incaic languages had been replaced by Quichua when the Spaniards arrived. The province of Imbabura was one of the areas in which local languages were still spoken at the beginning of Spanish colonization. Because of the late Inca conquest of Imbabura, the process of quichuanization of the province had not been completed when the Spaniards conquered the area.

In both Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish, we find traces of this prolonged language contact; both languages have incorporated loanwords, phonological features and even morpho-syntactic features from the other language. The changes in the converb system of Ecuadorian Spanish and Quichua may very well be the result of contact between the two languages. It is even possible that some features are traces of an earlier stage of contact between Quichua and pre-incaic languages, which leaves open the possibility that Spanish may not even have played any role in some of the Quichua language changes. For that reason, it is very important to discuss the history and the present situation of the languages in contact in Imbabura.

### 1.2 The history of the languages in contact in Imbabura

#### 1.2.1 The Cara period

When the Spaniards arrived in Ecuador, Imbabura was in the hands of the Incas. However, the Incas were not the first indigenous people to live in Imbabura; when the Incas arrived, Imbabura was under the reign of a well organized community often referred to as the Caranquis or the Caras (Caillavet 2000:102-104). The Cara socio-political system resembled more an alliance than a state, although the Spanish referred to the alliance as *el País Caranqui*, the Caranqui country.

The area where the Caras lived does not coincide completely with the Imbabura province; the southern border of the area was the Guayllabamba river, which means that the area also included a part of the province Pichincha, almost including Quito. In the north, the border of the area was the Chota river, which is also the actual border between Imbabura and Carchi. The western and eastern borders

are not completely clear (Athens 1980:110; Bray 1992; Cieza de León [1553] 1984:122-127 ; Jijón y Caamaño 1941:235-238).

The *País Caranqui* consisted of various autonomous chiefdoms. The main chiefdoms were Caranqui (nowadays a neighbourhood of Ibarra) Cayambe, Cochasquí, Otavalo (Caillavet 2000:139-158). The *caciques* or chiefs ruled various villages with the assistance of other nobility, as the chiefdoms had a hierarchic system (Oberem 1981:77-78). Although the chiefdoms were autonomous, there was intensive contact between them. For instance, there were strategic marriages between the nobility of the different chiefdoms (ibidem:78). Children were also sent to chiefs from other chiefdoms to maintain good relationships (Salomon 1986:132). Another way in which the relations were maintained within the *País Caranqui* was trade. Because of the rich ecological system of different climates due to the different altitudes in the region, many different products could be cultivated, such as corn, potatoes, cotton and coca (Oberem 1981:79).

These intensive connections seem to have their origin in a common history. This possible common history becomes clear from cultural similarities between the different chiefdoms. One of these cultural similarities within the region was the artistic tradition; the same kind of pottery was made throughout the *País Caranqui*. There also seemed to be some similarity in the construction of villages; the houses of the chief and the other nobility were built on small mounds called *tolas*, in which a lot of archaeological riches are found nowadays (Bray 1992:218-220).

The common history also appears from the linguistic situation of the area. The peoples of the *País Caranqui* seem to have shared a first language. The first sources of Spanish officials in the area of Imbabura also show this linguistic unity. For instance, the testimony of Padre Antonio Borja ([1582] 1965:249) talks of one language in the *País Caranqui*:

'Los demás indios que hay en *Chapi* hablan la lengua como éstos deste pueblo de *Pimampiro*, ques lengua esqueta, ques la de *Otavalo* y *Carangue* y *Cayambe* y los demás pueblos desta comarca.'<sup>6</sup>

Linguistic unity does not only become clear from the Spanish testimonies. Topological and personal names from the area also reveal some information about the linguistic situation; many similar features

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<sup>6</sup> The remaining Indians who live in Chapi speak the same language as the people of the Pimampiro village, which is an exquisite language, which is that of Otavalo and Carangue (Caranqui) and Cayambe and the other villages in the area.

are found in the names all through the region of *País Caranqui* (Jijón y Caamaño 1940; Paz y Miño 1941; Salomon & Grosboll 1986). The geographical and personal names provide linguistic information about the language that was spoken in the area. For instance, village names often end in *-qui* (Adelaar 2004:394; Jijón y Caamaño 1940:241; Paz y Miño 1941:29-30; 38-39), such as *Caranqui*, *Cochasquí* and *Ambuquí*, river names end in *-pi/-bi*, such as *Calapí*, *Cambí* and *Cubí* (Adelaar 2004:394; Caillavet 2000:108; Paz y Miño 1941:31), names of original farmland often has the ending *-puela/-buela* in common, such as *Carabuela*, *Natabuela* and *Imbapuela* (Caillavet 2000:106-107; Paz y Miño 1941:38) and many last names end in *-ango*, such as *Cabascango*, *Farinango* and *Pinsacango* (Jijón y Caamaño 1940:262).

The main language that was spoken in the *País Caranqui* is often referred to as Caranqui (Jijón y Caamaño 1941) or Cara (Adelaar 2004:393-394; Paz y Miño 1941; Salomon & Grosboll 1986). Different scholars studied the very limited linguistic information of the Cara language from personal and geographical names and classified it as a Barbacoa language (Athens 1980:109-110; Jijón y Caamaño 1941:239-240; Paz y Miño 1941). For instance, the ending *-pi/-bi* also occurs in other Barbacoa languages, meaning 'water' or 'river' (Adelaar 2004:394).

It is not strange that a Barbacoa language used to be spoken in Imbabura; of the indigenous languages that are found in the area until today, many are Barbacoa. For instance, there are three Barbacoa languages still spoken nowadays that are in close proximity to Imbabura; in the south-west Tsafiki is spoken by the Colorados, in the west Cha'palaachi is spoken by the Cayapa Indians and in the north, in the Colombian department Nariño, Awa Pit is spoken by the Cuaiquer or Awa Indians (Adelaar 2004:141). Therefore, it is plausible that when the Incas conquered the Cara area, the people of the area spoke the Barbacoa language Cara.

### *1.2.2 The introduction of Quichua in Imbabura*

However, the indigenous language that is spoken in Imbabura nowadays is not Cara but Quichua. The introduction of Quichua in the area started already before the Inca conquest of the Cara area. Cara and Quichua first came into contact through trade. Trade was not only important within the area, as the Caras were famous for their long distance merchants, the *mindaláes*, who worked for the different chiefs of the villages (Salomon 1987:63). The Chinchu culture played a big part in the introduction of Quechua as a lingua franca for commercial purposes. The coastal Peruvian city Chinchu had become an important trade-centre in the Andean region. It had a lot of contact with the Ecuadorian region over sea

through the harbour of Manta. Because of its commercial importance the language of Chinchay, Chinchay Quechua, spread. In that period, it was probably only the *mindaláes* who spoke Quechua as a lingua franca (Torero 1984:371).

The second stage in the introduction of Quichua in Imbabura was the Inca conquest. Although the Caras were known for their well-developed warfare, the Caranqui alliance did not hold against the Inca forces. The Incas defeated the Caras after years of war. As revenge for the many Inca soldiers that had been killed, Wayna Capac, the Inca sovereign, ordered to have a large part of the Cara men killed at a lake close to the town of Caranqui. The bodies were thrown into the water and the story goes that the lake coloured red because of the blood. Therefore, it is still called the 'lake of blood', Yawarcocha (Cieza de León [1553] 1984:122; Paz Ponce de León [1582] 1965:238).

Because of this large bloodshed at the lake, mostly very young people remained in the Cara area. That is why the Caras were also referred to as *huambracuna* 'the children' (Cieza de León [1553] 1984:125; Oberem 1981:87-88 Paz Ponce de León [1582] 1965:238; Torero 1984:376). Exactly when these events occurred, is not very clear; according to Torero (*ibidem*:376), it only happened during the last years of the Inca Empire, during Wayna Capac's reign. Athens (1980:110) estimates the Inca take-over at around 1525, nine years before the Spaniards conquered the area. According to Bray (1992:218-219) the Inca rule lasted between thirty and fifty years, approximately from 1490 to 1534.

Although the exact date of the Inca conquest is not quite clear, it seems that the Incas only controlled the Caranqui area for a short period in the beginning of the sixteenth century. It also remains unclear whether the Incas could completely take over control in such a short period of time and, more importantly, if they could impose their language, the Cuzco variety of Quechua, on what was left of the Cara communities after the massacre at lake Yahuarcocha.

It is most likely that the Incas did not destroy the political structure of the Cara area; they used the well-developed efficient structure. Even relatives of the Cara leader of the war seem to have had political power under Inca rule. As it appeared from archaeological research, the Cara chiefs had retained control over the lucrative salt springs in Mira; very little Inca influences were found. Therefore, it seems that the Cara chiefs still had enough power under Inca control (Salomon 1986:204-205). The Incas transformed the alliance into a part of the Inca Empire without too many changes (Bray 1992:229-230 and Oberem 1981:88-89).

At the beginning of Inca rule in the Cara area the only people who probably spoke Quechua were the *mindaláes*. In some regions the introduction of Quechua was more successful than in others.

For example, in Pimampiro many people did not speak Quechua, as Borja reports ([1582] 1965:249):

'Muy pocos indios de esta doctrina saben la lengua general del *Inga*, casi ningunas mugeres entienden la dicha lengua del *Inga*.'<sup>7</sup>

In Cawasquí, on the other hand, Quechua had been introduced to the majority of the population, as is clear from the testimony of the Spanish priest Geronimo de Aguilar ([1582] 1965:245):

'La lengua que hablan los indios de este pueblo y *Quilca*, es la que se trata en esta comarca de *Otavallo*, particular, aunque la mayor parte de todos estos indios hablan la lengua general del *Inga*; y puesto caso que algunos no la hablan, entiéndenla muy bien.'<sup>8</sup>

According to Salomon (1986:189), the extent of Quechua expansion is closely related to the degree of warfare in a region. In Pimampiro, there had almost been no war between the Incas and the local population. The population of Cawasquí and Quilca had defended its control over the region. In those regions of resistance against the Incas, the Incas subjected the local population after their defeat and imposed their language, as happened in Cawasquí and Quilca. In the areas that cooperated with the Incas, this strict subjection was not necessary and the local population could maintain their language, which is probably what happened in Pimampiro.

The Quechua variety used by the Incas was not the same, as the Chinchay variety spoken by the *mindaláes*; the Incas introduced Cuzco Quechua to the area. The general language was not the only linguistic influence under the Inca reign. Many different Quechua varieties and even other languages such as Aymara were introduced by the *mitmas*. As part of the Incaic governmental system, the subjected areas had to provide labourers, *mitmas*, who were to work in different provinces of the empire. These workers were also sent to the Cara area and took with them their language or variety of Quechua. In this way, linguistic diversity was introduced into the area.

The final stage of the introduction of Quechua in Imbabura took place during colonial times. The Spaniards under Benalcázar conquered the Cara area around 1534. When the Spanish arrived, they

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<sup>7</sup> Very few Indians of this doctrine know the general language of the Incas (Quechua), almost no women speak this language.

<sup>8</sup> The language that the Indians of this village and Quilca speak, is the particular one that is used in this area of Otavalo, although the majority of all these Indians speak the general [language] of the Incas; and in cases where some do not speak it, they understand it very well.

came across a linguistically diverse area, as described above. Paz Ponce de León describes this diversity ([1582] 1965:235):

'(...) tienen muchas lenguas diferentes unas de otras y de la lengua *Inga*, porque casi en cada pueblo hay su lengua.'<sup>9</sup>

The different languages that Paz Ponce de León wrote about, were possibly not only Cara, Quechua and the languages and varieties of the *mitmas*, but may also have been pre-Cara languages from the area, as Paz y Miño suspects (1941:50). Nevertheless, as we have seen in other early Spanish testimonies, when the Spanish arrived to the Cara area, there were two main languages in the area, namely Cara and Quichua.

Nevertheless, Cara is an extinct language nowadays. Ironically, the Spanish colonists were those who used the 'lengua general', the general language in the Inca Empire, Quechua, to impose their power. The Catholic Church also used Quechua to convert the indigenous people to Christianity. At the synod of Quito in 1593, some indigenous languages were included to use for the conversion. Pasto, spoken north of the Cara area, and Puruhá, spoken south of the Cara area in the Ecuadorian province Chimborazo, were listed. Cara, on the other hand, was not one of them, probably due to the widespread bilingualism in the area (Jijón y Caamaño 1941:235-236).

To convert the Indians, priests from different orders learned Quechua and wrote grammars. According to Ortíz Arellano (2001:33-35) the Cuzco variety was taken as a basis, but also other varieties were used. Torero (1984:379-381), on the other hand, states that the northern Peruvian coastal variety was more influential for the Ecuadorian quichuanization. Although it is not entirely sure which variety of Quechua was used to convert Ecuador, it was surely a different variety than the first two Quichua influences, Chinchua Quechua from that was spoken by the *mindaláes* and the classical Cuzco Quechua from the Inca rulers.

Because of the introduction of Quechua, Cara slowly died out. The Cara culture and language were still alive at the beginning of the Spanish Colony. For instance, archaeological findings show that the Cara culture was maintained into the colony (Salomon 1986:138) and according to Caillavet (2000:103), the Cara language might have been spoken even until the eighteenth century. Therefore, it

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<sup>9</sup> They have many different languages, from one to another, and from the Inca language, because almost every village has its own language,

is very well possible that this pre-incaic language influenced the Quichua that is spoken in Imbabura nowadays. If a large group of people replaces its own language by another one, substrate influences are often found. Other changes in the newly obtained language have to do with second-language learner errors; the language is often full of simplifications. The Imbabura variety also contains simplifications, such as the loss of the possessive paradigm. This simplification might play a role in the changes in the Quichua converb system, as it does in other changes in language contact situations as well (Silva-Corvalán 1995:5-6, among others).

Imbabura Quichua probably also contains features of the different varieties that were influential throughout the three different periods, namely the Quechua of the *mindaláes* taken from the Chinchay, Cuzco Quechua and the missionary Quechua. Other languages, such as Aymara, and other varieties of Quechua may also have played a role in the development of Imbabura Quichua, because of the *mitmas*, labourers from other regions of the Inca Empire. All these different varieties of Quechua and other languages, such as Cara and Aymara, have probably influenced the grammatical system of the language spoken in Imbabura and traces of these languages and varieties may still be found in present day Quichua.

### *1.3 The present situation in Imbabura*

In an analysis of the structure of the present day Quichua and Spanish in Imbabura, a short discussion of the prolonged contact between Quichua and Spanish should not be absent. Both Ecuadorian Spanish and Quichua have undergone changes that are probably due to the intensive contact between the two languages. During the almost 500 years in which Quichua and Spanish coexisted in the province of Imbabura, the status of Quichua underwent a considerable change from lingua franca and language of the Inca colonizer, to minority and identity language.

Over time, many scholars have presented a number of models to analyze different language contact situations in a social context (among others Fishman 1972; Ferguson 1959; Thomason & Kaufman 1988). In order to analyze the linguistic situation of both Quichua and Spanish in Ecuador, it is useful to present Appel and Muysken's (1987:1-2) social classification of language contact situations. According to the classification made by these two authors, there are three types of language contact situations:

1. There are two major groups speaking their own language. Only a very small group within the society is bilingual and thus enables the communication between the two groups.

2. The majority of society is bilingual.
3. There is an unequal situation in which only a small group in society is bilingual. Generally, it is a minority group, which is forced to be bilingual, because the majority in the country does not speak their first language.

The third category captures the Ecuadorian situation best. As the description shows, the Spanish and Quichua are not equal in status. Since the Spanish speaking people of the Ecuadorian society, the *mestizos*, have the economical and political power, Spanish is the dominant language in Ecuador and therefore in Imbabura. Spanish is the language used in public matters, such as politics and trade. The only contact the *mestizos* have with Quichua is through the Spanish of bilinguals. Bilinguals use Quichua mostly in private circles, such as with friends or at home. This situation in which bilinguals speak one language in public and another in private circumstances is called diglossia (Fishman 1972; Ferguson 1959). Spanish is the high language and Quichua is the low language in this situation.

These types of inequalities are the reason why several linguists (among others Ninyoles 1975; Zimmermann 1995:26; 2001:17) call these types of situations ‘languages in conflict’. Both languages compete to maintain their functions in society. According to Ninyoles (1975), there are two possible outcomes to this conflict; either the situation stabilizes and the two languages coexist in the area, or one language is substituted by the other. This usually happens to the low language. In Ecuador, Quichua often has to give in to Spanish. The *mestizo* population does not have a very high esteem of Quichua. This is linked to their low esteem of the indigenous population.<sup>10</sup>

Within the indigenous communities, the conflict between Quichua and Spanish is also growing. For a long time, the situation was rather stable; Spanish was spoken in the cities and Quichua was the language of the closed indigenous rural communities. In the last twenty years, however, these communities are opening up. Many different governmental and non-governmental institutions and national and international companies started to play a role in the rural life of the indigenous people, either to encourage the development or to make profit from the agricultural products. Therefore, the influence of Spanish has grown very fast (Haboud 2005:30).

Another way in which the amount of contact between the indigenous people and the Spanish has increased has to do with migration to the cities. The migration from the rural areas to the cities is a

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<sup>10</sup> Most *mestizos* are very prejudiced towards the indigenous people in Ecuador. All these ideas contribute to the low esteem of Quichua in Ecuador. The low esteem is probably the reason why young people in Quito use Quichua loanwords less and less and use English words instead (Haboud 2005:30-31).

national phenomenon. The indigenous people also take part in this change in the Ecuadorian society. For their daily life in the cities, it is very important to master Spanish. For instance, many indigenous women work as street traders and need to speak Spanish to be able to sell their goods to the *mestizos* (ibidem:28-30).

These changes within the Ecuadorian society lead to more pressure on the use of Quichua. Figure 1 below presents a simplified model of ideological linguistic pressure that different levels of the Ecuadorian society have on each other:

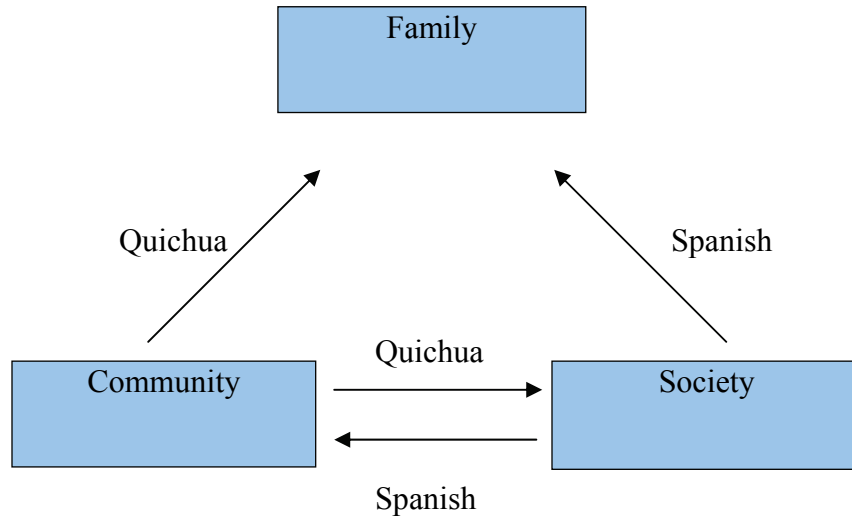


Fig. 1: The linguistic pressures on different levels of the Ecuadorian society.

Figure 1 shows that the Ecuadorian society has an ideological influence on the indigenous people both on community and on family level to speak Spanish. For instance, to be able to have a voice in politics, the indigenous community needs to speak Spanish. Also in terms of economy, it is important to master the Spanish language. This economic argument is also very important for the indigenous families. Therefore, most Quichua speakers also speak Spanish in order not to stay poor.

Nevertheless, there is also linguistic pressure to promote Quichua from the indigenous community. This has to do with Quichua's 'covert prestige', as it is called by Chambers ([1995] 2003:241-246). Quichua is the language of the indigenous identity, and its influence can be seen in Ecuadorian society. For instance, an important step for the status of Quichua and the indigenous people was the recognition of Quichua as one of the official languages of indigenous people in the constitution in 1998 (Haboud 2005:16-17).

The bilingual schools are also very important for Quichua to take its stand within society. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, Quichua was slowly introduced again as a language of education. The problem is that both non-speakers and speakers of Quichua do not consider the language suitable for educational purposes (ibidem:18-20). One of the reasons why the Quichua speakers themselves do not trust the quality of Quichua for this particular purpose, is that according to them the language is mixed with Spanish. Because of this 'pollution', there are committees of indigenous people and intellectuals to 'purify' the language. One of their main goals is to create Quichua words instead of the Spanish loanwords (ibidem: 21 and 32).

All these achievements show how important the Quichua language is for the indigenous community. It is also important for individuals to speak Quichua in the indigenous villages. At many social events, such as the meetings of the rural cooperations, after church meetings and the *mingas*<sup>11</sup>, Quichua is spoken. Therefore, Quichua plays an important part in the life of the indigenous people, at least within the villages

Nevertheless, the Spanish pressure from society is often too high for the indigenous families. The number of Quichua speakers is probably decreasing: in the 1990s 77.3 to 100% of the indigenous population of the indigenous communities in Imbabura spoke Quichua as a native language (Büttner 1993:97). In 2007, data were collected that suggest that the number of speakers of Quichua as a first language was lower. Especially the children do not speak Quichua anymore. This is a conscious choice of many parents, as is obvious in the quote from the interviews Beijsterveld conducted in 2004 (quoted in Haboud 2005:21):

'Los padres de familia exigen hablar castellano a sus hijos.<sup>12</sup> (FO<sup>13</sup>, Teacher, Imbabura)

The parents believe that, by raising their children in Spanish, they give them a better opportunity to get a decent job.<sup>14</sup> Through their parents these children are still in touch with Quichua, but the next generation will probably be further from the indigenous language.

Therefore, there are many different levels of bilingualism; some speak mostly Quichua and only

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<sup>11</sup> The *minga* is community work in which many indigenous people participate. This community work can consist of many different chores, such as the repair of the road or the harvest of community ground.

<sup>12</sup> The parents demand their children to speak Spanish.

<sup>13</sup> The abbreviations are the initials of the interviewed teacher. (Haboud 2005:20).

<sup>14</sup> Young Quichua parents in my fieldwork commented that they thought it was a shame that their language would be lost. Nevertheless, they decided to give their children a better future by teaching them Spanish. Some believed that their children would be able to learn Quichua later on, if they wanted to.

a little Spanish, some speak Quichua as a first language, but can also hold their own in Spanish, some speak Spanish as a first language, but also master Quichua well, and the last group speaks Spanish and has only a limited knowledge of Quichua. These different levels of bilingualism are not a scale; rather, they can better be represented in a continuum (Haboud 1998:52; Silva-Corvalán 2001:270).

Still, a shift can be seen within the different levels of bilingualism in the indigenous communities. Within different generations different levels of bilingualism can be found. To give a schematic representation of these different levels of bilingualism, the continuum is divided into four different levels of bilingualism, which were adopted from Haboud (1998:52). The situation of shift is schematically presented below in table 1:

Table 1: different levels of bilingualism per generation.

Generation	Monolingual Quichua	Bilingual Quichua-Spanish	Bilingual Spanish-Quichua	Monolingual Spanish
Grandparents	X	X		
Parents		X	X	
Children		X	X	X

It is clear that within the younger generations, there are no monolingual Quichua speakers. There is a clear shift towards Spanish, despite all the efforts, such as bilingual schooling.

Interestingly, the parents are not teaching their first language to their children; they teach the children Spanish instead of Quichua. Therefore, the children learn Spanish with many Quichua influences. This new type of Spanish may also have its influence on the Spanish spoken by the *mestizos*. Because of the shift to Spanish, Quichua also obtains more Spanish features. The recent intense contact through the shift from Quichua to Spanish probably will have many repercussions for the two languages in contact. It is very plausible that the languages are converging more and more. Therefore, the Imbabura area is a very interesting area to study ongoing contact-induced changes in two languages with a different status.

## Chapter 2: Grammatical change in language contact situations

### 2.1 Introduction

Having described the social and historical context of Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish, I will now discuss the implications of this type of prolonged contact situations for the languages. Language contact often leads to a dynamic linguistic situation: contact situations are often fertile breeding grounds for language change and other linguistic phenomena, such as code switching. All these interesting phenomena have drawn the attention of a large group of scholars over the years (Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006; Appel & Muysken 1987; Haugen 1950; 1953; Myers-Scotton 2002; Silva-Corvalán 1995; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Weinreich [1953] 1974; Winford 2003, among others). The case of the contact between Spanish and Quechua has also received the attention of many scholars (Cerrón-Palomino 2003; Granda 2001; Escobar 2000; Haboud 1998; Olbertz & Muysken 2005; Toscano-Mateus 1953 among others). Because of the different backgrounds and focuses, scholars have come to different uses of language contact terminology and to different classifications of the linguistic phenomena that occur in language contact situations.

Therefore, there is a need for a classification as far as the terminology is concerned. That is why in section 2.2 I will discuss the terminology that is used for the different types of language change in contact situations. In section 2.3, I will discuss what kind of influences a language can have on another and what are favourable contexts for these influences. Then, in section 2.4, I will discuss what other language changes can occur in contact situations. In the final section (2.5), I will discuss what influence the social context can have on language change in contact situations.

### 2.2 Terminology

Over time, linguists have used different terminology to refer to and to describe language change in contact situations. This terminology often refers to the same phenomenon or has at least an overlapping reference. A term that is often used for phenomena occurring in contact situations is *borrowing*. Haugen (1950:212) in his classic article describes *borrowing* in its broadest sense as: *the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another*. Haugen defines *borrowing* as a process of taking over a feature, rather than the borrowed feature itself, although it might not always be clear whether the process or the product is meant in other works. Nevertheless, many linguists have followed Haugen in using the broad interpretation of the term *borrowing* for the introduction of

features from one language into another (Field 2002; Winford 2003, among others).

Although Haugen (1950) gives a broad definition of *borrowing*, his analysis of the phenomenon is basically about the introduction of lexical features from one language into another. Therefore, the term *borrowing* obtained a connotation of a lexical process and some scholars (e.g. Field 2002; Myers-Scotton 2002; Silva-Corvalán 1995) use the term mainly in a lexical context. When *borrowing* does not refer to the incorporation of a lexical feature, but to a grammatical feature, it is often explicitly expressed. Another connotation that the term *borrowing* has obtained, is that both form and meaning should be taken over, not only the meaning of a feature, as is stated by Heine and Kuteva (2005:3).

Van Coetsem (2000:33-39) also observes the fact that *borrowing* has been used in different ways. This scholar seeks an unambiguous definition of different phenomena that occur in language in contact. Therefore, Van Coetsem follows Thomason and Kaufman (1988:21) by defining *borrowing* as the influence of the second language on the first language of a speaker. Because of all these different uses and connotations of *borrowing*, I will avoid the term in this study.

Weinreich ([1953] 1974:1) prefers the term *interference* above *borrowing*. The author describes the term as follows (ibidem:1):

The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (kinship, colour, weather, etc.).

Weinreich's definition of *interference* overlaps with the broadest definition of *borrowing* to a large extent. Nevertheless, as Winford (2003:12) points out, the term is used conflictingly by different scholars. Silva-Corvalán (2001:269), for instance, does not consider incorporated features *interference*. According to her, only the occasionally introduced features can be called *interference*. Already incorporated features are called *transfer* (*transferencia*), by the author<sup>15</sup>.

Because of the conflicting use of the term *interference*, it may also not be the best term to use for the incorporation of linguistic features of another language. The proposed term *transfer* also may

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<sup>15</sup> Silva-Corvalán is not the first linguist to distinguish between the occasional introduction of features of another language and the incorporated features. Weinreich ([1953] 1974:11) also makes the same distinction, albeit using a different term: interference in speech (newly introduced features and established features from another language). Grosjean (1982 cited by Field 2002:4) uses the terms speech borrowing and language borrowing for the same classification of the influence of a language on another language.

lead to a conflictive interpretation. By some scholars in the field of study of second language acquisition (Lado 1957; Odlin 1989; Schwartz & Sprouse 1996; White 2003), the term is used in a more restrictive sense: it only refers to the introduction of features from the speakers' first language into their second language. Nevertheless, in the domain of contact linguistics, the term *transfer* is used in its broad sense of incorporated features from one language into another; the course of the influence (whether the first or second language of the speaker is the source of the influence) is not taken into account (e.g. Silva-Corvalán 1994; Thomason 2001; Van Coetsem 2000; Winford 2003). Therefore, I will also use this term in its broadest interpretation, as is common in contact linguistics.

Another term used in contact linguistics is *diffusion*. It was 'borrowed' from the field of anthropology for the spread of cultural features to other cultures (Haugen 1950:211). Heath (1978; 1984) uses *diffusion* in the most neutral way; the author uses it for the spread of linguistic features from one language to another. According to Silva-Corvalán (2001:23) *diffusion* can be the spread of a feature in both the linguistic and the social system. Some other linguists (Aikhenvald 2002; 2006; Campbell [1998] 2004; Winford 2003), however, use this term in a less general way: *diffusion* is used as the geographical spread of a linguistic feature (Aikhenvald 2006:4). In this study on converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, the geographical and social spread is not studied. Therefore, the term *diffusion* will not be used in this study.

Finally, another popular term in contact linguistics is *contact induced change* (Aikhenvald 2006; Heine & Kuteva 2005; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003, among others). This group of phenomena consists of not only the introduction and spread of features from one language into another; it also comprises the other changes that occur in a language due to the contact between different languages. These changes are internal changes, but were triggered by external factors. The external motivation of these changes is often either the process of second language acquisition or earlier changes in the system through transfer. I will come back to these types of change in section 2.4.

### 2.3 Transfer

A large part of the changes in languages in contact is due to transfer. To have a clear idea of what changes can be attributed to transfer and how different types of transfer can be subdivided, I will dedicate the first subsection to classifications of transfer. In the second subsection, I will discuss linguistic factors that might trigger the transfer of a feature from one language to another.

### 2.3.1 *Classifications of transfer*

Throughout the literature about transfer, there are different classifications of the different types of transfer. A first basic classification, that most scholars adopt, is the division per level of the grammar (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Weinreich [1953] 1974; Winford 2003). A transfer can occur either at the phonological, lexical, morphological or syntactic level. The transfer at a certain level of the grammatical system of a language may have implications for other levels of the system as well. For instance, lexical transfer can have an impact on both the phonological and the morphological level. Loan phonemes and morphemes may be introduced by a loanword (Winford 2003:53-59). Therefore, the introduction of foreign features into a language might have far-reaching consequences for the rest of the language and it is sometimes difficult to identify the beginning of the process.

Not all linguists believe that all these types of transfer exist. For instance, the existence of transfer of grammatical morphemes is still quite polemic. Weinreich ([1953] 1974:31-37) already discusses that there are restrictions to the transfer of morphology. For instance, free morphemes are more easily transferred than bound morphemes. These restrictions do not mean that the transfer of morphemes does not occur. In his work on language contact between Australian aboriginal languages in Arnhem Land, Heath (1978:68-118) gives many examples of the transfer of morphemes. Moreover, there are also transferred morphemes to be found in a less exotic language; English has taken over morphemes from French: *-able*, *-ise*, *-esse* and *-ette* (Heath 1978:69; Weinreich [1953] 1974:31; Winford 2003:97). The constraints on transfer will be treated in the next section.

Another linguist who criticizes the existence of transfer at every level of the grammar is Silva-Corvalán (1994;1998;2001:283-287). According to her, speakers do not transfer syntactic structures from one language to another. The features that are transferred are discursive and pragmatic features in the view of Silva-Corvalán. This interpretation of some types of transfer is quite understandable and will be discussed later on in the section. The fact that syntactic transfer does not exist at all is more difficult to sustain. There are many examples of, for instance, the transfer of word order from one language to another, as Thomason & Kaufman (1988:55) present. The transfer of word order may, in some cases, have a pragmatic or discursive motivation, but in all cases, there is a syntactic change. Appel and Muysken (1987:158-162) also conclude, after examining different cases of syntactic change in contact situations, that syntactic transfer most certainly exists.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) also use the classification of transfer in the different

subsystems of the grammar. Moreover, the authors divide these types of transfer into two groups: *lexical borrowing* and *structural borrowing*. It is probably needless to say that with lexical borrowing Thomason and Kaufman refer to transfer of lexicon. *Structural borrowing* consists of the transfer on the other levels of the grammar: the phonological, morphological and syntactic level. The authors make this division, because the phonology, morphology and syntax are closed systems within the grammar. The lexicon is an open system; elements can easily be added (ibidem:73-74).

Heath (1978) introduces an extra classification of transfer that does not deal with the levels of grammar. In his classification, it is important what material has been transferred; the form and meaning can be taken over from a language. Heath (ibidem) calls the transfer of both meaning and form *direct diffusion* and the transfer of only a meaning *indirect diffusion*. *Indirect diffusion* is more difficult to detect because, as Heath (ibidem:22) argues, '*one language readjusts its own morphological material in such a way that it moves closer to the neighbouring language structurally.*' At first sight, one will not identify these changes as transfer, because no foreign forms are involved.

On a syntactic level, this does not mean that a new structure is introduced, but a structure is reinterpreted under the influence of a similar structure in the contact language. In Silva-Corvalán's (1994;1998) work on contact between Spanish and other languages, she found many cases of syntactic reinterpretation under the influence of pragmatic and discursive meanings of similar structures. The author did not find copying of syntactic structures. This is probably the reason why Silva-Corvalán (ibidem) does not believe in the existence of syntactic transfer. When Heath's (1978; 1984) classification is taken into account, one could interpret this as indirect syntactic transfer.

Heath is not the only one who proposes that there is a difference between the transfer of a form and the transfer of more abstract material. Myers-Scotton (2002:1) also makes a difference between *overt* and *covert effects of bilingualism*. *Overt* effects are found on the surface of the language, that is, a form is transferred from one language to another. *Covert* effects can be found at an abstract level of a language. Myers-Scotton (ibidem:17) describes the abstract level as the level of reference; the semantic interpretation is found at this level.

This division is also found in Heine and Kuteva's (2005) work on grammatical change in contact situations. The scholars add other categories to transfer of form and transfer of meaning; according to the scholars, there are five types of transfer (ibidem:2):

1. *Form, that is, sounds or combinations of sounds*
2. *Meanings (including grammatical meanings or functions) or combinations of meanings*
3. *Form-meaning units or combinations of form-meaning units*
4. *Syntactic relations, that is, the order of meaningful elements*
5. *Any combination of a) through d).*

Although this is a clear classification of transfer, I believe that the number of categories could be reduced. This is possible when one relates this classification with the different levels of grammar. In most levels of the grammar, there is a form and a meaning. Like Heine and Kuteva (2005:2), I include both grammatical and functional meanings in this term 'meaning', and I would like to include the pragmatic and discursive meaning, which Silva-Corvalán (1994;1998) considers transferable. The phonology is in many cases interpreted as a formal feature; phonological features often do not have a meaning outside of their lexical interpretation.<sup>16</sup>

At the lexical, morphological and syntactic levels, form and meaning are more easily distinguishable. Both at the lexical and morphological levels the form consists, as Heine and Kuteva (2005:2) already observed, of sounds or combinations of sounds. At the syntactic level, the form is the structure of a sentence or a phrase. The meaning consists of the semantic and functional interpretation of the lexicon, morphology and syntactic structures. The reduced version of Heine and Kuteva's classification (*ibidem*) is presented below:

1. Form, that is, sounds or combinations of sounds or structural relations
2. Meanings (including grammatical meanings or functions) or combinations of meanings
3. Form-meaning units or combinations of form-meaning units

### *2.3.2 Linguistic properties favouring transfer*

Some linguistic properties seem to favour transfer more than others. These favouring factors have mostly been discussed for transfer of morphology, and especially for transfer of both form and meaning. Weinreich ([1953] 1974:31-44) and Heath (1998:104-109) both present many qualities that in their view favour and impede transfer. Winford (2003:91-97) reduces these qualities to four:

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<sup>16</sup> Intonation is probably an exception; both Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish have their own intonation that adds to the pragmatic or discursive meaning of an utterance. Nevertheless, the intonation of both languages is not included in this study.

1. The existence of a functional or semantic gap in a language might lead to the introduction of new elements into a language
2. The existence of a functional or semantic gap in a language might lead to the reduction of categories in a language.
3. Transparency
4. Congruence

The first two factors presented by Winford (ibidem:96), are actually two different outcomes of one factor; the reduction of a category and the transfer of a category are both the result of a functional or semantic gap in one of the two contact languages. The three remaining factors are:

1. The existence of a functional or semantic gap in a language.
2. Transparency
3. Congruence.

In this section, I will not only discuss the influence these factors might have on the transfer of both form and meaning of morphology, but also whether these factors might have some influence on other types of transfer as well.

First of all, the lack of a functional or semantic category can lead to two outcomes, as we have already seen; the category is either deleted in the language that lacks it, or the category is added to the other language. Winford (2003:248-252) calls the deletion of a category *negative transfer* or *transfer to nowhere*. Other linguists, such as Silva-Corvalán (1995:5-6; 2001:272-273) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988), call this phenomenon *simplification*.

The introduction of a new category from another language due to a gap is just referred to as *transfer* by most scholars. Winford (ibidem:96-97) gives some examples of morphological transfer that seems to be motivated by the lack of the category in the other language. For instance, the suffixes *-able* and *-esse* seem to be transferred to English from French to express new distinctions that could not be expressed before in the language (Winford:96-97).

These types of gaps are not only found on the morphological level; in the lexicon loanwords often fill a semantic gap. For instance, when the Spaniards first arrived in the Andean region, they

found a large quantity of flora and fauna and many cultural habits and structures, for which they did not have words in Spanish. That is how the following words were transferred from Quechua into Spanish: *llama* 'lama', *vicuña* 'a special type of lama', *quipu* 'the Inca system of knots that was used for administrative purposes' and *mitma* 'a labourer under the Inca regime that was sent to another region of the empire.'

The lexical and morphological transfer of both form and meaning is probably not the only solution to fill a functional or semantic gap. It is not unthinkable that a functional and semantic gap may lead to the transfer of only the meaning. In those cases, native material from one language is used to express a category from another language; the gap is filled with native material and only the meaning is transferred. In his chapter on 'indirect diffusion' in Arnhem Land, Heath (1978:127-129) shows how the aboriginal language Ritharngu started to use the infinitive to express subjunctive subclauses under influence of the contact languages. Ritharngu did not possess a category to express these kinds of subclauses: they were not marked before. The native infinitive form seems to be used to fill a functional gap imitating the neighbouring languages.<sup>17</sup>

Another factor that, according to Winford (2003:94-96), favours transfer is transparency of both form and (functional and semantic) meaning. Winford (*ibidem*:95) describes the transparency of a form on the basis of some of Heath's criteria for transferability: according to Heath (1978:106) a form is transferable when it is pronounceable as a separate syllable (the syllabicity of a form) and when it has sharp boundaries. With sharp boundaries Heath means that it is clear where a suffix begins and ends: there is no integration in the stem to which it is attached.

To describe the transparency of a meaning, Winford (2003:95) also uses some of Heath's criteria (1978:106-107): *unifunctionality* and *categorical clarity*. The term *unifunctionality* means that a form has only one function. A form is *categorically clear*, when it is possible to understand the function without needing to have a look at the morpho-syntactic context. Heath (*ibidem*) found that the morphemes transferred most often in Arnhem Land were transparent in both form (they had sharp boundaries and were pronounceable without the stem) and meaning (they were not portmanteau morphemes and could be labelled easily). However, the transferred morphemes with these kinds of properties were all 'directly diffused', that is, both form and meaning were transferred. It is not clear

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<sup>17</sup> Since there are no switch reference subjunctive converbs in any other variety of Quechua, it is possible that these forms were introduced due to a functional gap that existed in Quechua, compared to the more traditional language of the region Cara. This will be discussed in chapter 5.

what role transparency plays in only the transfer of meaning.<sup>18</sup>

Another factor that often facilitates the transfer of a feature is congruence. When two languages are congruent, it is easier to transfer features, or as Aikhenvald (2006:32) puts it:

Pre-existing structural similarity is conducive to diffusion of both structural forms and patterns (...). Cross-linguistically, borrowing is much more frequent between structurally similar systems than otherwise. If languages in contact have similar constructions and patterns, they reinforce each other.

According to Winford (2003:93), two systems or forms are more congruent if similarities can be found both on a structural and on a functional level, and in that case is more likely to transfer the form or structure. However, the perceived similarities by second language learners do not always coincide with reality. This kind of mismatch between forms or constructions in the contact languages can lead to the reinterpretation of a similar form or construction in the other language. When that happens, only the (functional) meaning is transferred and not the form. The process is mostly triggered by structural, semantic and/or functional similarities (ibidem:233-234).

All these linguistic factors may play a role in the possibility of transfer of a form and/or a meaning from one language to another. The factors are all based on linguistic properties of the languages. Aikhenvald (2006:26-36) adds some factors that have to do with the use of a feature. For instance, the frequency and the pragmatic importance of a feature are both factors that might influence the likelihood that the feature is transferred. If a form is used frequently in the native language, it is understandable that second language learners look for a similar feature in the language they are acquiring. The same holds for the pragmatic importance of a feature; if a feature plays an important role in the pragmatic system of the native language, a second language learner will want an equivalent in their newly acquired language.

#### *2.4 Contact induced language change*

As has been shown in section 2.2, transfer is one part of contact induced language change. Transfer is externally motivated, that is, a feature (either only its meaning or both meaning and form) is introduced

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<sup>18</sup> A counterexample can be found in the Quechua variety of Puno, Southern Peru. In this variety, nontransparent suffixes were transferred from Aymara. These nontransparent suffixes have complicate deletion rules, which were also transferred to Puno Quechua (Adelaar 1987).

into the language from outside; from another language. In the other cases of contact induced change, it is often unclear whether internal or external factors caused the change. Several linguists, e.g. Aikhenvald (2006:9) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988), refer to this situation as *multiple causation*. Examples of these processes of change are simplification, contact induced grammaticalization and convergence. Although many examples of simplification and grammaticalization are found in contact situations, the processes do not only occur in language contact. Convergence, on the other hand, is a phenomenon intrinsically related to contact situations. In subsection 2.4.1, I will discuss simplification, in subsection 2.4.2, I will discuss grammaticalization and in subsection 2.4.3, I will discuss convergence.

#### *2.4.1 Simplification*

As Winford (2003:217) states, simplification can refer both to the process itself and the outcome of it. A very general definition of simplification would be the loss of complexities in a language. Different processes can contribute to the simplification of a language, such as the loss of alternative features, generalization of a rule, analogical levelling, and semantic, functional, formal or stylistic reduction (Haboud 1998:68; Silva-Corvalán 1995:5-6; 2001:272-273; Thomason & Kaufman 1988:102; Winford 2003:217-218).

According to Winford (*ibidem*:217), simplification is an important strategy used by second language learners and it is a product of incomplete acquisition of the second language. Aikhenvald (2006:42-44) also believes that simplification can be the result of language contact. However, according to this author, the process mostly occurs in situations in which one language is highly prestigious and the other has only a low prestige. These effects of the social contact on contact induced change will be discussed in the next section.

Interestingly, Aikhenvald (*ibidem*:42-44) discusses how language contact in a more balanced social context can lead to more complexities in the language system. Heine and Kuteva (2005:171) go even further in saying that simplification is less likely to occur in languages in contact situations than the increase of complexities in those languages.

#### *2.4.2 Grammaticalization*

Another process that often occurs in language contact situations is grammaticalization. The process of grammaticalization has been the object of study for many scholars (Bisang et al. 2004; Eckardt 2006;

Haspelmath 2004; Heine et al. 1991; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003; Lehmann 1995; Traugott & Heine 1991, among others). These scholars discuss many different aspects of grammaticalization. In this subsection, a short overview will be given of some of these different aspects. First, I will describe the process of grammaticalization (subsection 2.4.2.1). In the next subsection (2.4.2.2), I will present different mechanisms that play a crucial role in the process of grammaticalization. In subsection 2.4.2.3, I will present some criticism on these mechanisms and on the process of grammaticalization in general. After that, the concept of grammaticalization will be placed in the context of language contact situations (subsection 2.4.2.4). In the final subsection (2.4.2.5), I will discuss a particular grammaticalization process that occurs on the verbal level of grammars, namely auxiliation.

#### 2.4.2.1 Defining grammaticalization

Hopper and Traugott ([1993] 2003:xv) give a useful definition of grammaticalization: the authors define grammaticalization as '*the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions.*' The theory around this process is based on the fact that the origin of function words (prepositions, connectives, pronouns, demonstratives) can be found cross-linguistically in content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives) (ibidem:4).

As one can understand from the use of the word *process* in the definition of grammaticalization, a content word or construction does not grammaticalize overnight; it takes time for a word or construction to obtain a grammatical meaning. Therefore, scholars have proposed a *pathway* or a *cline* (Givón 1979; Haspelmath 2004; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003), that Heine (e.g. Heine et al. 1991) calls the *grammaticalization chain*. Hopper and Traugott ([1993] 2003:7) propose the following 'chain':

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

The *chain* describes how a lexical item first changes into a grammatical item, then this grammatical item cliticizes and in its final stage it becomes an inflectional affix. In Givón's proposed *chain* the final stage is the deletion of the inflectional affix. This chain is unidirectional, according to grammaticalization scholars, that is, words or constructions only develop from lexical to grammatical items and not the other way around (Heine & Kuteva 2002:4; 2005:17-18; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003:16-17; Traugott & Heine 1991:4-6, among others).

When a form or construction is going through this grammaticalization chain, it obtains new functional layers. Mostly the older layers do not disappear, at least not right away. The development of new layers in a language is called *layering* by some linguists (Hopper 1991:22; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003:124-126). The older layers can be seen as traces from the older use of a certain form or construction. From these layers, the historical development of a form or construction can be deduced.<sup>19</sup>

#### 2.4.2.2 Mechanisms within the grammaticalization process

Within the stages of grammaticalization different mechanisms play a role. These are the different mechanisms that seem to play a crucial role within the process of grammaticalization:

1. desemanticalization
2. extension
3. decategorialization
4. erosion
5. reanalysis.

Desemanticalization is also called *semantic bleaching* (Dahl 2000; Heine & Kuteva 2002; Traugott 1995, among others) and refers to the loss of semantic meaning of a word or construction (Heine & Kuteva 2005). *Extension*, in the context of grammaticalization, consists of the expansion of a word or form to new contexts (Heine & Kuteva 2005). Hopper and Traugott ([1993] 2003:63-67) call this process *analogy*, and it refers to a broader paradigmatic use of a form or construction. *Decategorialization* is the label for the loss of a lexical category (noun, verb, adjective) and the gain of another grammatical category (Heine & Kuteva 2005). The term *erosion* refers to the phonetic reduction of a word, that is, phonetic material is lost in the process (ibidem). Finally, *reanalysis* occurs when a speaker and his/her interlocutor interpret an utterance differently (Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003:50). When a word or construction is reanalyzed, there are no changes at the surface level: only at the semantic, morphological or syntactic level the interpretation changes, which means that the change is not visible in structure or form (ibidem:39).

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<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, Aikhenvald (2006:4-7) uses the term *layering* in case of language contact. According to the author, languages that have been in contact with other languages are layered. That is, a genetically uniform language can obtain a new layer of influences from another language due to contact. It is the job of a contact linguist to detect those layers.

#### *2.4.2.3 Criticism on grammaticalization mechanisms and on grammaticalization in general*

Within the theory of grammaticalization, scholars do not agree that all the above described mechanisms are intrinsically part of the grammaticalization process. Several linguists (Heine et al. 1991; Heine & Reh 1984; Haspelmath 1998), however, emphasize that grammaticalization and reanalysis are two different processes that may occur together. According to them, reanalysis does not always lead to grammaticalization. A word may also be reanalyzed and obtain a more lexical meaning; this means that reanalysis may be part of lexicalization as well. Nevertheless, reanalysis often seems to occur when words or constructions are semantically bleached and decategorized.

Not only the mechanisms behind grammaticalization are disputed, but the unidirectionality hypothesis of grammaticalization as well. That is, many scholars (Campbell 2001; Campbell & Janda 2001; Fischer 2008; Janda 2001; Newmeyer 1998; 2001; Norde 2001; Van der Auwera 2002) have questioned the unidirectionality of grammaticalization. In fact, various scholars (Norde 1997; Wichmann 1996, among others) have found examples of degrammaticalization in different languages.

The existence of the process of grammaticalization itself has also been under discussion. Several scholars (e.g. Abraham 2001; Campbell 2001; Newmeyer 2001) have criticized the existence of a general process of grammaticalization in the last decade. According to those scholars, the mechanisms or sub-processes, such as reanalysis and desemanticalization, exist, but there is no general drift from lexical forms to grammatical forms. Nevertheless, these mechanisms often occur together and many examples show that forms or constructions can lose their lexical meaning and obtain a functional meaning. Despite the criticism, the grammaticalization theory seems to provide the only explanation for all the cross-linguistically occurring changes in which a lexical item gradually becomes a grammatical item.

#### *2.4.2.4 Grammaticalization in the context of language contact situations*

The process of grammaticalization is not unique for language contact situations, it also occurs in predominantly monolingual situations. Nevertheless, grammaticalization often occurs in language contact. Several linguists (Aikhenvald 2006:23-24; Bisang 1998; Haboud 1998:69-70; Heine & Kuteva 2005; Hopper & Traugott [1993] 2003:212-230, among others) have linked grammaticalization and language contact. The occurrence of grammaticalization in language contact situations is not necessarily accidental; processes such as reanalysis and extension seem likely to occur when speakers learn a new grammar. Bisang (1998:17) establishes a connection between reanalysis and second

language acquisition:

The hearer may reanalyze a certain sequence of a foreign language from the same area with the mechanisms of reanalysis existing in her/his own language. Thus, new types of reanalysis in the sense of abduction can be introduced from the point of view of the hearer as soon as he speaks the foreign language of her/his interlocutor.

Innovations are often introduced by second language learners, because they reanalyze features of the second language (L2) under influence of the first language (L1). The interlocutors, as native speakers, may reanalyze the utterance of the second language learner in a different way; as such, a chain of reanalysis is started. These types of reanalysis that often occur in a contact situation may accelerate the process of grammaticalization.

Heine and Kuteva (2005:79-80) and Aikhenvald (2006:23-24) distinguish two types of grammaticalization in contact situations: replica grammaticalization and contact induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva's terminology). Replica grammaticalization occurs when the process of grammaticalization is copied into a language from a contact language; two similar structures with a similar interpretation can be found in both contact languages. The structure and interpretation are an innovation in at least one of the two languages. Contact induced grammaticalization takes place when a native item is grammaticalized in order to match a category from the contact language. In the two languages in contact, different structures can be found to express the same kind of function. This function is an innovation in at least one of the two languages (Heine & Kuteva 2005:79-80).

#### 2.4.2.5 *Auxiliation*

All types of grammaticalization, inside and outside of language contact situations, occur throughout the entire grammar. At a syntactic level, the fixation of word order is, for instance, considered to be a grammaticalization process (Fischer 2008:336). One verbal process, at a morpho-syntactic level, is very important for this study, namely the creation of auxiliaries. Several linguists (e.g. Heine 1993; Kuteva 2002; Rosen 1997) have referred to this process as *auxiliation*. Auxiliation is a process that occurs cross-linguistically. In her book about auxiliation, Kuteva (2002:1) defines the process as *the development of auxiliary verbs out of lexical verbs*. Auxiliary verbs can be found in many languages around the world and their origin is mostly a lexical verb.

In order to understand the process of auxiliation, it is necessary to have a clear idea of which verbs can be considered auxiliary verbs. A useful definition of auxiliary verbs was given by Anderson (2006:4-5):

an item on the lexical verb-functional affix continuum, which tends to be at least somewhat semantically bleached, and grammaticalized to express one or more of a range of salient verbal categories, most typically aspectual and modal categories, but also not infrequently temporal, negative polarity, or voice categories. Auxiliary verbs can thus be considered to be an element that in combination with a lexical verb forms a monoclausal verb phrase (...) that performs a more or less definable grammatical function.

From this definition, we can see that the development of auxiliaries is a process at different levels of the grammar; the development from a complex clause with subordination into a monoclausal at the syntactic level and the change from lexical verb to auxiliary at morphological level.

Another observation from the definition is that most of the different subprocesses of grammaticalization are present: semantic bleaching, decategorialization (the change from lexical verb into auxiliary) and erosion (when an auxiliary becomes an affixed form). Because auxiliaries are at different stages in terms of development, Anderson (*ibidem*) considers the auxiliary inventory of languages to be a continuum. The different stages in this continuum are represented in Hopper and Traugott's 'verb-to-affix cline' ([1993] 2003:111):

full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix

Semantic bleaching, extension and decategorialization are processes that occur from the beginning when the process of auxiliation starts until the last stage when it becomes an affix. Erosion is a later process that causes the auxiliary verb to become first a clitic and then an affix in the end. When a verb is only at the beginning of the process of auxiliation, it does not have many properties of an auxiliary; it is only slightly semantically bleached. This type of verb is called a 'quasi-auxiliary' by several scholars (e.g. Anderson 2006; Heine 1993; Kuteva 2002; Traugott 1995).

An important observation by Kuteva (*ibidem*:1) about auxiliation is that a lexical verb does not grammaticalize on its own: only in combination with a non-finite verb does it obtain a more

grammatical function. That is, the semantics of the non-finite verb form often play a considerable role in the development of a construction. In illustration of this, an example of the progressive verbal periphrasis from standard Spanish is presented below:

- (19) *estoy cantando*  
be.1SGsing-GER  
'I am singing.'

In example (19), the combination of *estar* 'be' and the gerund obtains a progressive meaning. The fact that this combination has obtained a progressive interpretation is probably due to inherent progressive interpretation of the gerund. Therefore, the semantics of the gerund also played a role in the reinterpretation of this combination.

These combinations of an auxiliary and a non-finite form are often referred to as auxiliary constructions (Heine 1993; Kuteva 2002) or auxiliary verb constructions (Anderson 2006). In Hispanic linguistics, these combinations are often referred to as verbal periphrases. According to the definition of Olbertz (1998:32) in her book on verbal periphrases in Spanish, a verbal periphrasis is:

the productive and dissoluble combination of an auxiliarized lexical verb with a verbal predicate in a specific non-finite form in which the finite verb agrees with the first argument of the non-finite. The function of this combination is the semantical modification of what is expressed by the non-finite predicate and its arguments.

Olbertz presents different properties of verbal periphrases in her definition of these types of construction. These properties can be used to determine the degree of auxiliatioin of a verbal periphrasis, or, in other words, auxiliary construction. Heine (1993:22-23) also lists many properties of auxiliary constructions collected from many works on auxiliaries in many different languages. Some of those properties are more general than others and many properties overlap. Another scholar who presents concrete properties of auxiliary constructions is Kuteva (2002:13). Haboud (1997) also studies the creation of auxiliary verb constructions. The author (ibidem:214) presents properties of sentences in which two clauses are unified in order to analyze the degree of clause unification of different combinations of inflected verbs and gerunds in Ecuadorian Spanish. When the process of auxiliatioin

takes place two separate clauses are unified. That is why the properties presented by Haboud are also interesting for the analysis of the degree of auxiliation. The following properties are of interest for the purposes of this study:

1. verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions are combinations of an inflected and a non-finite verb (Heine 1993:24; Olbertz 1998:32).
2. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb has undergone a semantic change (desemanticalization) (Kuteva 2002:13; Olbertz 1998:32)
3. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, different types of verbs (verbs of movement, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs) can be used as non-finite verb in combination with the auxiliarized verb (extension)<sup>20</sup>, (ibidem:13)
4. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb may have undergone phonetic reduction (erosion) (Heine 1993:23)
5. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb and the non-finite verb are used in a fixed order (Haboud 1997:214; Heine 1993:24)
6. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb and the non-finite verb can not be separated by adverbials (Haboud 1997:214; Kuteva 2002:13; Olbertz 1998:32).

#### *2.4.2.6 Auxiliation in Ecuador*

According to different scholars (Bruil forthcoming; Haboud 1997; 2005; Niño-Murcia 1995; Olbertz 2002; 2003; 2008, among others), a certain type of auxiliation, that is the grammaticalization of the combination of an inflected verb and a non-finite verb, has taken place in Ecuadorian Spanish. The auxiliarized combinations consist of different inflected verbs and the Spanish converb, that is, the gerund. In the introduction of this study, examples were given of these auxiliarized combinations (or innovative verbal periphrases as they were called in the introduction). The examples will be repeated here:

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<sup>20</sup> When an inflected verb can not be used in combination with different verbs, but the verb did lose part of its meaning, it is quite possible that the combination of the inflected verb and a certain non-finite verb have lexicalized. The combination of the two verbs has obtained a higher degree of lexical specialization (Olbertz 1998:88-89).

- (9) da-me            hacie-ndo        el trabajo. (Toscano Mateus 1953:284)  
       give-1SG:IO do-GER        the homework.  
       'Do the homework for me.'
- (11) dejó                    cocina-ndo. (ibidem:90)  
       leave.3SG.PERF        cook-GER  
       'He/she left it after cooking it.'
- (13) me                mandó            habla-ndo. (ibidem)  
       1SGIO            send.3SG.PERF        speak-GER.  
       'He/she scolded me (and sent me away).'
- (15) vine                    comie-ndo. (ibidem)  
       come.1SG.PERF        eat-GER  
       'I come while eating' or 'I come after having eaten.'

These verbal periphrases do not seem to have the same degree of auxiliation (Haboud 1997; 2005; Olbertz 2002; 2003; 2008). According to the two authors, for instance, the combination *venir* + gerund is only slightly grammaticalized (Haboud 1997;2005b; Olbertz 2003) and the combination *dar* + gerund has grammaticalized to a much larger degree (Haboud 1997; Olbertz 2002;2008). Haboud (1997:225) placed the combinations in a continuum of the degree of semantic reanalysis, which can be found below in figure 2:

Continuum of desemanticalization of Highland Spanish auxiliaries

<b>least</b>		<b>most</b>
ir	mandar	botar
venir	dejar	dar

Figure 2: Continuum of desemanticalization of Highland Spanish auxiliaries according to Haboud (ibidem:225).

The existence of these innovative verbal periphrases in Ecuadorian have often been attributed to contact with Quichua. That is, according to different scholars (Cerrón-Palomino 1987; Granda 2001; Haboud 1998;2005b; Muysken 1985; Niño-Murcia 1995; Olbertz 2003; Toscano Mateus 1953, among others) many of these verbal periphrases have developed under the influence of the Quichua converb ending in *-shpa*. That is, the gerund in combination with certain inflected verbs has obtained some of the functions of the *-shpa* converb. This can be seen, for instance in example (15):

- (15) vine                                      comie-ndo. (Niño-Murcia 1995:90)  
       come.1SG.PERF      eat-GER  
       'I come after having eaten.'

In example (15), the action expressed by the gerund does not occur at the same time as the main verb any more; it occurs anterior to the main verb. This is also how the *-shpa* converb in the same type of sentences is interpreted, as can be seen in example (16)

- (16) micu-shpa      shamu-ni. (ibidem:97)  
       eat-SS.CONV come-1SG  
       'I come after having eaten.'

The action expressed by *micushpa* occurs anterior to the action expressed by *shamuni*. Therefore Spanish gerund seems to have copied the interpretation of the Quichua converb ending in *-shpa*.

The different studies on the use of the gerund in Andean and Ecuadorian Spanish do not show clearly how the grammaticalization process of the combinations with a gerund is related to contact. In the case of the combination *dar* 'give' + gerund, there are different theories. According to some scholars (Heine & Kuteva 2005:221; Hurley 1995a,b; Kany 1951; Toscano Mateus 1953), the combination is a loan translation from Quichua, that is Ecuadorian Spanish copied the structure and the meaning of the combination *dar* + gerund from its Quichua equivalent.

Other scholars (Bruil forthcoming; Haboud 1998; Olbertz 2002;2008) do not agree with the theory that *dar* + gerund was copied from Quichua. According to them, there are different indications that *dar* + gerund is not a Quichua construction. For instance, the Quichua equivalent, the *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana*, is only used in the Ecuadorian variety of Quechua and not in any other variety

of Quechua (Olbertz 2002). Therefore, the combination does not seem a Quechua combination at all. Another argument (Haboud 1998:218-223) is that in Quechua verbal periphrases are very rare. In Spanish it is much more common to express grammatical functions through a verbal periphrasis. In Quechua, grammatical functions are mostly expressed by suffixes. Because of these reasons, the authors (Bruil forthcoming; Haboud 1998; Olbertz 2002;2008) believe that the combination *dar* + gerund is not just a loan from Quichua, but that it developed as a result of the prolonged contact between Spanish and Quichua.

Since verbal periphrases are not common at all in Quechua, it is not clear whether the Quichua equivalents of the Ecuadorian Spanish verbal periphrases also have undergone a process of auxiliatio. If this would be the case, it would mean that Quichua has transferred a Spanish structure into its grammar. It would also mean that Quichua has undergone replica grammaticalization, as it was called by Heine and Kuteva (2005).

#### 2.4.3 Convergence

Another phenomenon that occurs in language contact situations simply cannot be excluded in a study of two changing systems in contact. A short definition of this phenomenon, convergence, can be found in the introduction to this study. As was said in the introduction, two languages converge when they become structurally more similar, or in Aikhenvald's words (2006:45) convergence occurs, when *'languages in contact (...) gradually become more like each other in certain features'*. According to Myers-Scotton (2002:164), convergence can both refer to the process and the result of major similarities in contact languages. The result of convergence is sometimes referred to as (structural) isomorphism, even though the structural similarities the term refers to are not always obtained by contact (Aikhenvald 2002; 2006; Heine & Kuteva 2005; Winford 2003).

No matter whether the process or result is the aim, convergence mostly describes the surrounding circumstances of a contact situation; convergence is not the motor of change, it is the by-product or by-product of transfer (mostly of semantic and functional meaning) and other contact induced changes that lead to major similarity of two languages. Convergence, in contrast to isomorphism, only exists in cases where similarities were obtained through language contact. Similarities that existed before the contact between languages should be excluded from the analysis, the goal of which is to determine the degree of convergence.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> An interesting example of convergence can be found within the Andean area. Due to contact, the structures of some

## 2.5 Contact induced change in a social context

Many scholars (e.g. Aikhenvald 2006; Appel & Muysken 1987; Bisang 1998; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Van Coetsem 2000; Weinreich [1953] 1974) have discussed the importance of the social context for contact induced language change. The interest for the social context is not difficult to understand; in the case of contact induced language change, it is hard to deny that the social context plays at least some role. The social context is, in fact, the reason why contact induced change occurs. The motivation for this type of changes is, at least partly, external. The external motivation is due to the contact between languages and this contact originates from the social structure of society.

Some scholars attribute more importance to social factors than others. For instance, Weinreich ([1953] 1974) argues that both linguistic and social factors have their effects on contact induced change. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:19), however, claim that only social factors enable us to make predictions about contact induced change. To be able to understand the importance of social factors, it is crucial to have an idea about which social factors may have an influence on the linguistic outcome of contact. Another important question is what the effects of these social factors are; what can be predicted from these factors? Can the amount of transfer be predicted from social factors? Can mutual or unilateral change be predicted from social factors? Can the simplification or the development of complexities be predicted from the social factors? Can the kind of change be predicted from social factors? I will discuss different social factors and their effects proposed by different scholars per subsection.

### 2.5.1 The extent of the contact

The extent of the contact is a social factor that influences contact induced change. The term *extent* can be understood in different dimensions: the length of the contact, the number of bilinguals and the frequency of the contact. These different dimensions of *extent* do not give us the insight to predict whether the found transfer is unilateral or mutual or whether the languages will simplify or gain more complexities.

However, they are useful for predicting the amount and maybe even the type of transfer. If two languages are in contact over a large timespan, there is a large group of bilinguals who use both contact languages frequently, so it is likely that there is a large amount of transfer to be found between the languages. On the other hand, if languages have not been in contact for a long time, if the contact is

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varieties of Aymara and Quechua have become very similar (Adelaar 1986; Cerrón Palomino 1994; Torero 2004).

only incidental, and if only a small part of the population is bilingual, few cases of transfer are likely to be found between the languages (Heine & Kuteva 2005:239-241; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 2003:25). In this last kind of contact situation, it is still possible that some transfer is found. This transfer will mostly be lexical; it is not necessary to have a widespread bilingualism for lexical items to be transferred. For structural transfer to occur, languages need to be in a longer and more extensive contact (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

These predictions apply to the different language contact situations in Ecuador described in the previous chapter. In Imbabura, the languages Cara and Quechua have probably been in contact for a long time, first when Quechua was used as a trade language by merchants and later on as well when the Incas and the Spaniards introduced to the rest of the Cara population as well. Since the whole population shifted to Quichua eventually, there must have been a large group of bilinguals of Cara and Quechua. Because of this large period of contact and the large number of bilinguals it is quite possible that there is still some Cara influence to be found in Imbabura Quichua.

We have also seen in the previous chapter that Quichua and Spanish have been in contact for centuries as well, that there is a considerable number of bilinguals, and that bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish frequently use both languages, Quichua in private and Spanish in public. As mentioned in chapter 2, the extent of contact has even grown over the last two decades, because of the growing importance of Spanish speaking organizations in the indigenous rural communities and because of the migration of indigenous people to the cities (Haboud 2005a:28-30). Therefore, the prediction for the Ecuadorian situation is that a large amount of transfer, structural as well as lexical, can be found.

### *2.5.2 Social relations between the language groups*

Another factor that many linguists (Aikhenvald 2006; Myers-Scotton 2002; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Van Coetsem 2000; Winford 2003, among others) have taken into account when it comes to contact induced change, are the social relations between the different language groups in an area. These authors have made different predictions when it comes to the influence of the relations between the language groups in society.

According to Myers-Scotton (2002:172-173) and Van Coetsem (2000:45), the relations between language groups can predict the direction of transfer. According to Myers-Scotton and Van Coetsem, features are predominantly transferred from the social-economic prestige language into the non-prestige language. If we translate this view to the Imbabura situation in the period that the Incas and

Spaniards introduced Quechua, it would mean that Quechua was influencing Cara before it disappeared, because Quechua was the language introduced by the social, economical and political power in the region. Cara influence, on the other hand, could not be found any more in Imbabura Quichua. In the recent Ecuadorian situation Myers-Scotton and Van Coetsem's view would mean that that mostly Spanish transfer can be found in Quichua and not the other way around, since Spanish is the social-economic prestige language.

Aikhenvald (2006:42-44) makes the same observation; when unequal social relations exist between the language groups in a contact area, mostly features from the political dominant language will be transferred to the minority language. As was noted in section 2.4.1, she even takes this hypothesis a step further and predicts that in situations with unequal social relations the non-prestige language will be subjected to simplification due to the imposition of features of the social-political prestige language. Eventually, a shift may take place from the non-prestige language to the dominant language, which may cause the death of the non-prestige language. In balanced situations, however, the contact languages will gain more complexities due to transfer and reinterpretations from both sides.

The contact between Cara and Quechua does not seem to have been very balanced. The unequal social situation of the languages was probably the reason why the Cara speakers switched to Quechua. This means that Aikhenvald may be right when it comes to language shift in unequal situations. However, it is impossible to prove that due to influence of Quechua Cara was simplifying, since there are no Cara texts left. In the case of the recent contact situation in Ecuador between Quichua and Spanish, it is possible to test Aikhenvald's hypothesis. Since the recent situation is one of unequal relations and Quichua is the non-prestige language, one expects simplifications in that language. Another prediction that can be made from Aikhenvald's hypothesis is that a shift will occur from Quichua to Spanish. In chapter 1, we have already seen that this shift is occurring, albeit very slowly.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988), however, predict very different kinds of changes when a shift occurs. When a group of people shifts from their minority language to the dominant language under cultural pressure, the authors predict that changes will also be found in the dominant language. Thomason and Kaufman (*ibidem*) refer to the type of transfer from the minority language to the dominant language in shift situations as *interference through shift*. This type of transfer occurs when '*a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language (TL) perfectly.*' (*ibidem*:39). The mistakes made by the second language learners are often copied by native speakers of the target language, especially in situations where the shift takes a long period of time and is not

completed (ibidem:39).

Thomas and Kaufman are not the only scholars who believe that this kind of transfer by second language learners exists. Although Aikhenvald claims in one part of her work (2006:42-44) that in cases of shift the language influence is unilateral, that is, from the dominant language to the non-dominant language, in another part of her work (2006:38) she also ascertains the possibility of contact induced language change through imperfect second language learning. Other scholars (Heine & Kuteva 2005:237-239; Van Coetsem 2000; Weinreich [1953] 1974:74-75, among others) also confirm the existence of this type of transfer.

The implications of this theory for the contact between Cara and Quechua would be that Cara transfer can be found in Imbabura Quichua due to the second language learner errors of the Cara speakers. In the recent contact situation in Ecuador, Thomason and Kaufman's theory would imply that transfer from Quichua would be found in Spanish through imperfect learning. If indeed influences from Quichua are to be found in Spanish, it is most likely that they were introduced by Quichua speakers who learned Spanish as a second language. Except for the small group of clergymen, most people of Spanish origin did not learn Quichua in the past and there are still very few *mestizos* that have learned Quichua. Therefore, one would expect that if Quichua has had an influence on Spanish, the bilingual indigenous population is the source of the transfer. The *mestizos*, in that case, only copied that transfer.

Thomason and Kaufman (ibidem) contrast *interference through shift* with *borrowing*. As was briefly mentioned in section 2.2, the Thomason and Kaufman (ibidem:21) define *borrowing* as '*the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language.*' This type of transfer is found, according to the authors, in situations of language maintenance. Interestingly, in Aikhenvald's (2006:42-44) description of transfer in unequal social situations, the *incorporation of foreign features into the speakers native language* is the kind of transfer that eventually leads to shift from a minority language to the dominant language.

In the historical contact in Imbabura between Cara and Quechua, the Cara influence in present day Quechua was introduced due to the imperfect learning of Quechua by Cara speakers. That is, the transfer was caused by non-native speakers of the language and is not considered to be *borrowing* in Thomason and Kaufman's theory. The incorporation of Quechua features into Cara by native speakers cannot be studied anymore, because there is no Cara material left.

Nevertheless, in the recent Ecuadorian situation, this type of incorporations of foreign features may very well be found. *Borrowing* in the sense of Thomason and Kaufman (1988), is not found in

Spanish, because Quichua features are most likely introduced into the language through imperfect learning of Quichua speakers. In Quichua, however, the bilinguals probably incorporate the Spanish features as a result of their own knowledge of Spanish, as Myers-Scotton (2002) and Aikhenvald (2006) predict. It can be concluded that the type of transfer found in Spanish is due to second language learners mistakes (*interference through shift* in Thomason & Kaufman's terminology) and the type of transfer in Quichua are the Spanish features directly introduced by the bilinguals themselves (*borrowing* in Thomason & Kaufman's terminology).

This distinction is important if we want to understand the predictions made by Thomason and Kaufman (ibidem:37-39) about the order of transfer; that is, on which level of the grammar does transfer occur first in both situations. *Borrowing* and *interference through shift* have different kinds of developments when it comes to transfer at different levels of the grammar. In the case of *borrowing*, the features transferred first are lexical items and later on structural features will be transferred (ibidem:37-38). When *interference through shift* occurs, second language learners mostly transfer structural features<sup>22</sup>. About lexical transfer in language shift situations Thomason and Kaufman (ibidem:39) state the following:

Often, in fact, the TL adopts few words from the shifting speakers' language. This makes sense if one thinks about it a bit. If the speakers' goal is to give up their native language and speak some other language instead, vocabulary is the first part of the TL they will need, it is the first part they will learn.

Only in the case of a gap in the target language, lexical items will be introduced in a language shift situation, according to Thomason and Kaufman.

Thomason and Kaufman's theory can be used to make predictions for the historical and present situation in Ecuador. First of all, the theory can be used to predict what kind of Cara traces can be found in present day Imbabura Quichua. Since Cara speakers shifted to Quechua, it is most likely that structural transfer from Cara is to be found in present day Quichua. Lexical transfer from Cara is less likely to be found in present day Quichua.

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<sup>22</sup> A classic example of structural influence of the original language on the language of the invaders can be found in India. The Indic languages of the Indo-Irarian invaders (e.g. Gujarati and Sindhi) underwent many structural changes under the influence of the indigenous Dravidian and Munda languages. These structural influences consisted of phonological, morphological and syntactic transfer (Emeneau 1980 [1962]).

Secondly, Thomason and Kaufman's theory may also shed some light on the types of influences that be found in Quichua and Spanish from the other language in present day Ecuador. Since it has been shown that the process of transfer found in Quichua most likely is *borrowing*, it would be expected that more lexical than structural influence from Spanish is found in Quichua. In Ecuadorian Spanish, it would be expected that more structural transfer than lexical transfer from Quichua is found, due to second language acquisition errors. Nevertheless, it is possible that the visible effects of these two different transfer processes are wiped out because the Quichua and Spanish have been in close contact for a considerable period. As these languages have been in contact for a very long time, Quichua probably already came to the stage in which structural transfer can be found and Spanish started incorporating some more Quichua words.

All these observations about the influence of unequal social situations on contact induced language can be tested in Ecuador's historical and present day contact situation. As for the historical situation, it is possible that no Cara traces are found, because Cara was a non-prestige language and according to Aikhenvald (2006), Myers-Scotton (2002) and Van Coetsem (2000) mostly prestige languages influence other languages and not the other way around. If we would believe Thomason and Kaufman (1988), it would be much more likely to find structural Cara traces in Imbabura Quichua, since Cara-speakers introduced features from their own language into their second language. This was probably the variety of Quechua that was learned by their children. Therefore, it seems very well possible in Thomason and Kaufman's theory that Cara influenced Quichua structurally.

As for the present day contact situation, it would be interesting to see whether mainly Spanish transfer is found in the Quichua converb system, as Aikhenvald (2006), Myers-Scotton (2002) and Van Coetsem (2000) have claimed. By testing Aikhenvald's (2006) hypothesis that Quichua is structurally simplifying as a result of the non-prestige status of the language, I could also shed more light on transfer in unequal social situations. On the other hand, it is also possible that Thomason and Kaufman's theory (1988) is more accurate to describe the Ecuadorian situation. In that case, it would be expected that the first structural transfer was from Quichua into Spanish, and only later on Spanish structural transfer would be found in Quichua.

### *2.5.3 Linguistic attitudes towards contact induced change*

A final social factor that is claimed to influence contact induced language change are the linguistic attitudes in an area. Attitudes towards the incorporation of foreign material might influence the

occurrence of transfer positively and negatively. When language groups are open towards influence, it is likely that many cases of transfer will be found in the language. On the other hand, if a language group has a more negative opinion of foreign influences, it will try to banish transfer (Aikhenvald 2006:39-42; Winford 2003:40-41).

There is no information about the linguistic attitudes during the contact period of Cara and Quechua. Therefore, it is quite difficult to discuss what influence attitudes may have had on the transfer from Cara to Quechua. When it comes to the present day situation, there is much more to discuss. In chapter 1, it was already mentioned that both native speakers of Quichua and of Ecuadorian Spanish view transfer from the other language negatively. In each case, this negative opinion has a different background. The *mestizo* population, which speaks Spanish as a first language, has two reasons for banishing Quichua's influence. First of all, language purism plays a part; the *Real Academia Española*, the 'Royal Spanish Academy', has watched over the 'correct' use of Spanish for over centuries. Until recently, the Institute would not accept many changes of the language<sup>23</sup>. Nevertheless, this purism did not reach the majority of Spanish speakers in Ecuador. A more important reason is the predominantly negative social attitude of the *mestizos* towards the indigenous speakers of Quichua. Many *mestizos* do not want to be associated with the indigenous community, and therefore prefer to banish Quichua elements.

The negative attitudes towards Spanish influence, however, seem to have different reasons. Out of loyalty towards their language, Quichua speakers prefer not to use Spanish elements. Weinreich ([1953] 1974:99-102) already observed the impact of this factor on transfer, and other linguists have followed (Aikhenvald 2006:41; Appel & Muysken 1987:132-133; Winford 2003:40-41, among others). Linguistic loyalty can mostly be found in the case of minority languages. Because language is part of the identity of a minority group, the group tries to maintain the language. Therefore, the group tries to ban foreign elements, in particular those of the dominant language in the area. This is also the case for Quichua; as Haboud (2005a) has observed, Quichua is part of the identity of the indigenous community. Therefore, several committees try to get rid of Spanish loanwords (ibidem:21 and 32).

Despite the negative attitudes, it is difficult to banish all influences from the other language. This is because speakers are often unaware of the influence (Myers-Scotton 2002:1-3). Speakers are often much more aware of forms than of patterns or meanings (Aikhenvald 2006:39-42; Myers-Scotton

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<sup>23</sup> Recently, the *Real Academia Española*, together with the twenty one academies in Latin America and the Philippines, has embraced the diversity of different Spanish varieties (RAE 2008).

2002:1-3). Therefore, foreign linguistic forms can be more easily eliminated, than foreign patterns and meanings. In the case of the converb systems of Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish, this would mean that the transfer from one language to another would be difficult to detect, because no foreign forms were integrated into the systems. Thus, it would be interesting to see whether the negative attitudes still had some influence on the changes found in the two systems.

## Chapter 3: Methodological considerations

### 3.1 Introduction

Within the theoretical context and the social historical context presented in the previous chapters, I will determine what changes have occurred in the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. To find out what changes have occurred, I needed to find out how converbs were used and interpreted in the two languages. Therefore, I have carried out fieldwork for three months in the Imbabura province. In this chapter, I will present the approach of this study of the changes in the converb systems and I will show how my fieldwork fits into this approach. In section 3.2., the general approach will be presented and following; subsequently, section 3.3 motivates the conducted fieldwork within the framework of the approach. In the final section (3.4) I will address how the gathered material will be presented and used in the following chapters.

### 3.2 Approach

The goal of this study is to describe the possible diachronic processes that could have led to the recent use of converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. Therefore, it would make sense to consult historical sources of both Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish to describe the different stages of development. However, as most of the changes can only be found in spoken language, and as there are only a few sources in which speech is represented, relevant examples of converb use would probably be few and far between.

For this reason, I have chosen to take up another approach for this study; I will use synchronic data for a diachronic description of the studied phenomena. This may seem illogical at first sight. But when one takes into account that in the language spoken nowadays, different diachronic layers can be found, it does not seem as unreasonable any more. These diachronic layers include both internally introduced new functions and foreign influences. From these present layers of use of a form or construction, it is possible to deduce its hypothetical process of extension of use. This approach is also used by other linguists (e.g. Aikhenvald 2006, Kuteva 2002). Because the synchronic and diachronic analyses are combined, Kuteva (2002:9) calls it the *panchronic* approach. Importantly, both Aikhenvald (2006) and Kuteva (2002:9) emphasize that this approach only results in a reconstruction of the development of relatively new features; it does not give certainties on how these features came into being.

The panchronic approach that was chosen for this study consists of different steps. First of all, the different innovative uses of converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish and their interpretations will be mapped out. For this step, native speaker intuitions were crucial. The goal of the fieldwork was to obtain intuitions from native speakers of both Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish. These intuitions give insights in the use and interpretation of the innovative features. Through the description of the innovative uses of converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish and their interpretations, I will determine which changes have occurred on the visible level and on the level of their interpretation.

### *3.3 Fieldwork*

I conducted fieldwork for two reasons: first, to collect examples of the innovative uses of converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, and second, to gather native speaker intuitions on these innovative uses of converbs, such as how these converbs are interpreted in their new context. How I gathered these data will be discussed in the first subsection. In the second subsection, I will explain how the consultants were selected.

#### *3.3.1 The collection of data*

For the collection of different types of data, I used different strategies:

1. I collected a corpus in which converbs were used
2. I conducted elicitation tests
3. I conducted intuition tests

In section 3.3.1.1, I will explain how I collected a corpus in which converbs are used. The elicitation tests, which will be discussed in subsection 3.3.1.2, and the intuition tests, which will be discussed in subsection 3.3.1.3, were conducted in interviews with native speakers of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish.

##### *3.3.1.1 Corpus*

One part of the corpus of converbs consists of the spontaneous use of Imbabura Spanish. Most of the spontaneous informal Spanish was recorded in a family in Ibarra. Around 40 hours of informal speech were recorded. From these recordings, the different uses of the gerund were transcribed. The innovative examples of the gerund will be described in the next chapter. The Quichua corpus consists of a book called *cuentos de la creación y resistencia* 'stories of creation and resistance' edited by Nazarea and

Guitarra (2002). The book contains transcribed stories in Imbabura Quichua, that were translated to Spanish and to English.

### 3.3.1.2 Elicitation tests

In the interviews, there were two elicitation tests: the first test was carried out with both Spanish and Quichua speakers and the second test was only carried out with Quichua speakers. In the first test, the goal was to obtain examples of one of the innovative verbal periphrases in Quichua and Spanish: the combination of *give* and a converb. In Spanish, that combination would be a form of the verb *dar* and the gerund and in Quichua, it would be either the verb *cuna* or *carana* and the converb ending in *-shpa*. The underlying idea was to find out whether the Quichua combination was used in the same way as the Spanish construction. In a previous study (Bruil 2006), I described the use of the Ecuadorian Spanish construction *dar* + gerund. A main observation from this study was that the semantic interpretation of the construction was the most important motivation to select the construction *dar* + gerund in Ecuadorian Spanish. In situations where one person acts instead of another person the construction was used mostly.

In order to compare the use of the similar construction in Quichua with the Spanish use, I presented seven contexts to the consultants in which one person offers to act instead of another person, asks one person to act instead of her/him, or describes how one person acted instead of her/him. For example, the Quichua and Spanish speakers were presented with the following context: a little boy has shot his ball on the roof but he cannot get it back himself. The question to the consultants was: what will the boy ask his father so that he will get the ball from the roof instead of the boy. These contexts were presented to both Quichua and Spanish speakers in order to determine if the construction is used with the same frequency in both languages. These contexts were based on the contexts Hurley (1992) used for her study of requests in Ecuadorian Spanish and Quichua.

The second elicitation test was carried out to obtain information on how the different converbs in Quichua were used. The Quichua consultants were given converbs to construct sentences with. For instance, they had to form sentences with the following converbs:

- (20) yanu-ngapaj  
cook-SS.SUBJ.CONV  
'in order to cook'

- (21) *yanuchun*  
 cook-3.IMP/SS.SUBJ.CONV  
 'may (s)he cook' or 'so that I/you/(s)he/etc. cook(s)'
- (22) *randi-shpa*  
 buy-SS.CONV  
 'Having bought'
- (23) *randi-jpi*  
 buy-DS.CONV  
 'After I/you/(s)he/etc. bought'

The consultants were asked to use these words in this form in a sentence. There are two reasons why this part of the interview was only conducted in Quichua. The first reason is that the Quichua corpus that was used for this study lacked examples of the use of some of the converbs investigated. In Spanish, there were many examples of the use of the gerund in the recorded data. Therefore, another type of collection of examples was needed in the case of Quichua. The second reason was that in Quichua not only the emergence of verbal periphrases was studied, but also the emergence of a new set of converbs. I needed to make sure that I had examples of the use of these converbs as well. Interestingly, not only elicited examples of the use of the converbs in Quichua and Ecuadorian Spanish were collected in the interviews. Once in a while, the consultants also produced some spontaneous examples in the interviews. Some of these examples will be used in the following chapters as well.

### 3.3.1.3 Intuition tests

The intuition tests were mainly focused on the innovative verbal periphrases in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. The different combinations of the converb ending in *-shpa* and an inflected verb in Imbabura Quichua, and the combinations of an inflected verb and the gerund in Imbabura Spanish that may have developed into verbal periphrases, were selected partly on the basis of studies of different scholars on verbal periphrases in Ecuadorian Spanish (Haboud 1997; Hurley 1992; Niño-Murcia 1995). I added another combinations of verbs and converbs on the basis of previous observations<sup>24</sup>. The combinations

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<sup>24</sup> In previous fieldwork, I observed some other combinations of an inflected verb and a gerund in Imbabura Spanish. One of these combinations was *pasar* 'pass' + gerund. This combination will also be taken into account in this study.

investigated can be divided into different types of verbs that occur in combination with the gerund in Ecuadorian Spanish:

1. Verbs of movement + converb, such as:
  - 'go' + converb
  - 'come' + converb
  - 'come back' + converb
2. (di)transitive verbs + converb, such as:
  - 'dropp' / 'throw away' + converb
  - 'put' + converb
  - 'leave something/one' + converb
  - 'give' + converb
3. unproductive combinations, such as<sup>25</sup>:
  - 'send'/'order' + converb
  - 'pass' + converb

The combinations of inflected verbs and the gerund were presented to both the Quichua and Spanish speaking consultants in Spanish. In the Quichua interviews, the consultants were asked to translate the sentences. I decided to use this method so that the Quichua native speakers would produce the Quichua equivalents of the Spanish combinations. Of course, there was the risk that the Quichua speakers would give the same intuitions for the Spanish and the Quichua combinations, because they were based on the Spanish sentences. This was not the case; the intuitions about the Quichua sentences were quite different from the intuitions about the Spanish sentences. Still, because of the translation, there may be some influence from Spanish in the Quichua intuitions.

The goal of the intuition tests was to determine the changes that have occurred in the combinations of the converb ending in *-shpa* and an inflected verb in Imbabura Quichua, and in the combinations of an inflected verb and the gerund in Imbabura Spanish. Since many of these changes seem to have occurred on the level of interpretation, the consultants were not only asked questions about the use of the combination but also about the interpretation of the combinations of the inflected verbs and a converb. An example of a change in Imbabura Spanish that may occur on the visible level

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<sup>25</sup> At least in Imbabura Spanish, the combinations do not seem to be very productive. The next chapter will outline whether these combinations are productive in Imbabura Quichua and whether they have the same interpretation in Imbabura Quichua as in Imbabura Spanish.

is that not all arguments governed by the inflected verb and the converb are expressed. Still, it is necessary to understand what this change means on the level of interpretation of the sentence.

One change that may have occurred is that the interpretation of the converbs has changed. Another change that may have occurred is the grammaticalization of the combinations of inflected verbs that is, the combinations may have become verbal periphrases. All the combinations were discussed with the consultants while taking into account the different properties of verbal periphrases, as presented in subsection 2.4.2.5 of the previous chapter. For the sake of clarification, the properties are repeated here:

1. verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions are combinations of an inflected and a non-finite verb (Heine 1993:24; Olbertz 1998:32).
2. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb has undergone a semantic reduction (desemanticalization) (Kuteva 2002:13; Olbertz 1998:32).
3. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, different types of verbs (verbs of movement, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs) can be used as non-finite verb in combination with the auxiliarized verb (extension), (ibidem:13).
4. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb may have undergone phonetic reduction (erosion) (Heine 1993:23).
5. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb and the non-finite verb are used in a fixed order (Haboud 1997:214; Heine 1993:24).
6. In verbal periphrases / auxiliary constructions, the inflected verb and the non-finite verb cannot be separated by adverbials (Haboud 1997:214; Kuteva 2002:13; Olbertz 1998:32).

These properties were the basis of the intuition tests. A first question was whether the nine different combinations of inflected verbs and converbs could be used. With this question, property 1 was tested.

Secondly, I wanted to find out whether the inflected verbs in the combinations had been semantically reduced, that is, I wanted to know whether property 2 had occurred in the combination. Since I could not ask this literally to the consultants, I needed to use other questions to find out whether the inflected verb had lost some of its lexical meaning.

First, I asked the consultants to explain to me what happened in the presented contexts. From these explanations, I deduced how many actions occurred in the sentences. If only one action occurred, it was plausible that the inflected verb had been semantically reduced. If two actions occurred, there was still a possibility that some semantic reduction had occurred. This could be tested by taking out the

converb. If the meaning of the inflected verb changed when the converb was taken out, some semantic change has occurred. Another method that may also give some insight into the semantic interpretation of a sentence is the discussion of the different arguments in the sentence. In the case of transitive verbs, that were used as possible auxiliaries, it is important to determine whether these verbs still govern a direct object. The loss of direct object of the would mean a higher degree of auxiliiation. When the transitive inflected verb still governs a direct object, the degree of auxiliiation is probably very low.

When the consultants were asked to describe what happened in the sentences, the goal was not only to find out whether the inflected verb had been semantically reduced. In order to find out what other changes had occurred, it was also important to find out if the temporal interpretation of the two actions is different than in other varieties of the studied languages, (i.e. when the sentence still described two actions). That is, the combinations of inflected verbs and converbs do not need to be innovative due to grammaticalization of the combination. It is also possible that the temporal relations between the inflected verb and the converb have changed due to a reinterpretation of the converb.

In summary, I needed the consultants to describe the interpretation of the combination of the inflected verbs and the converb to be able to compare this interpretation with the traditional interpretation of the non-grammaticalized combination. By means of the outcome, I can, later on, reconstruct what changes, such as the reinterpretation of the converb and the grammaticalization of the combination, have occurred.

The test of the extension of the combination (property 3) part of the determination of the degree of grammaticalization. In order for this test to work, the inflected verb needs to be semantically reduced. Within the process of grammaticalization, different types of verbs in the form of the converb can only be introduced when the process of semantic reduction has started. This means that not all grammaticalized combinations have spread to different contexts with different types of verbs in the form of the converb. Nevertheless, when many different types of verbs (verbs of movement, transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs) can be used as a non-finite verb in combination with the auxiliarized verb, the combination is grammaticalized to a higher degree<sup>26</sup>.

The process of phonetic reduction, that was presented in property 4, is a process that occurs even later in the process of grammaticalization than extension. Therefore, there is a considerable chance that this process has not occurred. If it has occurred, the process can be observed in the

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<sup>26</sup> When the combination is only extended to a reduced number of verbs that can be used in the form of a converb, it might mean that the construction is not grammaticalized, but that another process that includes semantic reinterpretation may have taken place. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on this idea.

examples of the combinations of an inflected verb and a converb from the corpus. There was no need to test the phonetic reduction in the intuition tests.

The fixed word order, property 5, was easily tested by switching around the auxiliary candidate and the converb. Spanish has a fixed order for verbal periphrases: first the inflected verb and then the non-finite verb. Therefore, in Spanish, this test may give some results. It was important to take into account that the acceptance of a switched order did not always mean that the combination was not grammaticalized. That is, on some occasions it may be possible to switch the order of the inflected verb and the gerund. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the combination is different. This means that in the intuition tests, this also needed to be checked. In the case of Quichua, it was rather uncertain whether the word order test would produce any results, because Quichua does not have a fixed word order. Another difficulty for the analysis of a fixed word order in Quichua is that verbal periphrases are very uncommon in Quechua as was mentioned in the previous chapter. Thus, there is no known fixed word order for verbal periphrases.

As for property 6, in many languages inflected verbs and non-finite verbs cannot be separated by an adverbial or any other constituent when they form a verbal periphrasis. Spanish is one of those languages. When the periphrastic inflected verb and non-finite verb are separated in Spanish, the sentence either becomes ungrammatical or the meaning of the sentence changes. Since in Quichua verbal periphrases are very uncommon, it is not clear whether in Quichua inflected verbs can be separated from the non-finite verb when they occur in a verbal periphrasis. Therefore, the separation test in Spanish was used differently from the one in Quichua. In Spanish, this test was used to determine the degree of grammaticalization of a combination of an inflected verb and a gerund. In Quichua, this test was used in order to find out whether a separated combination of an inflected verb and the converb could still have a grammaticalized interpretation. The goal was to find out whether in Quichua the innovative verbal periphrases have obtained the property of inseparability.

### *3.3.2 Selection of consultants*

For this study, 62 consultants between the ages of 12 and 88 years old were interviewed. As was mentioned above, these interviews are divided into two main groups: the Spanish interviews and the Quichua interviews. 14 monolinguals of Spanish were asked questions about Spanish. The remaining 48 consultants, bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish or, in three cases, monolinguals of Quichua, were interviewed about Quichua. These 48 consultants were from two different regions. 17 consultants were

from the indigenous communities around the city of Cotacachi. The remaining 31 consultants were from the indigenous communities in the vicinity of the town Esperanza, approximately 5km to the south east of Ibarra.

In the Esperanza region, I instructed a native speaker of Quichua to carry out the interviews in Quichua. In the area of Cotacachi, I had many difficulties to find a native speaker who could interview other Quichua speakers from the area. Therefore, I interviewed the consultants myself in Spanish. At first sight, the consultants did not seem to be influenced by the use of Spanish. Nevertheless, the possibility that the consultants from the Cotacachi area were influenced by the use of Spanish, will be taken into account.

The selection of the consultants for the Spanish group was different from the selection for the Quichua group. The Spanish speaking consultants were all part of my circle of acquaintances, so the level of confidence was high. When there is a high level of confidence, consultants use informal and natural speech in the interviews the most. Since my circle of acquaintances was limited to Spanish speakers and a few Quichua speakers, the selection of Quichua consultants was done by acquaintances from the Cotacachi region and the Esperanza region. In both regions, I was always accompanied by an acquaintance of the consultants, and, as mentioned earlier, in the Esperanza region, the acquaintance carried out all the interviews. Therefore, the level of confidence was also rather high in the case of the Quichua interviews.

The other criterion for the selection of consultants was availability. It was difficult to find socio-linguistically similar groups for the Spanish and the Quichua speaking consultants. Different socio-linguistic levels are equally spread in the general structure of the *mestizo* and indigenous community. For instance, the average level of education of the Spanish speaking consultants is higher than the average level of education of the Quichua speaking consultants. This is partly because the general level of education is much higher in the *mestizo* community, when compared with the indigenous community (Sánchez 2005).

Not only the general socio-linguistic structure has led to difficulties to find similar groups for the Spanish and Quichua interviews. Another problem was that not every Quichua and Spanish speaker was available to participate in this study. For instance, the few indigenous people with higher education were mostly unavailable for interviews, because they are very active in the indigenous communities and do not have a lot of spare time. The group of Quichua speakers that was available for the interviews consisted mostly of women with lower education who work at home or in the community.

The Spanish speakers that were available were university students with flexible timetables. This is another reason why the groups of Quichua speakers and Spanish speakers are not equal in their division in levels of education, genders and age.

The inequality of age in the two groups also has another reason. I wanted to find some monolinguals of Quichua to rule out direct Spanish influence in the interviews. As has been stated in chapter 1, monolinguals of Quichua are only found in the generation of the grandparents, that is, in the older generations. The three monolinguals of Quechua that were interviewed were 70, 72 and 88 years old.

Still, the most considerable difference between the two test groups was the level of education. On average, the Spanish consultants had received much higher education than the Quichua consultants. In general, people with a high level of education are expected to use considerably fewer innovative forms that are not part of the standard language, when compared with people with a low level of education (Chambers [1995] 2003; Silva-Corvalán 2001). The Spanish speaking consultants, however, still seemed to produce many innovative verbal periphrases. A possible cause for this is that the consultants were instructed to use daily speech and not to limit their answers to standard Spanish.

The low level of education of some indigenous people led to some other problems in the interviews. It was very difficult for them to produce examples with the separate converbs without any contexts. That is why not all consultants produced examples of all the converbs. Moreover, it was more difficult for the indigenous consultants with a low level of education to put into words their intuitions about their language in the meta-linguistic questions. Due to this, the reconstruction of the changes that have occurred in the Quichua converb system will be based on the intuitions of 23 Quichua speakers.

### *3.4 The use of the collected material in this study*

In the following chapters, the material collected during fieldwork will be used to determine the changes that have occurred in the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. The study of the changes in the converb systems will be divided into two parts. The first part will be the study of the development of the innovative verbal periphrases in both Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. The second part will be the study of the origin of the innovative set of subjunctive converbs in Imbabura Quichua. This division is made because the innovative verbal periphrases have appeared both in Imbabura Quichua and in Spanish. The emergence of the subjunctive converbs only occurred in Imbabura Quichua. The two are separate developments. The innovative verbal periphrases will be studied in

chapter 4 and the subjunctive converbs in Imbabura Quichua will be studied in chapter 5. Both chapter 4 and 5 will have the same structure. First, I will analyse the collected data, then determine what possible changes have occurred, before finally presenting a possible scenario of development of the innovative verbal periphrases in chapter 4 and the innovative subjunctive converbs in chapter 5.

## Chapter 4: Innovative verbal periphrases in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish

### 4.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to reconstruct the changes that have occurred in the use of the combinations of an inflected verb and, in Imbabura Spanish, the gerund and, in Imbabura Quichua, the *-shpa* converb and to describe a possible process of development. In order to do these reconstructions I will first present the data collected during fieldwork in section 4.2. In section 4.3, I will reconstruct the changes that have occurred in the combinations of finite verbs and converbs. Finally, I will give a description of how these innovative verbal periphrases came into being in section 4.4.

### 4.2 The gathered combinations of finite verbs and converbs

In the previous chapter was described how different types of material were collected during fieldwork. In this subsection, I will analyze the different types of material that were collected in order to reconstruct the changes in the combinations of finite verbs and the *-shpa* converb in the case of Imbabura Quichua and the gerund in the case of Imbabura Spanish. In the first subsection, I will have a look at the uses of the gerund in the spoken corpus of Imbabura Spanish (4.2.1). In subsection 4.2.2, I will analyze the uses of *-shpa* in the written Quichua corpus. The results of the elicitations in which the consultants were asked to formulate a sentence with a *-shpa* converb are presented in subsection (4.2.3). The elicitation of the innovative verbal periphrasis ‘give + converb’ will be discussed in the following subsection (4.2.4). In subsection 4.2.5, I will present results of the intuition tests.

#### 4.2.1 Cases from the spoken Spanish corpus

In the spoken corpus of 40 hours of Imbabura Spanish, the gerund was used 115 times. In total 13 different verbs were used as a main verb and in some cases the gerund occurred without a main verb. The frequencies of the types of verbs that were used in combination with the gerund are presented in the table below:

Table 2: The frequencies of occurrence of different finite verb in combination with a gerund

	Frequency	Percentage
<i>estar</i> ‘be’	54	47.0%
<i>dar</i> ‘give’	28	24.3%
<i>dejar</i> ‘leave’	2	1.7%
verbs of movement	8	7.0%
<i>mandar</i> ‘send’	1	0.9%
standard Spanish verbal periphrases	3	2.6%
empty	10	8.7%
other	9	7.8%
total	115	100.0%

In table 2 can be observed that almost three quarters of the utterances of the gerund were in combination with only two verbs *estar* ‘be’ and *dar* ‘give’. Both of these main verbs in combination with the gerund are verbal periphrases. Some standard Spanish verbal periphrases, such as *seguir* ‘follow’ + gerund that expresses the continuation of an action and *andar* ‘walk’ + gerund that expresses the progression of an action, can also be found in this corpus, albeit in a percentage. The combinations of *dejar* ‘leave’, verbs of movement and *mandar* ‘send’ may also be verbal periphrases, but this will remain a question for the coming sections. Only the verbs in the category ‘other’, such as *trabajar* ‘work’, *hacer* ‘make’ and *tomar* ‘take’, in combination with the gerund are not verbal periphrases. Still, the percentage of the use of gerunds in verbal periphrases is rather high in the Spanish corpus.

Nevertheless, not all of these verbal periphrases are part of the innovative verbal periphrases in Ecuadorian Spanish. The verbal periphrases *estar* ‘be’ + gerund, *seguir* ‘follow’ + gerund and *andar* ‘walk’ + gerund are standard Spanish periphrases. In this corpus, there are many examples of the innovative verbal periphrasis *dar* ‘give’ + gerund. The other combination that are analyzed in this study, that is, the combination of a gerund and the following verbs: *dejar* ‘leave’, verbs of movement, *mandar* ‘send’, *botar* ‘throw away’, *poner* ‘put’ and *pasar* ‘pass’ occur very little or do not occur at all in this corpus. Still, there are many interesting examples of innovative verbal periphrases that will be used in the following sections.

Another interesting result from the spoken corpus is that sometimes there is no main verb, in 10

cases the spot for a main verb is left empty. This may also be part of the innovations in Ecuadorian Spanish concerning the gerund, as is studied by Haboud (1998). These cases, however, will not be analyzed in this study.

#### 4.2.2 Cases from the written Quichua corpus

In the written Quichua corpus by Nazarea and Guitarra (2002) the *-shpa* converb was used 178 times. In this corpus, 55 different main verbs were used in combination with the *-shpa* converb. In the table below, the frequencies of different main verbs in combination with a *-shpa* converb are presented:

Table 3: The frequencies of occurrence of different finite verb in combination with a *-shpa* converb in the written corpus

	Frequency	Percentage
<i>cana</i> ‘be’	5	2.8%
<i>cuna/carana</i> ‘give’	1	0.6%
<i>saquina</i> ‘leave’	8	4.5%
verbs of movement	43	24.2%
<i>cachana</i> ‘send’	8	4.5%
<i>yalina</i> ‘pasar’	1	0.6%
empty	7	3.9%
other	105	57.9%
total	178	100.0%

In table 3, the largest group of occurring main verbs in combination with the gerund is the group of many different verbs, that is in total 42 verbs. These verbs occur separately between one and seven times as main verbs. For instance, the verbs *yanuna* ‘cook’ and *huañuchina* ‘kill’ occur several times, because they are important action within a few stories. Interestingly, these combinations of verbs and the *-shpa* converb mostly present two actions. A main verb, such as *yanuna* ‘cook’, is interpreted as an action and not as an auxiliary verb. That means that this big group does not consist of verbal periphrases.

The group of *cana* ‘be’ in combination with a *-shpa* converb is much smaller (2.8%) than the group of *estar* ‘be’ in combination with the gerund in the Spanish corpus (47%). Another difference is

that the combination of the *-shpa* converb + *cana* ‘be’ is not a progressive verbal periphrasis, as its equivalent is in Spanish. The progressive is expressed with the suffix *-ku* or *-ju* in Quichua. The verb *cana* ‘be’ in combination with a *-shpa* converb expresses a state during which another action takes place.

Another large group is the group of verb of movement (24.2%). The group consists of verbs such as *rina* ‘go’, *shamuna* ‘come’, *ticrana* ‘come back’ and *purina* ‘walk’. The combinations of verbs of movement and a *-shpa* converb are under analysis in this study. It remains to be seen whether these combinations are verbal periphrases, since verbal periphrases are very uncommon in Quechua. The other studied verbs in combination with a *-shpa* converb *cuna* ‘give’, *carana* ‘give’, *saquina* ‘leave’, *cachana* ‘send’ and *yalina* ‘pass’ occurred much less in the text.

In the Quichua text, there are also some cases in which the storyteller did not use a main verb. Nevertheless, in the Quichua texts there appears to be a reason for that. This will be shown in the following table:

Table 4: The use of a main verb in cases of speech report

		Speech report		Total
		yes	no	
Main verb	yes	46	125	171
		26.9%	73.1%	100%
	no	7	0	7
		100.0%	0.0%	100%
Total		53	125	
		29.8%	70.2%	100%

In Quichua, the *-shpa* converb is often used to introduce reported speech. In table 4, it can be seen that in 29.8% of the cases in the Quichua texts the *-shpa* converb was used to introduce reported speech. The *-shpa* converb that is used to introduce reported speech is *nishpa*. All *-shpa* converbs that are found without a main verb introduce speech report and in the seven cases, the converb is *nishpa*. The difference that only in cases of speech report the main verb is left out and not in other cases is statistically significant ( $\chi^2=17.185$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p<0.001$ ). It is very well possible that the form *nishpa* has obtained the new function of marker of reported speech and it is not considered as a ‘normal’ *-shpa*

converb anymore. This topic should remain for future study.

#### 4.2.3 Cases from the *-shpa* elicitations

In the elicitations, I gathered 69 cases in which the *-shpa* converb is used. The consultants used in total 26 different verbs as main verbs. The results of the *-shpa* elicitation will be presented in the table below:

Table 5: The frequencies of occurrence of different finite verb in combination with a *-shpa* converb in the *-shpa* elicitation

	Frequency	Percentage
<i>cana</i> 'be'	2	2.9%
<i>cuna/carana</i> 'give'	16	22.9%
<i>saquina</i> 'leave'	3	4.3%
verbs of movement	8	11.4%
other	41	58.6%
total	70	100.0%

As in the case of the written corpus, the *-shpa* converb occurs most often with the category 'other' (in 59.4%). This category consists of verbs such as *rurana* 'work', *shinana* 'do', *jatuna* 'sell' and *tarpuna* 'harvest'. As in the written corpus, these combinations of verbs and the *-shpa* converbs these verbs are not verbal periphrases. The verb *cana* 'be' is also not used very often in combination with the *-shpa* converb and the combinations do also not form progressive verbal periphrases. A difference with the written corpus of Quichua is that the verbs *cuna* and *carana* that both mean 'give' are used much more (23.2% instead of 0.6%). This difference may be caused by the difference between spoken and written language. Verbs such as *saquina* 'leave' and verbs of movement do not occur very often in the elicited corpus of *-shpa*. Verbs such as *cachana* 'send' and *yalina* 'pass' did not occur as main verbs in combination with a *-shpa* converb in this corpus.

#### 4.2.4 Cases from the *give + converb* elicitation

In the other sections, results were presented for all the studied combinations of main verbs and, in case of Imbabura Spanish, the gerund, and, in case of Imbabura Quichua, the *-shpa* converb. In this

subsection, the results of the elicitation of the combination 'give' + converb are presented. In the table below can be observed how many times the consultants used the combination of 'give' + gerund in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua in the same contexts:

Table 6: The use of 'give' + converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish in the elicitations

		'give' + converb		Total
		yes	no	
Language	Spanish	72	22	94
		76.6%	23.4%	100%
	Quichua	115	198	313
		36.7%	63.3%	100%
Total		187	220	407
		45.9%	54.1%	100%

As can be seen in table 6, the Spanish speaking consultants used the combination of 'give' + converbs much more than the Quichua speaking consultants (almost 40% more!). The difference between those groups is highly statistically significant ( $\chi^2=46,234$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p<0,001$ ). Therefore, the combination of 'give' + converb in Imbabura Spanish, *dar* + gerund, seems much more common in Imbabura Spanish than its equivalent in Quichua.<sup>27</sup>

As was remarked in the previous chapter, it is possible that some of the Quichua consultants were influenced by Spanish, because the interviews in the region of Cotacachi were held in Spanish. Therefore, it is possible that the combination of 'give' + converb is not common at all in Imbabura Quichua. In that case, the consultants from Cotacachi are expected to behave more like the Spanish speaking consultants and produce much more cases of the combination of 'give' + converb in Quichua under influence of Spanish. In table 7, the results are shown of the use of the combination of *cuna/carana* + the *-shpa* converb per region in Imbabura:

<sup>27</sup> Interestingly, when *-shpa* + *cuna/carana* was not used in Quichua the *-ngapaj* and *-chun* converbs were used often. The cases in which these converbs were used, will be included in the next chapter in order to obtain an idea about the present use of the converbs.

Table 7: The use of *cuna/carana* 'give' + the *-shpa* converb in Quichua in the regions of Cotacachi and Esperanza

		'give' + converb		Total
		yes	no	
Region	Cotacachi	44	62	106
		41.5%	58.5%	100%
	Esperanza	74	133	207
		35.7%	64.3%	100%
Total		118	195	313
		37.7%	62.3%	100%

As expected, the consultants from the region of Cotacachi produce more cases of 'give' + converb. Nevertheless, the difference is only 5.8% and is not statistically significant ( $\chi^2=0.99$ ;  $df=1$ ;  $p=0.32$ ). Therefore, the Cotacachi speakers do not seem to be influenced immediately by Spanish in which the interviews were held. Since the construction was also used in 35.7% in the interviews in Quichua, which were held in the region of Esperanza, the combination of 'give' + converb, appears to be used in Quichua as well. The occurrence of this combination in the Quichua interviews does not seem to be due to immediate Spanish influence.

#### 4.2.5 Cases from the intuition tests

Another part of the interviews was to obtain some information about the interpretation of the combinations of an inflected verb and a converb. In this part of the interview, examples were presented to the consultants. Not all combinations of an inflected verb and a converb were accepted. For instance, the Spanish combinations with *botar* 'drop' or 'throw away', as presented by Haboud (1997), and *poner* 'put', as presented by Niño-Murcia (1995), were rejected by both the Spanish and the Quichua consultants. As was seen above, I did not come across any examples of the verbs *botar* and *poner* in combination with the gerund.

When the combinations were translated to Quichua, some Quichua consultants did not completely reject the combinations. However, the interpretations were different from the interpretations given by Haboud (1997) and Niño-Murcia (1995). Moreover, there was no indication that these combinations had undergone any change; the interpretation of the combinations was the same as in the

rest of the Quechua varieties. Because of the rejection of *botar* + gerund and *poner* + gerund in this fieldwork, these two combinations will not be studied here.

The Imbabura Spanish combinations of an inflected verb and a converb that were accepted and that I obtained intuitions about are the following:

(24) Le            dejó                    bota-ndo                    en la calle. (Spanish int., case 3).  
 3SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    throw.away-GER    on the street.  
 '(s)he left him/her behind on the street.'

(25) Me            dejó                    cocina-ndo    el almuerzo. (Spanish intuitions, case 15).  
 1SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    cook-GER    the lunch.  
 '(S)he left me the lunch after cooking it.'

(26) Les            mandaron                    habla-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 4).  
 3PL.OBJ    send/order.3PL.PERF speak-GER  
 'They told them some home truths.'

(27) Le            doy                    arregla-ndo    el carro. (Spanish intuitions, case 5).  
 3SG.OBJ    give.1SG    repair-GER    the car  
 'I will repair the car for you.'

(28) Vengo            lava-ndo            la ropa. (Spanish intuitions, case 7).  
 come.1SG    wash-GER    the clothes.  
 'I come after I have washed the clothes.'

(29) Me            pasaron                    vie-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 16).  
 1SG.OBJ    pass.3PL.PERF    see-GER  
 'They picked me up.'

Examples (25) and (26) were taken from Niño-Murcia (1995:97). Different Quichua consultants translated these sentences into Quichua and the translations by the different consultants were mostly very similar. Below examples of the translations given by different consultants can be observed:

(30) ñam-pi            jichu-shpa                    saqui-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 3, consultant 4).  
 street-LOC    abandon-SS.CONV    leave-PAST  
 '(S)he left him/her behind in the street.'

- (31) micuna-ta      yanu-shpa                      saqui-hua-rka. (Quichua intuitions, case 15, cons. 4)  
 food-ACC      cook-SS.CONV              leave-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
 '(s)he left me the food after cooking it.'
- (32) rima-shpa                      cacha-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 4, consultant 8)  
 speak-SS.CONV              send-PAST  
 '(S)he sent him/her away after speaking to him/her./  
 (s)he told him/her off and sent him/her away.
- (33) caru-ta              alli-chi-shpa                      cara-hua-rka. (Quichua int., case 5, cons 6).  
 car-ACC              good-CAUS-SS.CONV              give-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
 'He repaired my car for me.'
- (34) churajuna-ta      tagsha-shpa                      shamu-ni. (Quichua intuitions, case 7, consultant 6)  
 clothes-ACC      wash-SS.CONV              come-1SG  
 'I come after washing the clothes.' or 'I come from washing the clothes.'
- (35) ricu-shpa                      yali-hua-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 16, consultant 15).  
 see-SS.CONV                      pass-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
 '(S)he passed by and saw me.'

These examples and the intuitions about these examples will be used in the next subsections to reconstruct the changes in the combinations.

#### 4.3 Changes in the combinations of finite verbs and converbs

In this section, the goal is to reconstruct the changes that have occurred in the different combination of an inflected verb and a converb (in Imbabura Quichua, the *-shpa* converb and in Imbabura Spanish, the gerund). To be able to reconstruct the changes, I will use the intuitions about the usage and interpretation of the combinations in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua. In order to determine whether the combinations of inflected verbs and converbs are innovations in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua, I will have a look if the combinations can be found in other varieties of Spanish and Quechua.

As it was introduced in the previous chapter, the combinations of an inflected verb and a converb can be divided in three groups:

1. verbs of movement + converb
2. (di)transitive verbs + converb

### 3. unique combinations of a verb + converb

The combinations of a verb of movement and a converb will be studied in subsection 4.3.1. The combinations of a (di)transitive verbs and a converb will be studied in subsection 4.3.2. In subsection 4.3.3, the unique combinations of an inflected verb and a converb will be studied.

#### 4.3.1 Verbs of movement + converb

In the previous section, we have seen that especially in the written Quichua corpus but also in the *-shpa* elicitation, the *-shpa* converb was frequently used with verbs of movement. In the spoken Spanish corpus, the gerund was used less frequently in combination with verbs of movement. Nevertheless, these combinations are part of daily Ecuadorian Spanish. Several scholars (Haboud 1997;1998;2005b; Niño-Murcia 1995; Olbertz 2003) have noted the innovative combinations of verbs of movement and the gerund in Ecuadorian Spanish. In 4.3.1.1., I will discuss whether the Quichua combinations of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement have undergone changes compared to other varieties of Quechua. In the following subsection (4.3.1.2), I will analyse what changes the innovative combination of verbs of movement and the gerund have undergone. In subsection 4.3.1.3, the use and interpretation of the verbs of movement in combination with a converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish will be compared.

##### 4.3.1.1 The *-shpa* converb + verbs of movement

In Imbabura Quichua, the converb ending in *-shpa* often occurs in combination with different verbs of movement, as we have seen in the written Quichua corpus (in 24.2%) and the *-shpa* elicitation (in 11.4%). The *-shpa* converb often has a consecutive interpretation, that is, the action expressed by the converb precedes the action expressed by the inflected verb. Examples of this type of use of the *-shpa* converb are presented below:

- (36) ñuca            saqui-shpa            huahua-cuna-ta            Villa-ta  
1SG.SBJ    leave-SS.CONV    child-PL-ACC            Ibarra-ACC  
ri-ni. (*-shpa* elicitions, case 43, cons. 38)<sup>28</sup>.  
go-1SG  
'I go to Ibarra after having left the children.'

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<sup>28</sup> *-shpa* elicitions, case 42, consultant 38.

- (37) randi-shpa                      shamu-rca-ni.  
 buy-SS.CONV                      come-PAST-1SG  
 'I came after having bought something.' (-*shpa* elicitations, case 46, cons. 42)
- (38) Villa-man      ri-shpa,              papa-ta              randi-shpa  
 Ibarra-DAT      go-SS.CONV, potato-ACC      buy-SS.CONV  
 tигра-mu-y. (-*shpa* elicitations, case 47, consultant 51)  
 come.back-DIR-IMP.  
 'Come back to me after going to Ibarra and buying potatoes.'

In example (36), (37) and (38), the action(s) expressed by the converb(s) occur before the action of 'going' in (36), 'coming' in (37) and 'coming back to me' in (38). This is the consecutive use of the *-shpa* converb.

In some other cases, the action expressed by the *-shpa* converb occurs simultaneous to the inflected verb. Cole (1982:62-63) calls the type of clause, expressed by the gerund a 'manner clause'. The following example shows this use of the *-shpa* converb:

- (39) ñuca    rima-shpa                      ri-ni                      ñuca                      mama-huan.  
 1SG    speak-SS.COV                      go-1SG                      1SG.POS.                      mother-COM  
 'I go with my mother while I am speaking.'  
 (-*shpa* elicitations, case 19, consultant 16).

The speaker 'speaks' (*rimashpa*) and 'goes' (*rini*) at the same moment in example (39). The converb *rimashpa* 'speaking' shows how the speaker 'goes', that is, the two actions occur simultaneously. The consecutive and simultaneous interpretations of the *-shpa* converb are also the interpretations of the converb that can be found in other varieties (cf. *-ša* in Adelaar 1977:104-109; *-spa* in Lastra 1968:47-50; *-spa* in Hartmann 1994:94-95; *-shpa* in Weber 1983:112-113).

Verbs of movement occur with different verb types in the form of the converb ending in *-shpa*. This applies for *-shpa* converbs in both their consecutive and their simultaneous use. In example (36), (37) and (38), transitive verbs (*saquina* 'leave something/one' in (36) and *randina* 'buy' in (37) and (38)) are used in the form of the gerund. In example (38), the verb of movement (*tigramuna* 'come back') occurs with another intransitive verb of movement in the form of a converb (*rina* 'go'). Example

(39) contains an intransitive verb (*rimana* 'speak') in the form of a converb. Therefore, there seem to be no restrictions to the type of verbs that are used as a *-shpa* converb in combination with verbs of movement. This is also the case in other varieties of Quechua.

Importantly, in all examples, the inflected verb has maintained its lexical meaning. That is, the verbs of movement have not been semantically bleached in combination with a *-shpa* converb. For instance, in example (36) the speaker goes to Ibarra. That means that there is clearly a movement from one place to Ibarra city. In example (37), the speaker goes away to buy something and then comes back. This sentence also maintains the meaning of movement. In the other two examples, this is also the case as can be seen in the translations. Because of the lack of semantic reduction, it is possible to say that the combination of verbs of movement and a *-shpa* converb is not grammaticalizing.

The word order gives a more ambiguous impression of the grammaticalization of the combination. In all the examples from (36) to (39), the *-shpa* converb comes before the verb of movement. These examples give the idea that the word order of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement is fixed. Nevertheless, according to the consultants, it was also possible for the inflected verb to precede the *-shpa* converb:

- (40) shamuni lachapa-ta tagsha-shpa. (Quichua intuitions, case 7, consultant 8).  
come-1SG clothes-ACC wash-SS.CONV  
'I come after washing the clothes.'

Although some consultants accepted the word order in example (40), they did not produce this order. Therefore, it is still possible that the word order has become fixed.<sup>29</sup>

To summarize, there are no clear innovations found in the use or interpretation of the combinations of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement. For instance, there is no semantic reduction found in the interpretations of the verbs of movement, since they still represent a movement. The only possible formal innovation might be the word order fixation of *-shpa* converbs and inflected verbs. To obtain more information on the possible word order fixation in Imbabura Quichua, it should be studied in future research. The possible verb order fixation does not mean, however, that the converb and inflected verb can not be separated. Constituents can still occur between the converb and the

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<sup>29</sup> This possible word order fixation in Quichua should be investigated. It would be interesting to see what happens with the intonation, when the word order changes.

inflected verb. In conclusion, the combinations of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement behave very much like the traditional Quechua combinations and the degree of grammaticalization, if any, is very low.

#### 4.3.1.2 Verbs of movement + the gerund

In the spoken Imbabura Spanish corpus, the combination of a verb of movement was not used very frequently (in 7%). Not all of these occurrences of verbs of movement in combination with a gerund, where cases of the innovative use of the gerund. Below is presented an example of this type of combination of a verb of movement and a gerund:

- (41) vino                                      maneja-ndo    el carro. (Spanish corpus, case 69).  
 Come.3SG.PAST      drive-GER      the car.  
 Imbabura Spanish/standard Spanish: 'He came driving his car.'

Example (41) has the same interpretation in Imbabura Spanish as in standard Spanish. This example is not part of the innovations in Imbabura Spanish. Nevertheless, in some cases in the spoken corpus of Imbabura Spanish, *ir* 'go' + gerund and *venir* 'come' + gerund are used in a non-standard Spanish way. This non-standard use of the two verbs in combination with the gerund is presented in the following examples:

- (42) La María      no      se      fue                      guarda-ndo  
 The Mary      NEG    REFL    go.3SG.PERF    put.away-GER  
 la ropa. (Spanish corpus, case 115).  
 the clothes.  
 Imbabura Spanish: 'Mary went away without putting away her clothes.'  
 Standard Spanish: '?Mary did not go while putting away the clothes.'
- (43) Ya                      vienen                                      comie-ndo. (Spanish corpus, case 34)  
 Already              come.2PLUR.PRES    eat-GER.  
 Imbabura Spanish: 'You have already eaten before arriving.'  
 Standard Spanish: '?You already come while eating.'

In example (42) and (43) can be seen that the interpretation of *ir* and *venir* in combination with a verb is similar to the interpretation of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement. That is, the action expressed by the gerund occurs before the action expressed by the verb. The interpretations of the two examples is incorrect in standard Spanish. In a standard Spanish interpretation, the two actions expressed by the inflected verb and the gerund in example (42) and (43) occur simultaneously. In example (42), the simultaneous occurrence of the two actions would be impossible: the girl can not 'go' and 'put away her clothes' at the same time. In example (43), the simultaneous interpretation of the gerund, does not make any sense either.<sup>30</sup>

It is not the case that, in standard Spanish, the gerund can never express a consecutive action. For instance, in the following example from standard Spanish, the action expressed by the gerund precedes the action expressed by the inflected verb:

- (44) Salta-ndo        el vallado de piedras, cogí  
 Jump-GER        the stone fence.1SG.PERF  
 el camino de la montaña. (Fernández Lagunilla 1999:3458)  
 the mountain road  
 'After jumping over the stone fence, I took the mountain road.'

Utterances, such as example (44) in which the gerund has a consecutive interpretation do not occur frequently in standard Spanish. The consecutive interpretation can be deduced from the context. For instance, in example (44), it is difficult to imagine that the speaker jumped over the fence and took the mountain road at the same time. There also seems to be a structural restriction to when this interpretation is possible. That is, only when the gerund precedes the inflected verb, this interpretation is possible (*ibidem*).

In the Imbabura Spanish examples, however, the gerund follows the inflected verb of movement, just like the order of verbs in verbal periphrases in standard Spanish. This word order is quite fixed. In order to show this, example (28) that was discussed in interviews during the intuitions tests will be repeated below:

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<sup>30</sup> Haboud (2005b:17) gives examples of different other verbs of movement (*salir* 'go out', *regresar* 'come back', *bajar* 'go down' and *subir* 'go up') that are used in this same consecutive way in Ecuadorian Spanish. In my recordings, there were no examples of these combinations. In the interviews, the *mestizo* consultants mostly interpreted these combinations as two simultaneous actions. Therefore, only *ir* 'go' and *venir* 'come' will be taken into account in this study.

(28) Vengo lava-ndo la ropa. (Spanish intuitions, case 7).  
 come.1SG wash-GER the clothes.  
 'I come after I have washed the clothes.'

(28a) ?Lava-ndo la ropa vengo.  
 wash-GER the clothes come-1SG  
 'I washed the clothes before coming (here).'

Although several consultants accepted the word order change in example (28a), they also explained that this word order change was only possible in certain circumstances. In the sentence (28a), the speaker emphasizes the action of washing the clothes. Example (28a) can, for instance, be the answer to the question: what have you been doing? This means, at least in the case of monolinguals of Imbabura Spanish, that the changed word order is only used in very marked contexts.<sup>31</sup> The relative fixation of preferred order, the inflected verb followed by the gerund, might indicate that the combination is grammaticalizing.

Another indication that some degree of grammaticalization has occurred in the cases of *ir* 'go' and *venir* 'come' in combination with a gerund is that in examples (42) and (43) the action expressed by the gerund cannot be omitted. The meanings of examples (42) and (43) change when the gerund is omitted. This is shown below:

(42) La María no se fue guarda-ndo  
 The Mary NEG REFL go.3SG.PERF put.away-GER  
 la ropa. (Spanish corpus, case 115).  
 the clothes.

Imbabura Spanish: 'Mary went away without putting away her clothes.'

Standard Spanish: '?Mary did not go while putting away the clothes.'

(42a) La María no se fue .  
 The Mary NEG REFL go.3SG.PERF  
 #'Mary did not go.'

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<sup>31</sup> Habout (1998, 2005b) shows that the word order gerund + verb is common in bilingual Spanish. This order does not seem to have a marked use in bilingual Spanish.

(43) Ya vienen comie-ndo. (Spanish corpus, case 34).  
 Already come.2PLUR.PRES eat-GER.  
 Imbabura Spanish: 'You have already eaten before arriving.'  
 Standard Spanish: '?You already come while eating.'

(43a) Ya vienen.  
 Already come.2PLUR.PRES.  
 #'You have already come.'

In examples (42a) and (43a), the meanings have changed to a large extent because the gerund was omitted. In example (42a), the action of 'putting away the clothes' is not negated any more, as it is in example (42), but the action of 'going' is negated. Although structurally, in example (42), *fue* 'went away' is negated, semantically *guardando la ropa* 'putting away the clothes' is negated. When 'putting away the clothes' is omitted, the only possible new interpretation is that *fue* is negated. This means that the meaning of the sentence changes completely. The same goes for example (43). The adverb *ya* 'already' structurally is governed by *vienen* 'you come', but semantically by *comiendo* 'eating'. When *comiendo* is omitted in example (43a), *ya* can only be governed by *vienen*. That means that the sentence changes in meaning when the gerund is omitted. This means that the verbs *ir* 'go' and *venir* 'come' in combination with the gerund have grammaticalized to some extent. When the verbs occur in combination with a gerund in some cases in Imbabura Spanish, they have become quasi-auxiliaries.

Nevertheless, there are also indications that the combinations has not grammaticalized to a large extent. Above, it was already shown that the verbs have not undergone semantic bleaching. This would mean that there is a low degree of grammaticalization in case of the combination of *ir* or *venir* and a gerund in Imbabura Spanish. Another indication that the combination is only slightly grammaticalized is, just like in the case of the Imbabura Quichua counterparts, it is possible to separate the inflected verb and the gerund with a constituent. Haboud (1997:218) shows this by modifying the inflected form of *ir* 'go' with an adverbial phrase, in the following example:

(45) Se fue muy rápido, comie-ndo. (Haboud 1997:218)  
 REFL be.3SG.PERF very fast, eat-GER  
 'Having eaten, he left very quickly.'

As can be seen from example (45), when the inflected verb and the gerund are separated, the interpretation of the two verbs does not change.

Because of the lack of semantic reduction and the possibility to separate the inflected verb and the gerund, my conclusion would be that the combination of *ir* or *venir* and the gerund is not grammaticalizing at all. Nevertheless, due to the fixation of the word order and the impossibility to omit the gerund, the combination of *ir* or *venir* and the gerund appears to have entered the process of grammaticalization<sup>32</sup>. The verbs have obtained the function of quasi-auxiliaries in some cases.

#### 4.3.1.3 Comparison of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combinations of a verb of movement + converb

The Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combinations of a verb of movement and a converb are very similar; in both Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, the action expressed by the converb often expresses an action that occurs before the action expressed by the verb of movement. This interpretation of the gerund is an innovation in Imbabura Spanish. In Quechua, this interpretation is very common.

A difference between the two languages is that in Spanish there are more indications that the combination of *ir* 'go' or *venir* 'come' and a gerund have grammaticalized to some degree and have become quasi-auxiliaries in some cases. In Imbabura Quichua, there is less indication that the combination of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement have entered the process of grammaticalization. Despite of this difference the combinations in both languages remain very similar due to the fact that in neither of the languages the verbs of movement have undergone semantic reduction. Therefore, the combinations of verbs of movement and converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish seem to have converged at least to some extent.

#### 4.3.2 (Di)transitive verbs + converb

Originally, the idea was to study four combinations of (di)transitive verbs and a converb that according to the literature (Haboud 1997; Niño-Murcia 1995, among others) have undergone some changes in Ecuadorian Spanish. Nevertheless, since the combinations of *botar* 'throw away' + gerund and *poner* 'put' + gerund were not accepted by the Imbabura Spanish speakers, only two combination remain: 'leave' + converb and 'give' + converb. In subsection 4.3.2.1, the combination of 'leave' + converb will be discussed. In subsection 4.3.2.2, the combination of 'give' and a converb will be discussed.

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<sup>32</sup> As was mentioned in chapter 2, Haboud (2005b) and Olbertz (2003) come to a very similar conclusion for the combination of *venir* and a gerund. According to the authors, the combination is grammaticalized to a low degree.

#### 4.3.2.1 'Leave' + *converb*

In the Imbabura Spanish corpus and in the Imbabura Quichua corpus and elicitation can be seen that the combination of 'leave' and a *converb* are not the most frequently occurring combinations in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua (1.7% of the Spanish corpus, 4.5% of the Quichua corpus and 4.3% of the *-shpa* elicitation). Nevertheless, the combination is still mentioned by different scholars as one of the innovations in Andean Spanish (Granda 2001; Haboud 1997; Niño-Murcia 1995, among others). Therefore, this combination will be studied in this subsection. First, the Imbabura Quichua combination will be studied in 4.3.2.1.1. Then, the Imbabura Spanish combination will be studied in 4.3.2.1.2 and finally both combinations will be compared in subsection 4.3.2.1.3.

##### 4.3.2.1.1 The *-shpa* *converb* + *saquina*

In Quichua, the combinations of the *-shpa* *converb* and *saquina* 'leave something/one' that were found in the corpus and the *-shpa* elicitation do not seem to be an innovation. To illustrate this, an example is presented from the *-shpa* elicitation and an example from the Quichua intuitions is repeated below:

- (46) Rura-shpa                      saqui-rca-ni  
make-SS.CONV                  leave-PAST-1SG  
deberes-cuna-ta. (*-shpa* elicitation, case 3, consultant 3).  
homework-PL-ACC  
'I left the homework after making it.'
- (31) micuna-ta      yanu-shpa                      saqui-hua-rka. (Quichua intuitions, case 15, cons. 4)  
food-ACC      cook-SS.CONV                  leave-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
'(s)he left me the food after cooking it.'

In examples (46) and (31), the action expressed by the *-shpa* *converb* occurs before the action of leaving, expressed by the inflected verb. This consecutive interpretation of the *-shpa* *converb* was also found with verbs of movement. In other varieties of Quechua, the same consecutive interpretation of the gerund is found. Therefore, this does not seem to be an innovation. The verb *saquina* 'leave something/one' is not semantically bleached in the above presented examples. That is, in every context two actions occur. One of those actions is the action of 'leaving'. Therefore, the combination of the *-shpa* *converb* does not seem to be undergoing the process of grammaticalization, at least not to a high

degree.

Interestingly, the *-shpa* converb and the inflected form of *saquina* share not only the same subject, but also the same direct object in the two examples. In example (46), the 'homework' is both being 'made' and being 'left'. In example (31), the 'food' is being both 'cooked' and 'left'. The fact that the two verbs in Imbabura Quichua share one object does not mean that the two clauses are merging into one. Although the two verbs share the same object, they do not both govern the object. For instance in (31), the direct object *micunata* is governed by *yanushpa* 'cooking', because it precedes this verb. From the context, it is clear that it is also the direct object of *sakiwarka*. This is quite common in Quichua; if an object can be deduced from the context, it is often not explicitly mentioned. Cole (1987) calls this the null objects in Quichua. These null objects are quite common in other varieties of Quechua as well.

When *saquina* occurs with a *-shpa* converb, however, the two verbs do not always share the same object. This can be seen in the following example:

(47) Atuc-ca        ari        ni-shpa                    saqui-ri-shca  
Wolf-TOP        yes        say-SS.CONV            leave-INC-PAST  
ni-n<sup>33</sup>. (Nazarea & Guitarra 2002:72)  
say-3SG

'They say that the wolf left (the rabbit) after he had said "yes".'

In example (47), the direct object of *saquishca* 'he left' is omitted. From the context of the story is clear that the wolf leaves the rabbit. The rabbit is not the direct object of *nishpa* 'after he said', the direct object of *nishpa* is the quotation *ari* 'yes'.

In summary, the combination of the *-shpa* converb and *saquina* 'leave something/one' does not seem to be grammaticalizing, as has been said above. The verb *saquina* has maintained its meaning of leaving. The meaning of the *-shpa* converb also appears to be the regular interpretation that can be found in other varieties of Quechua as well. Therefore the combination of the *-shpa* converb and *saquina* is not an innovation in Quichua.

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<sup>33</sup> In this case, the spelling of the storybook was kept.

#### 4.3.2.1.2 Dejar + gerund

The combination of 'leave something/one' *dejar* and the gerund, however, is often presented as an innovation in Andean Spanish (Granda 2001; Haboud 1997; Niño-Murcia 1995, among others). To find out what changes the combination has undergone in Imbabura Spanish, one example from the intuition test is repeated and one example from the Spanish corpus is presented:

- (25) Me            dejó                    cocina-ndo    el almuerzo. (Spanish intuitions, case 15).  
1SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    cook-GER    the lunch.

'(S)he left me the lunch after cooking it.'

- (48) Tengo            que    dejar    arregla-ndo    la casa. (Spanish corpus, case 55)  
Have.1SG    that    leave    clean-GER    the house

'I have to clean the house before I leave it.'

In examples (25) and (48), the combination of *dejar* and the gerund has the same interpretation as the interpretation of its Quichua counterpart, the *-shpa* converb and *saquina* 'leave something/one'. That is, two actions occur: in example (25), a person, first, cooks lunch and then (s)he leaves it. In example (48), the speaker, first cleans the house and then leaves it. The gerund obtained an innovative interpretation in the combination of *dejar* + gerund. As in the case of the combinations of a verb of movement and the gerund, the gerund obtained a consecutive interpretation: first the action expressed by the gerund occurs and then the action expressed by the inflected form of *dejar* 'leave something/one'.

Another change is that the inflected form of *dejar* and the gerund share the same direct object, just like occurs with its Quichua counterpart the *-shpa* converb + *saquina*. This often means that *dejar* 'leave something/one' does not govern an explicit object anymore. In example (25), the direct object of *dejó* is *el almuerzo* 'the lunch'. Nevertheless, 'the lunch' only appears as the direct object of *cocinando* 'cooking'. The same happens in example (45): *la casa* 'the house' only appears as the direct object of *arreglando* 'cleaning', although it is also the direct object of leaving: it is the house that is being left. It is not possible for the direct object to occur explicitly as the direct object of *dejar* as can be observed in the example below:

(25a) \*Me           dejó                           el almuerzo   cociná-ndo-lo.  
 1SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    the lunch    cook-GER-3SG.IN.OBJ  
 ?'She left the lunch while cooking it.'

When 'the lunch' occurs as the direct object of *dejó* and separates the inflected form of *dejar* and the gerund, as occurs in example (25a), the consecutive meaning is lost. The actions of 'leaving' in (25a) and 'cooking' occur simultaneously and the situation is difficult to understand. Technically, it would be strange if a person leaves me the lunch while cooking it.

The shared direct object of *dejar* and the gerund can only occur with *dejar* when it is expressed by a clitic. This can be observed in example (24) that was first presented in the intuition tests:

(24) Le            dejó                           bota-ndo                    en la calle. (Spanish int., case 3).  
 3SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    throw.away-GER    on the street.  
 '(s)he left him/her behind on the street.'

In example (24), *le* is both the direct object of *dejaron* and *botando*. In this case *botando* 'throwing away' does not govern a explicit direct object anymore.

The omission of direct objects is not strange in Imbabura Spanish (cf. Argüello 1983; Suñer & Yépez 1988). Often when a direct object can be deduced from the context it is not expressed, just like it was observed in Imbabura Quichua. In the case of *dejar* + gerund, however, it is not possible that *dejar* governs a nominal direct object, as could be observed from example (25a). The fact that a nominal direct object can only be governed by the gerund, indicates that clauses expressed by *dejar* and by the gerund seem to be unifying. Therefore, the combination of *dejar* + gerund appears to be grammaticalizing.

Another indication of grammaticalization is that the meaning of *dejar* is changing. In examples (38) and (39), it was clear that *dejar* still has maintained its meaning of 'leaving something'. To show that *dejó* in (38) has still maintained its traditional meaning, the gerund can be removed:

(25b) me            dejó                           el almuerzo.  
 1SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    the lunch.  
 '(s)he left lunch for me.'

In example (25b), someone leaves lunch for the speaker. The meaning of *dejó* '(s)he left' does not change when the gerund is taken out. The verbs *dejar* and *cocinar* seem to represent two separate actions in this case. In example (48a) this does not seem the case. When the gerund is omitted, the meaning of the sentence changes completely:

- (48) Tengo            que    dejar   arregla-ndo    la casa. (Spanish corpus case 55)  
 Have.1SG        that    leave   clean-GER    the house  
 'I have to clean the house before I leave it.'
- (48a) Tengo            que    dejar   la casa.  
 Have.1SG        that    leave   the house  
 'I have to leave the house.'

In (48a), the speaker is obligated to leave the house. In example (48), however, his obligation is 'cleaning the house', not leaving it. The fact that the obligation that is expressed on the verb *dejar* says something about the action of *arreglar*, is another indication that the clause with an inflected form of *dejar* as its verbal predicate and the clause with the gerund as its predicate are unifying. This unification of the two clauses would mean that the combination *dejar* + gerund has entered the process of grammaticalization.

In some cases, the construction *dejar* + gerundio is even more grammaticalized. An example of this more grammaticalized use of *dejar* + gerund is presented below:

- (49) ¿tú            para    venir   dejas            paga-ndo        el arriendo? (Sp. corpus, case 11)  
 3SG.SBJ        to        come   leave.2SG        pay-GER        the rent.  
 'Did you pay the rent before coming here?' (Talking about my rent in Holland)

In example (49), *arriendo* can not both be the direct object of *dejar* and *pagando* 'paying'. The *arriendo* 'rent', the direct object of *pagando* 'paying', is the dept that the interlocutor has to pay to stay in the house. The *arriendo* that the interlocutor leaves is the paid dept. Therefore, *arriendo* by itself is not the direct object of *dejas* 'leave'. It seems that the direct object of *dejas* is expressed by *pagando el arriendo*: the 'paid rent' is left. This means that *dejar* in this cases has lost part of its meaning 'leave

something/one' and that it is grammaticalizing when it occurs in combination with a gerund. The new interpretation appears to be 'leaving after doing something'.

There are also structural indications that the construction *dejar* + gerund is grammaticalizing. For instance, the word order of *dejar* and the gerund is fixed. None of the consultants accepted the following sentence:

(25c) \*Cocina-ndo me dejó  
 cook-GER 1SG.OBJ leave.3SG.PERF

The order of first a gerund and then a form of *dejar* is not possible. This means that the fixed order appears to be first the form of *dejar* and then the gerund. It is also not possible to separate the inflected form of *dejar* and the gerund, as was shown in example (25a):

(25a) \*Me dejó el almuerzo cociná-ndo-lo.  
 1SG.OBJ leave.3SG.PERF the lunch cook-GER-3SG.DO  
 ?'She left the lunch while cooking it.'

As has been mentioned above, when the inflected form of *dejar* and the gerund are separated the consecutive meaning is lost.

This means that, although there still seem to occur two actions when *dejar* + gerund is used, these actions are closely tight. That is, the two actions can not be separated and switched in order. In some cases, the meaning of the sentence changes completely when the gerund is omitted (see example (39a)). This means that the combination of *dejar* and the gerund is grammaticalizing. In some cases *dejar* has even lost its meaning of 'leaving something/someone' and started to express 'leave after doing something.'

Nevertheless, because in some cases, the gerund can still be left out, some utterances with *dejar* and the gerund are more grammaticalized than others. The coexistence of less and more grammaticalized interpretations of *dejar* + gerund makes it possible to conclude that the grammaticalization of *dejar* + gerund is layered. The more traditional layer is when the gerund can be taken out and the more innovative layer is when the gerund can not be taken out, because the meaning changes completely when that is done. Although the verb *dejar* in combination with the gerund often

maintains its full lexical, the combination is more grammaticalized than the combinations of the verbs of movement and the gerund in Imbabura Spanish. Therefore, Haboud's (1997:225) continuum of grammaticalization that was presented in chapter 2, appears to be correct until so far.

#### 4.3.2.1.3 A comparison between 'leave' + converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish

The interpretations of the Imbabura Quichua combination of the *-shpa* converb + *saquina* 'leave something/someone' and its equivalent in Imbabura Spanish *dejar* + gerund are mostly very similar. In many cases both combinations express that one action occurs before leaving something of someone behind.

Nevertheless, in comparison with the Imbabura Quichua combination of the *-shpa* converb and *saquina* 'leave', the Imbabura Spanish combination *dejar* + gerund has undergone more changes. First of all, the gerund obtained a consecutive interpretation. Secondly, the direct object of *dejar* started to be omitted in many cases. Another change that appears to have taken place is that *dejar* + gerund started to grammaticalize. The process of grammaticalization of *dejar* + gerund is further than in the case of the verbs of movement *ir* and *venir* in combination with a gerund, since *dejar* in some cases has lost part of its lexical meaning. Therefore, Haboud's (1997:225) grammaticalization continuum appears to be right in the case of *dejar* + gerund. Nevertheless, this process is in its early stages, because the verb *dejar* still maintains in many cases its meaning of 'leaving something or someone behind'.

#### 4.3.2.2 'Give' + converb

In the Spanish corpus and in Quichua in the *-shpa* elicitations, the combination of 'give' + converbs was used very often (24.3% in the Spanish corpus and 22.9% in the *-shpa* elicitations). In the Spanish corpus, it was the most frequently used verbal periphrasis after the progressive verbal periphrases 'be' + gerund. In the *-shpa* elicitations, it was the most frequently used combination. In the written Quichua corpus, however, the combination 'give' + converb was used only once (0.6%). The difference between the occurrence of 'give' + converb in the written Quichua corpus and the elicitations may be due to the genre. It is possible that the combination occurs more often in spoken language than in written language.

Another explanation may be that the Quichua consultants were influenced by the previous part of the interview. In the previous part of the interviews, the consultants were presented contexts in which they could use 'give' + converbs. Most of the consultants produced 'give' + gerund. Therefore,

the consultants may have been influenced by the previous use of the combination. That would explain why the Quichua consultants used the combination almost to the same degree as the Spanish speakers.

In the 'give' + converb elicitation, the Quichua consultants used the combination of 'give' and a converb much less (in 36.7%) than the Spanish consultants (in 76.6%). Therefore, the combination is much more common in Imbabura Spanish than in Imbabura Quichua. That is probably why many scholars (Albor 1973; Bruil 2006; forthcoming; Bustamante-López & Niño-Murcia 1995; Candau de Cevallos 1982:637; Haboud 1997; 1998:215-223; Hurley 1992; 1995a; 1995b; Kany 1951; Lipski 1994; Niño-Murcia 1992; 1995; Olbertz 2002; 2008; Reino 1990; Toscano Mateus 1953) have written about the Spanish construction of 'give' + the gerund and a lot less scholars (Bruil 2006; forthcoming; Haboud 1998:215-223; Hurley 1992; 1995a; 1995b; Niño-Murcia 1995; Olbertz 2002) have written about the Quichua combination of *the -shpa converb* + 'give'.

In this subsection, I will study the similarities and differences in use and interpretation of the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combination of 'give and a converb. As in the other sections, one of the topics will be the difference in degree of grammaticalization. First, I will have a look at the Imbabura Quichua combination the *-shpa converb* + *cuna/carana* (4.3.2.2.1). In the following subsection (4.3.2.2.2), I will study the Imbabura Spanish combination of *dar* + gerund. In the final subsection (4.3.2.2.3), I will compare the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combinations.

#### 4.3.2.2.1 *The -shpa converb* + *cuna/carana*

The Quichua combination of the *-shpa converb* and *cuna/carana* has not been studied as much as its Spanish counterpart *dar* + gerund. When it is briefly discussed, it occurs in papers on the Ecuadorian Spanish combination *dar* + gerund (Bruil 2006; forthcoming; Haboud 1998:215-223; Hurley 1992; 1995a; 1995b; Niño-Murcia 1995; Olbertz 2002). Here, I will study the Imbabura Quichua combination separately from the Ecuadorian Spanish construction. Examples of the construction are presented beneath:

- (50) japi-shpa                      cu-sha-chu? (*-shpa* elicitation, case 5, consultant 4).  
Fetch-SS.CONV              give-1SG.FUT-INT  
interpretation 1 'Shall I fetch it and then give it to you?' or  
interpretation 2 'Shall I get it for you?'

- (51) tanda-ta            apamu-shpa            cara-hua-y. (-*shpa* elicitations, case 6, cons. 6)  
 bread-ACC    bring-SS.CONV        give-1SG.OBJ-IMP  
 interpretation 1 'Give the bread to me, after bringing it.' or  
 interpretation 2 'Get the bread for me.'

In example (50) and (51) can be observed that two different words for 'give' are used in Imbabura Quichua: *cuna* in example (50) and *carana* in example (51). These two verbs are not complete synonyms. The verb *cuna* means 'give' in the sense of 'hand over' and *carana* means 'give' in the sense of 'to present someone with something'. In combination with the converb ending in *-shpa*, however, the verbs do not seem to be very different in interpretation. Only one consultant stated that it was more polite to use *carana* in requests.

Another observation that can be made from the two examples is that the sentences have two interpretations. In the case of the first interpretation of both examples, the process of grammaticalization has not taken place. That is, the verbs *cuna* and *carana* have not semantically been reduced: the two verbs still represent the action of 'giving'. The two actions occur consecutively: first the action expressed by the converb takes place, 'fetch' in example (50) and 'bring' in example (51), and then the action of 'giving'. The two verbs (in example (50) 'fetch' and 'give' and, in example (51) 'bring' and 'give') are still two separate clauses, the clause with 'give' is the main clause and the clause with the converb ending *-shpa* is the subordinated clause. Interestingly, in both examples the *-shpa* converb and the verb *cuna/carana* share the same direct object. In example (50), the direct object of the two verbs is implicit. Therefore, it is best illustrated by example (51) that 'give' and the *-shpa* converb share the same direct object. The 'bread' is both the 'given' and the 'brought' object in that case.

In the case of the second interpretation, however, semantic reduction has taken place. The sentence does not represent two separate actions anymore; in example (50) the action that is represented, is 'fetching' and in example (51) it is 'bringing'. The verbs *cuna* and *carana* introduce that there is a beneficiary to the action. In example (50), the beneficiary is not explicitly mentioned, but because the sentence is an offer, the beneficiary is most likely to be the interlocutor. In example (51), the beneficiary is mentioned: the beneficiary is the speaker expressed by the first person singular object agreement on the verb *caraway* 'give me'. In these interpretations of example (50) and (51), *cuna* and *carana* have lost their meaning of 'giving'. Both verbs do not govern a direct object anymore. The verbs came to express that there is a beneficiary from the action expressed by the converb ending in *-shpa*.

This beneficiary interpretation is not found in any other variety of Quechua and therefore, appears to be a relatively innovative interpretation in the Imbabura Quichua system. In other varieties of Ecuadorian Quichua, the beneficiary is expressed by the suffix *-pa* (Haboud 1998:221; Taylor 1982:55). This is still possible as can be seen in the following example:

- (52) *japi-pa-y?* ('give' + gerund elicitation, case 71, consultant 11).  
 fetch-BEN-2IMP?  
 'Get it for me!'

Another way of expressing that there is a beneficiary is, as can be seen in example (50) and (51) the use of the combination of the *-shpa* converb and *cuna/carana*. In Imbabura Quichua, this periphrastic way to express that there is a beneficiary (interpretation 1) has formally collapsed with the consecutivity of an action following the action of 'giving' (interpretation 2).

Nevertheless, the interpretation of the combination *-shpa* + *cuna/carana* often is not as ambiguous as in examples (50) and (51). For instance, the consultants interpreted the verb *cusha* 'I will give' in the following example as a beneficiary marker:

- (53) *ñuka rima-shpa cu-sha*  
 1SG speak-SS.CONV give-1SG.FUT  
 'I will speak for you.'

According to the consultants, this example of *cuna/carana* in combination with a intransitive verb could only be interpreted as follows: the speaker offers her/his interlocutor to speak for her/him. Because the converb ending in *-shpa* is an intransitive verb, the verb *cuna/carana* does not share a direct object with it. Because there is no other object present, that can be interpreted as the direct object of *cuna/carana* the only possible interpretation is the beneficiary interpretation. Since only the beneficiary interpretation is possible, the verb *cuna* is, in this case, semantically reduced into a beneficiary marker.

In other combinations of *-shpa* and *cuna/carana*, the verbs *cuna/carana* can often not be interpreted as beneficiary markers. An example will be given beneath:

- (54) ñuca            yanu-shpa            huahua-cuna-man  
 1SG.SBJ        cook-SS.CONV        child-PL-DAT  
 cara-sha. ('give' + converb elicitation, case 96, consultant 14)  
 give-1SG.FUT  
 'After I have cooked, I will give it to the children.'

According to a consultant, the only interpretation of example (54) could be that the speaker offers to first cook and then give the food to the children. The beneficiary interpretation was probably not possible, because the *-shpa* converb and the inflected verb *carasha* are separated by the constituent *huahuacunaman* 'to the children'. In many languages auxiliary verbs and their nonfinite complement can not be separated. If the two verbs are separated the sentences either acquire another meaning or become ungrammatical. It is likely that Imbabura Quichua is obtaining this feature of languages with auxiliary verbs.

Concluding, in the interpretation of the Imbabura Quichua construction *-shpa + cuna/carana* layering can be found: the oldest layer is the traditional Quechua interpretation of two consecutive clauses, in which the action expressed by the *-shpa* converb happens right before the action of 'giving' expressed by *cuna/carana*. The newer layer is the grammaticalized interpretation in which the verbs *cuna/carana* have obtained the function of beneficiary marking auxiliary. This ambiguity of the construction *-shpa + cuna/carana* is often cancelled by the context. For instance, when the converb is an intransitive verb, the only interpretation of the construction is that of a beneficiary marker. When a constituent is placed between the converb and *cuna/carana*, the combination cannot be interpreted as a beneficiary marker; then the interpretation is that there are two consecutive clauses. The impossibility of placing a constituent between converb and the beneficiary marking auxiliary, may mean that Imbabura Quichua is developing a fixed constituent order for verbal periphrases. The order would be first the converb and then the inflected form of the verb *cuna/carana*. The two verb forms could not be separated by another constituent. This possible development of a fixed constituent order in Imbabura Quichua should be further investigated.

#### 4.3.2.2.2 Dar + gerund

The combination of 'give' and a converb in Imbabura Spanish, *dar + gerund*, has only one interpretation: it indicates that there is a beneficiary. The other interpretation found in Imbabura

Quichua, the consecutive interpretation, is not possible in Imbabura Spanish. This will be illustrated on the basis of the three examples that are presented beneath:

- (55) Da-me compra-ndo una leche. (Spanish corpus, case 15).  
 give.IMP-1SG.OBJ buy-GER a milk  
 'Buy milk for me.'
- (56) Da-me llama-ndo-le a la María. (Spanish corpus: case 30).  
 give.IMP-1SG.OBJ call-GER-3SG.OBJ to the María.  
 'Call María for me.'
- (57) Mi tío le va a dar habla-ndo. (Bruil 2006:93).  
 my uncle 3SG.OBJ go to give speak-GER.  
 'My uncle will speak for him.'

In example (55), it would be possible to interpret the sentence as it was done traditionally in Imbabura Quichua. The following analyses of example (56) appears possible: the speaker asks her interlocutor to first buy the milk and then give it to her. Nevertheless, the consultants never interpreted the sentence this way. When the consultants were asked what was given in this sentence, they gave two answers. Some of the consultants answered that a service was 'given'. Others answered that *comprando una leche* 'buying a milk' was 'given'. These answers show that the form of *dar* does not mean to 'hand over' anymore. It has obtained a new meaning: it indicates that there is a beneficiary to the action.

In example (56), the consecutive interpretation of *dar* + gerund is not possible at all. It is not possible to first call María and then hand her over. In this example, the direct object of *llamando* 'calling' can not be interpreted as the direct object of *dame*. This clearly results from the following example in which the gerund is taken out:

- (56a) ??Da-me a la María.  
 give.IMP-1SG.OBJ to the María.  
 ??'Give me María.' or 'Give me to María.'

When the gerund is omitted, the meaning of the sentence completely changes. It is clear that direct object of *llamando* 'calling' can not be interpreted as the direct object of *dar*. Therefore, the only

possible interpretation is that the construction *dar* + gerund indicates that there is a beneficiary to the action. In example (57), the consecutive interpretation is not possible either. Since the gerund does not govern a direct object, there is no possible direct object for *dar*. Therefore, *dar* in example (48) is obligatorily interpreted as a beneficiary marker. This means that *dar* in combination with the gerund in Imbabura Spanish has undergone complete semantic reduction. That is, it has lost its meaning of handing over and it has obtained the functional meaning of a beneficiary marker.

Another indication that the combination of *dar* and the gerund have grammaticalized is that the order is fixed. This will be shown using example (27) from the intuition tests:

- (27) Le            doy            arregla-ndo    el carro. (Spanish intuitions, case 5).  
       3SG.OBJ    give.1SG      repair-GER    the car  
       'I will repair the car for you.'
- (27a) \*arregla-ndo le                            doy            el carro.  
       repair-GER 2SG.OBJ.POL                give.1SG      the car.

When a different order is used, the utterance is not grammatical anymore in Imbabura Spanish. Even an consecutive interpretation is not possible. Therefore, the order seems to be fixed for the combination of *dar* and the gerund. Haboud (1997:220) also shows that the form of *dar* and the gerund can not be separated:

- (58) Le            da            cocina-ndo    como a reina. (ibidem: 220)  
       3SG.OBJ    give.3SG      cook-GER    like OBJ queen  
       'He cooks for her as for a queen.'
- (58a) ?Le            da            como a reina            cocina-ndo    (ibidem: 220)  
       3SG.OBJ    give.3SG      like OBJ queen            cook-GER

In (58) and (58a), it is shown that the form of *dar* and the gerund can not be separated. This means that the constituent order is rather fixed for the combination *dar* + gerund: the gerund follows the form of *dar* and the two verbs can not be separated by another constituent. This is another indication that the construction *dar* + gerund has undergone grammaticalization.

#### 4.3.2.2.3 A comparison between 'give' + converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish

The combination of 'give' + converb is not only used more frequently in Imbabura Spanish than in Quichua, it appears to be further in the process of grammaticalization. That is, in Imbabura Quichua two layers can be found: a traditional layer, in which the combination has a consecutive interpretation and an innovative layer in which *cuna* and *carana* are beneficiary markers. In Imbabura Spanish, only the grammaticalized interpretation exists. The verb *dar* in combination with the gerund can only be a beneficiary marker and can not express the action of 'handing over' anymore. In the case of *dar* + gerund, there is no layering anymore. The combination of *dar* + gerund is the most grammaticalized form of all the verbal periphrases found in Imbabura Spanish. Haboud's (1997:225) is again correct in the case of 'give' + converb in Imbabura Spanish.

#### 4.3.3 Unique combinations of an inflected verb + converb

In Imbabura Spanish exist different combinations of an inflected verb and a gerund that have a specific meaning. The two combinations that will be discussed in this study are *mandar* 'send/order' + gerund and *pasar* 'pass' + gerund. In Imbabura Quichua, these combinations are also used. In subsection 4.3.3.1, I will study 'send/order' in combination with a converb and in subsection 4.3.3.2, I will study the combination of 'pass' and a converb.

##### 4.3.3.1 'Send/order' + converb

In both Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, the combination of 'send/'order' is used. Although the use of this combination was reported by different scholars (Haboud 1997; Niño-Murcia 1995, among others), it did not occur very often in the studied corpus (in 0.9% of the Spanish corpus, in 4.5% of the written Quichua corpus and even in 0% of the *-shpa* elicitations). This low occurrence may be due to the fact that, at least in Ecuadorian Spanish, the combination has a specific use. The use of the Imbabura Quichua combination will be studied in subsection 4.3.3.1.1. The use of the Spanish combination will be studied in subsection 4.3.3.1.2. In the final subsection (4.3.3.1.3), I will compare the use of the combination in the two languages.

##### 4.3.3.1.1 The *-shpa* converb + *cachana*

In Imbabura Quichua, word for 'order' or 'send off to' is *cachana*. The verb *cachana* is often used in combination with a *-shpa* converb. Examples of this combination are presented below:

- (59) cutinllata                                      cachunca                      minca-shpa  
 another.time-LIM-ACC                      diper                      entrust-SS.CONV  
 cacha-sca.<sup>34</sup> (Nazarea & Guitarra 2004:108).  
 send-PAST  
 'she send her off another time entrusting her to get the diapers.'
- (32) rima-shpa                                      cacha-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 4, consultant 8)  
 speak-SS.CONV                      send-PAST  
 '(S)he sent him/her away after speaking to him/her.  
 (s)he told him/her off and sent him/her away.'

In both example (59) and (32), the *-shpa* converb represents a simultaneous clause. In (51), the simultaneous clause *cachunca mincashpa* 'entrusting her to get the diapers' explains the content of the order. In this case, the direct object of *cachasca* and the person to whom the getting of the diapers have to be deduced from the context; they are not explicitly mentioned. From the context, it results clear that the direct object of *cachasca* and the indirect object of *mincashpa* are the same. In example (32), *rimashpa* shows how the speaker sent a person away. The speaker did not send the person away by speaking. As in example (32), the person the speaker sent off and the person that is spoken to are the same person. Again this person is not explicitly present in the context.

It has to be mentioned that example (32) in some case has a negative connotation. In some case, the speaker may have had a friendly chat with the person that (s)he sends of, but in many cases *rimashpa* is interpreted as telling someone off. A consultant commented that especially young people use this sentence when, for instance, they are told of at their girl-friend's or boy-friend's place. The verb *rimana*, which normally just means 'speak', has become a negative connotation when it is used as a *-shpa* converb in combination with *cachana* 'send/'order'. The verb *cachana* still has maintained its meaning of 'sending away' in this case. Therefore, *cachana* does not seem to be grammaticalizing, but in combination with *rimashpa* reanalysis appears to have taken place. This is an innovation in Imbabura Quichua. Nevertheless, this reanalysis does not occur in every combination of the *-shpa* converb and *cachana*. In case (59), the use of the *-shpa* converb as a simultaneous clause in combination with *cachana* is not an innovation in the Imbabura Quichua.

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<sup>34</sup> The spelling of the storybook by Nazarea and Guitarra (2004) is used in this case.

#### 4.3.3.1.2 Mandar + gerund

The Imbabura Spanish combination of *mandar* and the gerund, however, is an innovation in the Spanish system. Below, two examples of this innovative combination in Imbabura Spanish are presented:

(26) Les            mandaron            habla-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 4).  
3PL.OBJ    send/order.3PL.PERF speak-GER  
'They told them some home truths.'

(60) Les            mandaron            saca-ndo. (Spanish intuitions: case 4b<sup>35</sup>)  
3PL.OBJ    send.3SG.PERF    kick.out-GER  
'They kicked them out.'

In example (26) and (60), there are two verbs that seem to govern the same direct object, *les* 'them'. In the interpretation, however, can be observed that the sentence does not express two actions any more. There is only one action, 'telling some home truths' in example (26) and 'kicking out' in example (60). In the examples, the gerund does not seem to be a subordinated simultaneous clause. If the interpretation of examples (26) and (60) is taken into account, the semantic meaning of the verb *mandar* appears to be reduced and the gerund expresses the main action in the sentence. This means that the two clauses, that is, the clause of the inflected verb and the clause of the gerund, have become one clause.

There are also some other indications that this process of clause unification has taken place. First of all, if the gerund is removed from example (26) the meaning of the sentence changes completely:

(26a) Les            mandaron  
3PL.OBJ    send.3SG.PERF  
'They sent them off.' or 'They allowed them to go.'

In (26), the object 'them' is not necessarily sent off. According to the consultants, this sentence would

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<sup>35</sup> In the intuitions tests, the consultants were asked whether other verbs could be used in stead of *hablando* in case 4 of the intuitions. Many consultants gave the example in (54).

often be interpreted the following way: someone was angry with the object and told them off. The object is not necessarily told to leave the room. In example (26a), the object is sent away. When the gerund is removed, the sentence loses its negative connotation. The speaker may as well been given permission to go to a party.

The consultants also gave another indication that *mandar* + gerund have become a fixed combination. According to them, the inflected form of *mandar* and the gerund can not be switched in position. The following example is ungrammatical in Imbabura Spanish:

(60a) \*saca-ndo      les                      mandaron  
 kick.out-GER 3PL.OBJ      send.3SG.PERF

The rejection of example (54a) indicates that the word order of the combination is fixed. This property of the combination, together the semantic reduction of *mandar* and the negative connotation of the combination suggest that the construction is grammaticalized to a high degree. Interestingly, the gerund *hablando* in example (26) also appears to have changed in meaning. It does not mean 'talking' any more, it obtained the meaning of 'telling someone off'. This means that *hablando* has undergone reanalysis when it occurs in combination with *mandar*. This normally does not happen in the process of grammaticalization. The non-finite verb maintains its lexical meaning.

There is another indication that the combination of *mandar* + gerund has not undergone grammaticalization. In order to call a combination grammaticalized, the combination needs to be extended to many different contexts. This is not the case for *mandar* + gerund. As Niño-Murcia (1995:92) observes, the use of this combination is rather restricted. The combination only seems to be used within one semantic field, that is, the semantic field of fights and punishments. Examples of gerunds that can be used in combination with *mandar* to obtain the same negative connotation are *pateando* 'kicking', *gritando* 'screaming', *pegando* 'hitting', *castigando* 'punishing' and *insultando* 'insulting'.

In the combinations of these gerunds and *mandar*, *mandar* often has not completely lost its meaning of 'sending away'. Although *mandar* has not completely been semantically reduced, the interpretation of *mandar* in combination with those gerunds has specialized. That is, in combination with the gerunds presented above *mandar* can not mean 'order' anymore. The only meaning of *mandar* can be 'send away'. This lexically specialized construction of *mandar* + gerund is not very productive,

since it can only be used with a few verbs in the form of the gerund. Since this construction is not very productive and the construction seems to be highly lexically specialized, it does not seem grammaticalized. Especially, the combination of *mandar* + *hablando* is a lexicalized construction.

#### 4.3.3.1.3 A comparison between 'send/order' + converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish

At first sight, the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combinations of 'send/'order' + converb seem very different. In Quichua, the verb *cachana* is often complemented with a *-shpa* converb that explains the way or why the object has been send off or ordered to do something. In Spanish, the combination of *mandar* + gerund has obtained a lexical specialized meaning; the combinations have an interpretation that is related fighting and punishing. Especially, the combination of *mandar* + *hablando* has been reanalyzed. The verb *mandar* has lost its lexical meaning when it occurs in the combination and the gerund *hablando* has obtained the lexically specific meaning of 'telling someone off'. This combination is a typical case of a lexicalized construction.

Imbabura Quichua appears to have copied part of this lexicalization process. The Quichua counterpart of *mandar* + *hablando*, *rimashpa* + *cachana* has obtained more or less the same interpretation with the younger Quichua speakers. That is, *rimashpa* 'talking' has obtained the lexical specific meaning of 'telling off'. The verb *cachana*, however, does not seem to have lost its lexical meaning. The object is mostly still sent off. Since the combination did not undergo the process of grammaticalization, I do not agree with Haboud (1997:225) that the combination of *mandar* + gerund is a medium grammaticalized construction. The process the combination has undergone in Imbabura Spanish is lexical specialization.

Concluding, in most cases, the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish uses of 'send/'order' + converb have very different interpretations, but in the case of the combination 'send/'order' + 'talking' a rather similar interpretation can be found. In both language, the combination is lexicalized, albeit to a higher degree in Imbabura Spanish than in Imbabura Quichua.

#### 4.3.3.2 'Pass' + converb

The combination of 'pass' + converb did almost not occur in the collected corpus of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. There was only one case in the written corpus of Quichua. Nevertheless, during previous visits I came across this combination frequently. In the intuition tests with Imbabura Quichua and Spanish speakers, the consultants accepted and produced examples of the combination of 'pass' and a

converb. These intuitions will be used in this subsection to describe the use and interpretation of the combination and to determine the changes that have occurred in the combinations.

In subsection 4.3.3.2.1, I will discuss the Imbabura Quichua combination of the *-shpa* converb and an inflected form of *yalina*. In the following subsection (4.3.3.2.2), the Imbabura Spanish combination *pasar* + gerund is discussed. Finally, I will compare the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combinations in subsection 4.3.3.2.3.

#### 4.3.3.2.1 The *-shpa* converb + *yalina*

The verb *yalina* can be used in combination with the *-shpa* converb in Imbabura Quichua. The following example from the intuition tests is an example of the combination:

- (35)   ricu-shpa                   yali-hua-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 16, consultant 15).  
      see-SS.CONV            pass-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
      '(S)he passed by and saw me.'

In example (35), the *-shpa* converb is an adverbial subordinated clause that describes the circumstances in which a third person passes by. In example (35) is explicitly mentioned whom the person passes by: *hua* 'me'. Although the direct object of *rikushpa* 'seeing' is implicit, the speaker would also be considered the object of *rikushpa*. This object is not necessarily omitted, as can be seen in example (61):

- (61)   ñuca-ta           ricu-shpa       yali-hua-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 16, consultant 14)<sup>36</sup>.  
      1SG-ACC        see-SS.CONV pass-1SG.OBJ.PAST  
      '(S)he passed by me and saw me.'

In example (61), the direct object of *rikushpa* is *ñukata* 'me' and the direct object of the inflected form of *yalina* is *hua* 'me'.

The *-shpa* converb and the inflected form of *yalina* do not necessarily share the same object. This can be seen in the following example:

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<sup>36</sup> In the intuition tests, the consultants were asked whether other verbs could be used in stead of *rikushpa* in case 16 of the intuitions. Consultant 37 produced the example in (56).

- (62) papa-ta            saqui-shpa            yali-rca. (Quichua intuitions, case 16a, consultant 37)  
 potato-ACC    leave-SS.CONV        pass-PAST  
 '(s)he came by dropping off potatoes.'

In example (62), it can be observed that *yali-rca* has an implicit direct object. Although it is implicit, it can not be the same as the direct object of *saquishpa* 'dropping off': *papata* 'potatoes'. That is, when the subject passes by the potatoes, (s)he does not carry them with him/her. Therefore, he cannot also drop of the potatoes. The interpretation of this that the subject comes by the speaker and drops of the potatoes. In this case, *papata saquishpa* 'dropping of the potatoes', describes the situation in which the third person passed by. It is, therefore, an adverbial subordinated clause.

The examples collected in the fieldwork do not show that any change has occurred in the use of the combination of the *-shpa* and an inflected form of *yalina* 'pass'. The *-shpa* converbs are the predicates of adverbial subordinated clauses, as is common in many Quechua varieties. It is also common for verbs in Imbabura Quichua to have either implicit or explicit object, as has been observed before. Another common feature is that objects can both be shared by the head clause and the subordinated clause and can be different in both clauses. Therefore, this combination does not seem to have undergone changes.

#### 4.3.3.2.2 Pasar + gerund

The combination of *pasar* and the gerund that is found in Imbabura Spanish. Two examples of the Imbabura Spanish combination are presented in (29) and (63):

- (29) Me            pasaron            vie-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 16).  
 1SG.OBJ        pass.3PL.PERF    see-GER  
 'They picked me up.'
- (63) me            pasaron            deja-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 16a)  
 1SG.OBJ        pass.3PL.PERF    leave-GER  
 'They dropped me off.'

In examples (29) and (63), the combinations of *pasar* 'pass' + *viendo* 'seeing' and *pasar* + *dejando* 'leaving' have obtained a new meaning. As in the case of the combination of *mandar* and a group of

gerunds, these combinations with *pasar* have obtained a specific lexical meaning. An important indication for this lexicalization is that not only *pasar* has lost its semantic meaning in (29) and (63), the gerunds *viendo* 'seeing' and *dejando* 'leaving' do not have the same meaning any more. In (29), the speaker is not just seen, he is picked up from a certain spot. In (63), the speaker is not just left behind, but (s)he is dropped of at a determined place.

Another indication is that the combination *pasar* + gerund is not very productive. It is only used to express a specific semantic field: the field of 'picking up' and 'dropping off'. This can also be seen from the other gerund that could be used the same way, according to the consultants. Examples of these gerunds are *llevando* 'bringing', *trayendo* 'taking', *retirando* 'picking up' and *buscando* 'looking for'. These combinations have obtained a lexical specific meaning. Especially, in the case of *pasar* + *viendo* both verbs have lost their original meaning of 'pass by' and 'seeing'. This last combination seems to have lexicalized.

#### 4.3.3.2.3 A comparison between 'pass' + converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish

The Imbabura Spanish combination of *pasar* + gerund is used in a different way than the Imbabura Quichua combination of a *-shpa* converb and *yalina* 'pass'. In the Imbabura Quichua combination of, for instance, *rikushpa* 'seeing' and an inflected form of *yalina*, the two verb still refer to the action of 'seeing' and 'passing by'. The Imbabura Spanish combination of *pasar* + *viendo* has completely lexicalized. Therefore, only the Imbabura Spanish combination has undergone lexical specialization. In Imbabura Quichua, this process does not seem to have occurred.

#### 4.4 A possible scenario of development of the innovative verbal periphrases in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish

In this study, some very similar converb constructions in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish have been studied. In Imbabura Quichua, these constructions consist of the *-shpa* converb and an inflected verb. In Imbabura Spanish, the constructions consist of an inflected verb and the gerund. As was mentioned in the previous sections, the combinations of *botar* 'drop/' 'throw away' + gerund and *poner* 'put' + gerund were not accepted by the consultants, although they appeared in different studies (Haboud 1997; Niño-Murcia 1995). The differences between this study and the studies by Haboud (1997) and Niño-Murcia can be explained by the different areas of research; in Imbabura, the combinations with *botar* and *poner* are not accepted, in other regions, however, they may be very common.

In the case of the other combinations of inflected verbs and converbs, I have determined whether they were innovative in the two languages and what innovations could be found in comparison to more traditional varieties of Quechua and Spanish. In this section, I will discuss if these innovations were internal changes within the language or if they were transfers from the other language. In subsection 4.4.1, the changes in the the interpretation of the gerund will be discussed. In 4.4.2, the omission of objects will be discussed. Then, I will discuss the process of grammaticalization of the verbal periphrases in subsection 4.4.3. This discussion will be followed by a discussion of the processes of lexical specialization and lexicalization in subsection 4.4.4. Finally, the convergence in the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish systems will be discussed in subsection 4.4.5.

#### 4.4.1 *The gerund with a consecutive interpretation*

One of the innovations that I came across in the analysis was that the gerund in Imbabura Spanish is used differently than in standard Spanish<sup>37</sup>. In different verbal constructions that consisted of an inflected verb and a gerund, the gerund has obtained a consecutive interpretation. This consecutive interpretation can best be observed in combinations of a verb of movement or *dejar* 'leave' in combination with a gerund. To show that this reinterpretation of the gerund has occurred two examples from the previous sections will be presented below:

(30) Ya                   vienen                   comie-ndo. (Spanish corpus, case 34)

Already               come.2PLUR.PRES eat-GER.

Imbabura Spanish: 'You have already eaten before arriving.'

Standard Spanish: '?You already come while eating.'

(25) Me                   dejó                   cocina-ndo    el almuerzo. (Spanish intuitions, case 15).

1SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    cook-GER    the lunch.

'(S)he left me the lunch after cooking it.'

In example (30), the interlocutors have eaten before arriving and in example (25), the subject first has cooked lunch and then left it for the speaker. This means that in both cases the gerund occurs right before the action expressed by the main verb.

<sup>37</sup> These innovations are not exclusively found in Imbabura Spanish. In other varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish and even Andean Spanish in contact with Quechua, such as north Argentinian Spanish and Central Peruvian Spanish, a similar use of the gerund is found (De Granda 2001; Haboud 1997; 1998; Niño-Murcia 1995; Olbertz 2002; Toscano Mateus 1953).

This consecutive interpretation can also be given to the *-shpa* converb in Quichua. This is illustrated in different examples from the previous chapter:

- (24) ñuca                    saqui-shpa                    huahua-cuna-ta  
 1SG.SBJ            leave-SS.CONV            child-PL-ACC  
 Villa-ta            ri-ni. (*-shpa* elicitions, case 43, cons. 38).  
 Ibarra-ACC    go-1SG  
 'I go to Ibarra after having left the children.'
- (25) randi-shpa                    shamu-rca-ni. (*-shpa* elicitions, case 46, cons. 42).  
 buy-SS.CONV            come-PAST-1SG  
 'I came after having bought something.'
- (34) Rura-shpa                    saqui-rca-ni  
 make-SS.CONV            leave-PAST-1SG  
 deberes-cuna-ta. (*-shpa* elicitions, case 3, consultant 3).  
 homework-PL-ACC  
 'I left the homework after making it.'

In example (24), the speaker first leaves the children and then goes to Ibarra, in example (25), the speaker first bought something and then came back and in example (34), a third the speaker first makes his homework and then leaves it. As in the examples from Imbabura Spanish, the action expressed by the *-shpa* converb occurs right before the inflected verb. Differently from Imbabura Spanish, this interpretation is not an innovation in the Quechua system. That is, this interpretation of the *-shpa* converb is found in many other varieties of Quechua.

Therefore, it is understandable that the new interpretation of the gerund in Imbabura Spanish and in other varieties of Andean Spanish is often associated with the contact between Spanish and Quichua (De Granda 2001:47-55; Haboud 1998:207-209; Muysken 1985; Niño-Murcia 1995; Toscano Mateus 1953). The gerund appears to have been reinterpreted under influence of the Quichua *-shpa* converb. This reinterpretation of the gerund under influence of the *-shpa* converb is not unthinkable, since some structural similarities between the gerund and the *-shpa* converb already existed before the contact between the two languages. For instance, the gerund, just like the *-shpa* converb, is often used in adverbial subordinated clauses that have the same subject as the main clause. Another similarity is

that both the gerund and the *-shpa* converb do not have inflection. Many scholars (Muysken 1985; Niño-Murcia 1995:93; Toscano Mateus 1953 among others) have also suggested another reason why Quichua speakers that learned Spanish used the gerund quite frequently. They preferred the gerund over other verb forms, because it is '*a simple morphophonemic verbal form*' (Niño-Murcia 1995:93).

For all these reason, it is plausible that the gerund obtained the new interpretation under influence of the *-shpa* converb. This process consist of the transfer of the functional meaning of consecutiveness that the *-shpa* converb in Quichua possesses to the gerund. This transfer of meaning has led to major similarities between the two converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. Therefore, the two systems seem to be converging on this level.

#### 4.4.2 Omission of objects

Another innovation in the system of Imbabura Spanish is that the direct object can often be omitted. This innovation has been observed by various scholars (Argüello 1983; Martínez 2000; Suñer & Yépez 1988) in different varieties of Andean Spanish. This omission of objects appears to be a negative transfer from Quechua. In Quechua, it is common to omit objects that can be deduced from the context as could be seen in the previous sections. Argüello (1983:661) shows how especially in contexts with an indirect object clitic, the direct object clitic is always omitted in Ecuadorian Spanish:

- (64) - ¿Me            trajiste            la leche?  
       - 1SG.IOBJ    bring.2SG.PERF    the milk?  
       'Did you bring me the milk?'  
       - Sí,    te            Ø        traje.  
       - Yes,  2SG.IOBJ    DO    bring.1SG.PERF  
       'Yes, I brought you (it)?'

Since the milk already has been introduced in the question, it is not necessary in Ecuadorian Spanish to refer to it in the answer.

In Quechua, when converbs and transitive inflected verbs share the same object, it is, at most, expressed once. This structure appears to be copied into Spanish. In, at least, the case of *dejar* + gerund, the direct object of *dejar* 'leave' is often not expressed explicitly anymore. In most cases where the *dejar* still governs a direct object, it is either expressed as a clitic or it is nominally expressed as the

direct object of the gerund, as has been observed in example (48):

- (48) Tengo            que    dejar   arregla-ndo    la casa. (Spanish corpus, case 55)  
Have.1SG        that    leave   clean-GER    the house  
'I have to clean the house before I leave it.'

The verb *dejar* does not govern a nominal explicit direct object anymore, when it occurs in combination with a gerund. This omission of the direct object appears to be a transfer from the Quichua combinations of inflected verbs and *-shpa* converbs in which the direct object is usually omitted.

#### 4.4.3 Grammaticalization

In the analysis of the combinations of inflected verbs and converbs in Imbabura Quichua and Imbabura Spanish, it has been observed that some of these combinations have undergone grammaticalization. Interestingly, more combinations in Imbabura Spanish seem to have undergone grammaticalization than in Imbabura Quichua. The Imbabura Spanish combinations also have undergone the process to a higher degree, than the Imbabura Quichua combinations. That is, in Imbabura Spanish more combinations of inflected verbs and converbs have become verbal periphrases than in Imbabura Quichua.

This is not an unexpected outcome, because, as Haboud (1998:222) points out, Quechua is an agglutinating language in which periphrastic structures are not common at all. In Quechua, it is much more common to express grammatical categories by suffixes. In Spanish, on the other hand, periphrastic structures are abundantly present.

Therefore, it is not strange that only in Imbabura Spanish some combinations of verbs of movement and the gerund have grammaticalized. The verbs *venir* 'come' and *ir* 'go' seem to have become quasi-auxiliaries in combination with the gerund. That is, although they still maintain their meaning of movement, the movement does not seem as important as the action expressed by the gerund. In these cases where *ir* and *venir* are slightly grammaticalized, the word order also seems rather fixed: first the inflected form of *ir* or *venir* and then the gerund. This seems another indication that these combinations have grammaticalized, although to a low degree. In the case of *ir*, the grammaticalization process seems to be an intrinsic language process, that was only triggered by the transfer of the meaning of the *-shpa* converb to the gerund.

In the case of *venir*, it is possible that a certain Quichua structure has had some influence, as Haboud (2005b:22) suggested. This structure is presented below:

- (65) micu-mu-rca-ni. (ibidem:22)  
eat-DIR-PAST-1SG  
'I came after having having eaten.'

In example (65), it can be observed that the suffix *-mu* expresses a movement towards the place where the speaker is. When the suffix *-mu* is used, the movement towards the speaker is semantically subordinate to the action of eating. This is the same function that the semi-verbal periphrasis *venir* + gerund expresses in Ecuadorian Spanish, as it was shown in example (43):

- (43) Ya                    vienen                    comie-ndo. (Spanish corpus, case 34)  
Already                come.2PLUR.PRES eat-GER.  
Imbabura Spanish: 'You have already eaten before arriving.'  
Standard Spanish: '?You already come while eating.'

In example (30), the movement towards the speaker expressed by *vienen* is semantically subordinate to the action of eating 'eating'. The idea that a form from a certain language is used to express a certain function from another language originates from Sapir and Whorf (Whorf 1956). According to these scholars, learners of a new language often use the new language to express the way they interpret the world, since the new language sometimes lacks functions that are expressed in the first language of the learners. Therefore, the second language learners sometimes create new features to express a function from their first language. Other scholars, such as Heath (1978) and Aikhenvald (2002), called this type of transfer of a meaning indirect diffusion. It is possible that the combination of *venir* + gerund in Imbabura Spanish grammaticalized under influence of the suffix *-mu* in Imbabura Quichua. Heine and Kuteva (ibidem) call this process contact induced grammaticalization. Although the grammaticalization process of *venir* + gerund may be influenced by the Quichua suffix *-mu*, it still resembles the combination of the *-shpa* converb + *shamuna* very much.

The Imbabura Quichua combinations of the *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement, such as the *-shpa* converb + *shamuna*, however, do not show any clear indication that they have grammaticalized.

The similarity between the Imbabura Quichua and Spanish combinations seems to be due to the reinterpretation of the gerund under influence of the *-shpa* converb. The consecutive interpretation of the gerund makes the Imbabura Spanish sentences very similar to the Quichua sentences with a *-shpa* converb and a verb of movement. Nevertheless, the Imbabura Spanish verbs of movement *ir* and *venir* in combination with the gerund have become quasi-auxiliaries and the Imbabura Quichua verbs of movement in combination with the *-shpa* converb have not.

In the case of 'leave something/one' in combination with a converb, the same tendency can be found. The Imbabura Quichua combination of the *-shpa* converb and *saquina* 'leave something/someone' does not provide any indication that the combination is grammaticalized. Its Imbabura Spanish counterpart, however, seems to have entered the process of grammaticalization. A first indication is that the inflected form of *dejar* and the gerund can not be separated and the order can not be changed. Another indication is that the two verbs mostly share one direct object. This object is either expressed as a clitic or as a noun phrase behind the gerund. The object can not be expressed as a noun phrase behind the inflected form of *dejar*. Therefore, in some cases it is not clear that *dejar* still governs an object and *dejar* seems to have lost its transitive meaning. This is what happened in example (49) that was first presented in the previous section:

- (49) ¿tú            para    venir    dejas            paga-ndo    el arriendo? (Sp. corpus, case 11)  
       3SG.SBJ    to        come    leave.2SG    pay-GER    the rent.

'Did you pay the rent before coming here?' (Talking about my rent in Holland)

In example (49), *dejas* does not govern a direct object anymore. It seems that *dejas* has lost part of its meaning 'leaving something/one' and it is only meaningful in combination with the gerund: 'leaving after having done something'. Since *dejas* in this case has lost its transitive meaning, it is semantically bleached. This is only the first step in semantic bleaching, because *dejas* still represents an action and it has not gained a full grammatical function yet.

Despite of the first steps of grammaticalization, *dejar* + gerund is still very similar to its Quichua counterpart: *-shpa* converb + *saquina*, as in the case of the verbs of movement in combination with a converb. This similarity between Imbabura Quichua and Spanish seems due to the reinterpretation of the gerund. Another similarity is that in both cases the direct object shared by *dejar/saquina* and the gerund/ the *-shpa* converb is, at most, only expressed once. This omission of

objects also seems to be a case of transfer, namely negative transfer, from Quichua to Spanish. The grammaticalization of the Imbabura Spanish construction *dejar* + gerund seems to be a process within Spanish itself, although it was probably triggered by the fact that the direct object of *dejar* is not explicitly expressed as a noun phrase.

The case of 'give' + converb is a bit different. In both Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, a grammaticalized interpretation of the construction can be found. Since this grammaticalized construction of *dar* 'give' + gerund is not found in standard Spanish or any other variety of Spanish, the construction has often been attributed to Quichua (Heine & Kuteva 2005:222; Hurley 1995a,b; Kany 1951; Toscano Mateus 1953). The scholars interpret the Ecuadorian Spanish construction *dar* + gerund, as a loan translation from Quichua, as was pointed out in chapter 2.

Nevertheless, other scholars (Bruil 2006; forthcoming; Haboud 1998; Olbertz 2002;2008) have pointed out that the Quichua counterpart, the *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana* 'give', is not found in any other variety of Quechua. Moreover, the periphrastic structure is not common at all in Quechua, whereas verbal periphrases are very common in Spanish. Another counterargument is that the use of the construction *dar* + gerund is much more widespread in Imbabura Spanish than *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana* is in Imbabura Quichua. That is, the Quichua speakers in this study used the construction almost 40% less than the Spanish speakers. Another reason to believe that the grammaticalized construction 'give' + converb is more Spanish than Quichua is that in Quichua another ungrammaticalized interpretation of the construction exists. Speakers often prefer the ungrammaticalized interpretation above the grammaticalized interpretation.

But then if we conclude that the 'give' + converb construction is a Spanish innovation, how did it develop? In previous studies of this construction (Bruil 2006; forthcoming) I came up with an alternative process of development. In order to understand this possible process of development of *dar* + gerund, the ungrammaticalized interpretation of *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana* seems to be the key. To explain this, I will present another example of *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana*:

- (66) ñuca            pani-mi        libru-ta        randi-shpa  
 1SG.POS        sister-EV     book-ACC     buy-SS.CONV  
 cara-hua-rca. ('give' + converb elicitation, case 38, consultant 6).  
 buy-1SG.OBJ-PAST  
 'My sister bought a book for me and then gave it to me.'

In example (66), the sister of the speaker first bought a book for the speaker and then gave it to him. This means that still two actions occur. The 'book' *libruta* is the direct object of both *carawarca* and *randishpa*. At the beginning of the development of the construction many Quichua speakers learned Spanish. In order to express this consecutiveness of two actions in Spanish, the bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish transferred the meaning of the *-shpa* converb to the gerund, because of the many similarities between the two forms. Another influence Quichua seemed to have had on the Spanish of bilinguals was that that objects started to be omitted. Therefore, the bilinguals could literally translate example (66) as follows:

(66a) Mi hermana            me            dio            Ø       compra-ndo  
           1SG.POS sister        1SG.OBJ    give.3SG.PERF    DO    buy-GER  
           un libro.  
           a book.

The first interpretation of example (66a) of the bilinguals was probably the same as in Quichua, namely, the sister first buys the book and then gives it to the speaker.

Nevertheless, for monolinguals of Spanish, it might not have been so clear that the direct object of *dio* was also *un libro*, since the normal position in which the direct object of *dio* 'gave' would be expressed was empty. Due to this confusion the monolinguals probably started reinterpreting the gerund as direct object of *dio*, because of its position right after *dio*. This is shown in example (66b):

(66b) Mi hermana me dio Ø comprando un libro

Because of this reinterpretation of *comprando un libro* 'buying a book' as the direct object of *dio* 'gave', the given entity is not an object anymore, but an action. Interestingly, various consultants confirm this reinterpretation of the action as given object. When they were asked, what is given in a sentence such as (66b), they answered that either a service or a *comprando un libro* was given. Due to this reinterpretation, *dar* is not interpreted as an action anymore. The new grammatical function of *dar* is the introduction of the beneficiary and *dar* together with the gerund seems to form one clause. Due to this reinterpretation of *dar* in combination with the gerund, the function of the indirect object of *dar* has

also changed. The indirect object *me* in example (66b) is no longer a recipient, but it is reinterpreted as the beneficiary of the action.

Interestingly, the function of introducing a beneficiary exists in the Quechua system. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the suffix *-pa* is used in Quechua to express that an action has a beneficiary. Haboud (1998:218-222) rightly remarks that the function of the suffix *-pa* is very similar to the function of the Imbabura Spanish construction *dar + gerund*. Therefore, it is very well possible that bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish started to use *dar + gerund* to express the functions of *-pa* in Quichua, similarly to the fact that the bilinguals may have used *venir + gerund* to express the meaning of *-mu*. This is the type of transfer that Heath (1978) and Aikhenvald (2002) call *indirect diffusion*, it is the transfer of a meaning. In the case of the introduction of the beneficiary in Imbabura Spanish, the bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish used a very Spanish structure to express the functions of the suffix *-pa*, namely, they used a verbal periphrasis.

Before the grammaticalization of the construction *dar + gerund*, the gerund could only be a transitive verb that shared the same direct object with *dar*, as can be seen in example (66a). Due to the grammaticalization of the construction, it can now also be used with transitive verbs whose object can not be given. An example of this will be repeated from the previous section:

- (56) Da-me                      llamá-ndo-le                      a la María. (Spanish corpus: case 30).  
 give.IMP-1SG.OBJ    call-GER-3SG.OBJ    to the María.  
 'Call María for me.'

It would be strange to interpret example (56), as: call María, then give her to me. In this example, the only interpretation can be that *da* introduces a beneficiary, which is *me* in this case.

Another extension that has occurred is that now also intransitive verbs are used in the form of gerund. The following example of an intransitive verb in the form of the gerund was already presented in the previous section:

- (57) Mi tío              le              va a    dar    habla-ndo. (Bruil 2006:93).  
 my uncle    3SG.OBJ    go to    give    speak-GER.  
 'My uncle will speak for him.'

Although it is possible to use intransitive verbs in the form of the gerund in the construction *dar* + gerund as can be seen in the example above, it is still rather rare to use intransitive verbs (Bruil 2006).

In this possible scenario of development of the construction *dar* + gerund, different factors seem to have played a role. First of all the transfer of the meaning of the *-shpa* converb to the gerund had an impact on Imbabura Spanish. The second step was the omission of objects in Imbabura Spanish. These two external influences seem to have triggered the language internal process of grammaticalization. This grammaticalization may also have been influenced by the suffix *-pa*. Because the bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish lacked an instrument in Spanish to express the beneficiary functions of the suffix *-pa*, they started using the construction *dar* + gerund to express those functions. This process is called contact induced grammaticalization by Heine & Kuteva (2005): a structure grammaticalizes in a language to match with functions of another language. In this process of grammaticalization, the construction spreads to different contexts: first, it was mainly used in contexts where the gerund was a transitive verb with a non-human direct object. Later on, the gerund could also be a transitive verb with a human direct object and the gerund can now even be an intransitive verb. In this process of development of *dar* + gerund, both internal and external motivations can be found. Therefore, the construction *dar* + gerund seems a typical case of a development due to multiple causation.

The grammaticalized version of *-shpa* + *cuna/carana* in Imbabura Quichua appears to be a calque of this Imbabura Spanish construction. The verb *dar* was translated as *cuna* or *carana*. The gerund is translated as a *-shpa* converb. This translation of the gerund as a *-shpa* converb does not seem strange anymore, since the link between those two forms was established above. The combination of the *-shpa* converb and *cuna* or *carana* obtained the same interpretation as its Spanish counterpart. This process is called 'replica grammaticalization' by Heine & Kuteva (2005). This means that the combination of *-shpa* + *cuna/carana* has copied the process of grammaticalization of *dar* + gerund in order to express the same function: the introduction of a beneficiary. Interestingly, this process of grammaticalization seems to have introduced some structural restrictions. That is, the *-shpa* converb and *cuna* or *carana* cannot be separated in order for the sentence to obtain the grammaticalized interpretation, in which a beneficiary is introduced, as was shown in the analysis in example (45):

- (54) ñuca            yanu-shpa            huahua-cuna-man  
 1SG.SBJ        cook-SS.CONV        child-PL-DAT  
 cara-sha. ('give' + converb elicitation, case 96, consultant 14)  
 give-1SG.FUT  
 'After I have cooked, I will give it to the children.'

When the *-shpa* converb and *cuna* or *carana* are separated, as in example (45), the sentence is interpreted the traditional way, namely first the speaker cooks and then (s)he gives the food to the children. With the introduction of the new grammaticalized interpretation of the *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana*, Imbabura Quichua obtained another way to express that the action has a beneficiary. Both *-pa* and the *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana* are used frequently by the Quichua speakers and there does not seem to be a clear difference. Another interesting fact is that, due to the transfer of grammaticalized interpretation of the *-shpa* converb + *cuna/carana*, Imbabura Quichua has also introduced a new structure: the verbal periphrasis. With the introduction of this new structure, Imbabura also obtained new structural restrictions for this new structure. This means that due to the copied grammaticalization of *-shpa* + *cuna/carana* Imbabura Quichua has obtained a structural innovation.

Interestingly, through structural innovation in Imbabura Quichua and through the grammaticalization of 'give' and the gerund in Imbabura Spanish, the two languages have developed a structure that is an innovation to both of the languages, but is a universal structure to express the beneficiary. In many languages of the world, such as Japanese, Mandarin, Saramaccan (Surinam), Vietnamese, Yoruba 'give' has obtained the function of beneficiary marker (Haspelmath 1995; Heine & Kuteva 2002:149-151; Newman 1996:217-223).

#### 4.4.4 Lexical specialization and lexicalization

Another process that appears to have occurred in the combinations of inflected verbs and converbs is lexical specialization. In Imbabura Spanish, *mandar* 'send/order' and *pasar* 'pass' have obtained lexical specific interpretations when they occur in combination with certain gerunds. These lexical specific constructions formally resemble Quichua combinations of *kachana* 'send/order' or *yalina* 'pass' and a *-shpa* converb. Often there is only one direct object explicitly expressed in both Imbabura Quichua and Spanish in these combinations. In Quichua, the *-shpa* converb often expresses the manner in which a person 'orders' or 'passes by'. In Imbabura Spanish, however, in some of these combinations the

meaning of 'ordering' and 'passing by' is lost. This was shown in, for instance, examples (26) and (14) from the previous section:

- (26) Les            mandaron            habla-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 4).  
 3PL.OBJ        send/order.3PL.PERF speak-GER  
 'They told them some home truths.'
- (29) Me            pasaron            vie-ndo. (Spanish intuitions, case 16).  
 1SG.OBJ        pass.3PL.PERF        see-GER  
 'They picked me up.'

In example (26), the combination of *mandaron* and *hablando* have obtained a new meaning, namely 'telling of home truths'. In (29) the combination of *pasaron* and *viendo* also have obtained a new meaning, namely 'picking up'. Since in the combination of *mandar* + *hablando* and *pasar* + *viendo* both verbs has lost their meaning, it appears that these specific combinations have not only undergone lexical specialization but even lexicalization. Other combination of *mandar* + gerund and *pasar* + gerund in the same semantic field as the lexicalized combinations only seem to have undergone lexical specialization. The basis of these lexical specialized constructions appears to be in the structure of the Quichua manner clauses.

Interestingly, in the case of 'send/order' + converb, Imbabura Quichua appears to have copied the interpretation of *mandar* + gerund. The combination of the *-shpa* converb and *cachana* is sometimes used to express the same concept as its counterpart in Imbabura Spanish, that is 'telling someone a few home truths'. It seems that in this case *replica lexicalization* is taking place, namely Imbabura Quichua copied the lexicalization process from Imbabura Spanish. Therefore the combination of the *-shpa* converb + *kachana* can be called a calque of the Imbabura Spanish construction.

#### 4.4.5 Convergence

Due to the above discussed the changes in the combinations of an inflected verb and converbs, Imbabura Quichua and Spanish appear to be converging. The first change that contributed to this convergence was the transfer of features from Quichua to Spanish. First, it was shown how the meaning of the *-shpa* converb in Quichua was transferred to the gerund in Spanish. A second change

that caused more similarity between the Spanish and Quichua system was that Spanish obtained the possibility to omit arguments due to negative transfer from Quichua.

The grammaticalization and lexicalization processes in Spanish that were triggered by this transfer from Quichua caused Spanish to diverge again from Quichua. Since the degree of grammaticalization of the verbs of movement or and *dejar* 'leave something/one' in combination with the gerund is not very high in Spanish, these combinations have not diverged very much from Quichua. The verbs *dar* 'give', *mandar* 'send/order' and *pasar* 'pass' in combination with the gerund, however, diverged greatly from their Quichua counterparts, respectively the *-shpa* converb and *cuna/carana*, the *-shpa* converb and *kachana* and the *-shpa* converb and *yalina*.

Interestingly, the *-shpa* converb in combination with *cuna/carana* in Imbabura Quichua seems to have copied the grammaticalization process from that of its Imbabura Spanish counterpart *dar* + gerund, that is, replica grammaticalization has occurred in Quichua. The combination *rimashpa* 'speaking' and *cachana* 'send/order' also appears to have copied the lexicalization process of *mandar* + *hablando*. Therefore, the combination *rimashpa* + *cachana* is most likely to be a calque from Imbabura Spanish. Because of these replica processes in Imbabura Quichua, Imbabura Quichua and Spanish appear to be converging again.

## Chapter 5: Innovative subjunctive converbs in Imbabura Quichua

### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the goal is to reconstruct the changes that have led to the use of the new set of subjunctive converbs in Imbabura Quichua. I will describe how these innovative converbs are used in order to determine what the innovations are in the converb system. The reconstructed changes will be used to determine whether the motivation of the different changes is either internal (intrinsic language process) or external (due to contact with other languages).

In order to reconstruct the changes that have occurred so that the existing system emerged, it is important to describe how the subjunctive converbs are used nowadays. In section 5.2, I will present the results from the fieldwork and use those to describe the use of the converbs nowadays. This use will be compared to the data presented by Cole (1982; 1983) and Jake (1985) and to the use of the equivalent forms of the converbs in other varieties of Quechua. In section 5.3, I will reconstruct the changes that have occurred so that the Imbabura system came into being. In the final section (5.4), I will present a possible scenario in which those changes may have occurred.

### 5.2 The use of *-ngapaj* and *-chun* according to Peter Cole and Janice Jake

Cole (1982;1983) and Jake (1985) describe how the suffixes *-ngapaj* and *-chun* function as verb forms in subjunctive clauses. According to Cole (1982:37), these subjunctive clauses consist of purpose clauses and clauses that express a desired action. Jake (1985:36) presents examples of the converbs when they are used in subordinate purpose clauses:

- (67) ñuca            pani    caya-hua-rca            parla-hua-ngapaj. (ibidem:36).  
1SG.POS        sister   call-1SG.OBJ-PAST    speak-1SG.OBJ-SS.SUBJ.CONV  
'My sister called me in order to talk to me.'
- (68) chai    jari    calpa-chun            caya-rca-ni-mi. (ibidem:36).  
that    man    run-DS.SUBJ.CONV    call-PAST-1SG-EV  
'I called for that man to run.'

Examples (67) and (68) show a switch reference system. When the subjects of the main clause and the subordinate clause are the same, the suffix *-ngapaj* is used and when the subjects of the main clause



(72) chay kipi llashaj-mi ka-rka pay apa-chun. (ibidem:8)  
 Ø  
 \*ñuka  
 \*kan  
 that bag heavy-EV be-PAST he take-DS.SUBJ.CONV  
 Ø  
 \*I  
 \*you

'The bag was too heavy for him/one/\*me/\*you to carry.'

If the converbs *-ngapaj* and *-chun* would function completely according to a switch reference system, it would be expectable that in both examples (71) and (72) *-chun* would have been used. Since the subject of the main clause *llashajmi karka* 'was heavy' is *chay kipi* 'that bag' and it is in none of the cases the same as the subject of the subclause. Therefore, when the converbs *-ngapaj* and *-chun* are used to complement an adjective, the choice of the converb depends on the person of the subject. When the converb has a first person or second person, an Imbabura Quichua speaker would use *-ngapaj*. When the converb is governed by a third person subject, the Imbabura Quichua speaker would use *-chun*. If there is a general subject, the speaker can chose which of the two converbs he will use. Nevertheless, when the subjunctive converbs are used in their true adverbial sense, that is to complement a verb, Cole (1982;1983) and Jake show that they are used according to a switch reference system.

### 5.3 The use of the equivalent of *-ngapaj* and *-chun* in other varieties of Quechua

In other varieties of Quechua, subordinate purpose clauses and desired action clauses are not formed the same way as Cole (1982;1983) and Jake (1985) describe for Imbabura Quichua. First, we will have a look at the purpose clauses. In most varieties of Quechua an analytical version of *-ngapaj* is used for both same-subject purpose subclauses (73) and different-subject subclauses (74):

- (73) Waraz-ta shamu-rqu-u mamaa-nii-ta  
 Waraz-ACC come-PAST-1SG mother-1SG.POS-ACC  
 rikaa-na-a-paq. (Cole 1983:4).  
 see-NOM-1SG-BEN  
 'I came to Waraz to see my mother.'
- (74) Fuan-ta Waraz-ta kacha-rqu-u mamaa-nin-ta  
 Juan-ACC Waraz-ACC send-PAST-1SG mother-3SG.POS-ACC  
 rikaa-na-n-paq. (ibidem:4)  
 go-NOM-3SG-BEN.  
 'I sent Juan to Waraz to see his mother.'

In example (73) and (74) from Ancash Quechua, there does not exist an integrated suffix *-napaq* as should be expected when the dialectal changes are traced back from the Imbabura suffix *-ngapaj*. The suffix is split up in a nominalizing suffix *-na* and a benefactive suffix *-paq*. The suffix *-na* is sometimes called the infinitive form and is a noun that refers to a future action. Because this nominalizing suffix is used, nominal suffixes can be applied on the newly created noun. Therefore, the nominal suffix *-paq* can be used on the verbs with the nominalizing suffix *-na* and it has a benefactive interpretation. For instance, in sentence (73), this means that the speaker is going to Waraz for the benefit of the future action of seeing his mother. In between the two suffixes *-na* and *-paq*, we find in both examples (73) and (74) a pronominal suffix that expresses the subject of the verb.

Another observation that can be made is that this combination of suffixes, *-na* and *-paq*, is also used when the subject of the subclause differs from the one in the main clause as can be seen in example (74). Since the pronominal suffix *-n-* is used to express that the subordinate verb has a third person subject, it is clear that the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the first person subject of the main clause. That is, the person marking on the subordinate verb form indicates the subject; a different subject converb is not necessary in these varieties.

The suffix *-chun* that is used in Imbabura Quichua to express different-subject subclauses is found in other varieties of Quechua. However the function of the suffix is very different. In other varieties of Quechua, *-chun* expresses a third person imperative:

- (75) Hawa-pi ka-chun chay allqo. (Hartmann 1994:48)  
 Outside-in be-3SG.IMP that dog.  
 'Let the dog be outside!'

In example (75) from Ayacucho Quechua, the speaker expresses with the verb that carries the suffix *-chun* an action that she/he wants the dog to do: go outside. This suffix is only used for a third person and is often referred to as the third person imperative.

In the case of the desired action subclauses, that is the subclauses governed by the verb *munana* 'want', there is not an equivalent form to *-ngapaj* or *-chun* used in other varieties of Quechua. In other varieties of Quechua, the verb *munana* 'want' governs a direct object. When this direct object is an action, a nominalized verb is used. This can be observed in the following examples from Ayacucho Quechua:

- (76) Puklla-y-ta muna-nki-chu? (ibidem:137)  
 play-NOM-ACC want-2SG-INT  
 'Do you want to play?'
- (77) Hatari-na-n-ta-m muna-ni. (ibidem:165)  
 get.up-NOM-3SG-ACC-EV want-1SGG  
 'I want him to get up.'

In example (76), the verb *puklla-* 'play' is nominalized with the suffix *-y*, which can be interpreted as 'the action of'. In example (77), the verb *hatari-* 'get up' is nominalized with the suffix *-na*, which can be interpreted as 'the future action of'. Both *pukllay* and *hatarina* carry the accusative case marker *-ta* to mark that the nominalized actions are the direct object of the inflected form of *munana*.

In summary, only the of *-ngapaj* in purpose clauses resembles the use in other varieties. The use of *-chun* in subjunctive subclauses does not exist in other varieties of Quechua. Both the converbs ending *-ngapaj* and *-chun* are not used in other varieties of Quechua in combination with the verb *munana* 'want'.

#### 5.4 The results of the fieldwork on *-ngapaj* and *-chun*

Since the research by Cole (1982;1983) and Jake (1985) was carried out more than two decades ago, it

is useful to have a look at how the converbs are used nowadays in Imbabura Quichua. In this section, I will present the results of the elicitation of sentences *with -ngapaj* and *-chun*. In subsection 5.4.1, I will present the results of the elicitations in which sentences with the *-ngapaj* converb were used. In subsection 5.4.2, the results of the elicited sentences with the *-chun* converb will be presented.

#### 5.4.1 Cases from the *-ngapaj* elicitations

In the elicitations, the consultants used the *-ngapaj* converb in a total of 100 times. In all these examples, the converb was used adverbially, so there were no examples of the *-ngapaj* converb complementing an adjective, as in Cole's (1983) description. The results of the different verbs that are used in combination with the *-ngapaj* converb are presented below in table 8:

Table 8: The frequencies of occurrence of the different types of finite verbs in combination with a *-ngapaj* converb in the elicitations

Type of verb	Frequency	Percentage
verbs of movement	62	62%
order	11	11%
request	1	1%
wish	2	2%
need	4	4%
leave	1	1%
other	19	19%
total	100	100.0%

In table 8, we can see that different types of verbs were used in combination with the *-ngapaj* converb. Verbs of movement, such as *rina* 'go' and *shamuna* 'go' were used most in combination with the *-ngapaj* converb. An example of these type of sentences is presented below:

- (78) ñuca randi-ngapaj ri-ju-ni.  
 1SG buy-SS.SUBJ.CONV go-PROG-1SG  
 'I am going to buy something.' (*-ngapaj* elicitations, case 22, consultant 14)

The *-ngapaj* converb in example (78) expresses the purpose of the movement *rijuni* 'I am going', the speaker goes somewhere in order to do something.

Another category are the 'order' verbs. The verbs *cachana* 'order' and *mingana* 'order' are found in this category. In the category 'request' the verb *mañana* 'ask for' is found. As in the description of Cole (1982), it is nowadays possible to use the *-ngapaj* converb as the complement of the verb *munana* 'wish' or 'want'. As Cole (*ibidem*) noted the *-ngapaj* converbs do not express the purpose of the action, but they express the desired action. I will come back to this later. The verbs *ministina* 'need', *saquina* 'leave' were used in combination with the *-ngapaj* converb as well. In combination with these verbs, the *-ngapaj* converb expresses the purpose of the main clause. The last category of 'other' verbs were action verbs such as *rurana* 'make', *yanuna* 'cook' and *ahuana* 'weave'. An example of these sentences is:

(79) ñuca sacu-ta ahua-ni ñuka churaju-ngapaj.  
 1SG sweater-ACC weave-1SG 1SG wear-SS.SUBJ.CONV

'I weave a sweater in order to wear it.'(-*ngapaj* elicitation, case 47, consultant 32)

The other cases in this category are variants of example (79), they all express an action that is executed so that another action happens. Therefore, also in the case of combinations with this category of verbs, the *-ngapaj* converb expresses a purpose.

Another observation that can be made when one looks at the cases from the elicitation in which the *-ngapaj* converb was used. That is, the *-ngapaj* converb does not always have the same subject as the main verb. In 16 of the 100 cases the *-ngapaj* converb has a different subject than the main verb. There seems to be a correlation between the type of main verb and the fact that the subjects of the two clauses differ. This is shown in table 9:

Table 9: The occurrence of SS and DS per type of verb.

		Reference		Total	
		SS	DS		
Type of verb	verbs of movement	62	0	62	
		100%	0%	100%	
	order	0	11	12	
		0%	100%	100%	
	request	1	0	1	
		100%	0%	100%	
	wish	1	1	2	
		50%	50%	100%	
	need	4	0	4	
		100%	0%	100%	
	leave	1	0	1	
		100%	0%	100%	
	other	15	4	19	
		78.9%	21.1%	100%	
	Total		84	16	100
			84%	16%	100%

In table 9, big differences can be observed between the different types of verbs in relation to the occurrence of the *-ngapaj* converb with a different subject than the main clause. These difference are statistically significant ( $\chi^2=67.579$ ;  $df=6$ ;  $p<0.001$ ). It can be seen in table 9 that most of the cases in which the *-ngapaj* converb has a different subject than the main clause are found in the category 'order' (11 of the 16 cases, 68,7%). In all cases, when the verbs *cachana* 'order' or *mingana* 'order' are used, the *-ngapaj* converb has a different subject interpretation. This is illustrated in the following example:

- (80) ñuca huahua-ta cacha-rca-ni tomati-ta  
 1SG.POS child-ACC send-PAST-1SG tomato-ACC  
 randi-ngapaj. (-ngapaj elicitations, case 82, consultant 53)  
 buy-SUBJ.CONV.  
 'I sent my child to buy tomatoes.'

In example (80), the subject of the main clause is the speaker and the subject of the subordinated clause is the child of the speaker *ñuca huahuata*. Although the two subjects are not the same, the converb ending in *-ngapaj* is used. When *-ngapaj* is used with *cachana* 'order' or *mingana* 'order' the subject of the *-ngapaj* converb is the direct object of *cachana* or *mingana*, *ñuca huahua-ta* in example (80).

Nevertheless, the subject of the main clause and the *ngapaj* converb do not only differ in sentences with *mingana* and *cachana* as a main verb. In some cases, the subject also differs with other verbs in the main clause. This is illustrated in the following example:

- (81) pay ñuka yapu-ngapaj muna-n.  
 3SG 1SG plough-SUBJ.CONV want-3SG  
 'He wants me to plough.' (-ngapaj elicitations, case 35, consultant 18).

In example (81), the subject of *munan* '(s)he wants' is *pay* '(s)he' and the subject of *yapungapaj* 'plough' is *ñuka* 'I'. Both subjects are explicitly represented in the sentence to show which are the subjects of the two clauses. This is also the case in the other sentences in which the *-ngapaj* converb has a different subject than the main clause; its subject is explicit. In conclusion, the fact that the *-ngapaj* converb is used, when the subclause has a different subject than the main clause means that the *-ngapaj* converb is not exclusively a same subject converb. Therefore the system is strictly speaking not a switch reference system.

#### 5.4.2 Cases from the *-chun* elicitations

Nevertheless, the converb ending in *-chun* was used in the majority of the cases when the main clause and the subordinate clause differed in subject. In the elicitations, the suffix *-chun* was used 90 times. In three of these cases the verb ending in *-chun* was a third person imperative, as is illustrated in example (82):

- (82) Yapu-chun                      ñuca                      cusa.  
 plough-3SG.IMP                  1SG.POS                  husband  
 'Let my husband plough!' (-*chun* elicitations, case 57, consultant 41).

In example (82) can be observed that the suffix *-chun* still has the function of third person imperative in Imbabura Quichua, as it has in other varieties of Quichua.

Nevertheless, it is also often used as a subjunctive different subject converb. The suffix *-chun* was used with that function in 87 of 90 cases that were produced in the elicitations. In these 87 cases, the *-chun* converb was used adverbially. As in the case of the *-ngapaj* converb, I did not find cases in which the *-chun* converb complements an adjective. The different verbs that are used in combination with the *-chun* converb in the elicitations are presented in table 10 below:

Table 10: The frequencies of occurrence of the different types of finite verbs in combination with a *-chun* converb in the elicitations

Type of verb	Frequency	Percentage
order	41	47.1%
request	6	6.9%
wish	15	17.2%
need	1	1.1%
leave	13	14.9%
other	11	12.6%
total	87	100%

In table 10 can be observed that the *-chun* converb can be found with more or less the same verb as the *-ngapaj* converb (cf. table 8). Nevertheless, the largest category of the *-ngapaj* converb does not occur with the *-chun* converb. Therefore, the other categories such as 'leave', 'wish' and 'order' are much larger in the case of the *-chun* converb. Especially, the category 'order' is much bigger. An example from this category is presented below:

- (83) ñuca            taita-ca            huawqui-cuna-ta            puñu-chun  
 1SG.POS        father-TOP        brother-PL-ACC        sleep-DS.SUBJ.CONV  
 cacha-n        wasi-man. (-*chun* elicitations, case 9, consultant 8).  
 send-3SG        house-DIR.  
 'My father sends my brothers home to sleep.'

In example (83), can be seen that the main verb *cachana* 'send' or 'order' is not only used in combination with the *-ngapaj* converb; it is also used often in combination with the *-chun* converb. Importantly, in all the cases, in which the suffix *-chun* is used as a converb, its subject was different than the subject of the main verb. Therefore, the *-chun* converb is exclusively a different subject converb. This means that the innovative subjunctive system has some features of a switch reference system, albeit not in a strict sense.

### 5.5 Changes in the Imbabura Quichua subjunctive clauses

If we compare the use of the subjunctive converbs ending in *-ngapaj* and *-chun* in Imbabura Quichua, with their equivalent forms in other varieties of Quechua, it is plausible to conclude that some changes have taken place. The changes are most likely to have occurred in Imbabura Quichua, since it is the only variety in which the subjunctive converbs can be found.

The first change that has occurred in Imbabura Quichua is that the person marking was lost on nominalized verbs. Therefore, the nominalizing suffix *-nga* and the beneficiary case suffix *-paj* could merge into one form: *-ngapaj*. This form was reinterpreted as a subjunctive converb. Later, the third person imperative *-chun* was reanalyzed as a different subject subjunctive converb. This converb started to gain territory from the *-ngapaj* converb; first the *-ngapaj* converb was used for different subject subjunctive clauses and then the *-chun* converb slowly started taking its place.

A last change that has occurred is the extension of the subjunctive converbs to contexts with *munana* 'want' in which they do not express purpose anymore. When the switch reference subjunctive converbs were introduced, they only expressed purpose. In the case of *munana* the action expressed by the converb is the desired action. When a Quichua speaker was teaching me some Quichua outside of the interviews, I got an idea of how this extension had taken place. The Quichua speaker taught me the sentence 'I want to eat.' This sentence is shown in example (84):

- (84) micu-ngapaj            muna-ni.<sup>38</sup>  
 eat-SUBJ.CONV        want-1SG  
 'I want to eat.'

The Quichua speaker used the *-ngapaj* converb to express the desired action. Since I had learned in Ayacucho Quechua classes that a desired action was expressed as the direct object of *munana* 'want', I asked whether the following sentence was possible:

- (85) micu-y-ta            muna-ni.<sup>39</sup>  
 eat-NOM-ACC        want-1SG  
 'I want to eat.' / \*'I want him to eat.'

According to the speaker, it was possible to express the desired action 'eating' in Imbabura Quichua as it was done in example (84). Nevertheless, the desired action was more often expressed by a subjunctive converb, as it is presented in example (84). According to the speaker, the difference between (84) and (85) is a temporal one. In example (85), the speaker wants to eat immediately and in example (84), the speaker wants to eat in the near future.

Since in more traditional varieties, the accusative marker *-ta* is used to express the desired action, this is the more traditional form. The use of the purpose converbs in combination with the verb *munana* 'want' is an innovation. It is an extension of the use of the purpose converbs. Interestingly, when the purpose clauses are used in combination with *munana* 'want', they do not express purpose anymore. The converbs express a future action when they are combined with *munana* 'want'. For instance, in example (85) the action of 'eating' is not the purpose of the speaker's 'wanting'. The action of 'eating' is an action in the near future.

This reanalysis in which the converb does not have a purpose interpretation but it obtains a future interpretation is plausible. In relation to the main verb, the purpose clause takes place in the future. That is, the action expressed by the main verb takes place in order for the action expressed by the purpose clause to take place later on. In the reanalysis of the purpose converbs in combination with *munana* 'want', the converbs lost their purpose interpretation and maintained their future interpretation.

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<sup>38</sup> The Quichua speaker that produced this sentence would later on be consultant 33. The consultant was from the Cotacachi area.

<sup>39</sup> See footnote 38.

The fact that the converbs do not have a purpose interpretation in every case is the reason why Cole (1982;1983) and Jake (1985) do not call these converbs purpose switch reference forms, but subjunctive forms. I suggest that future converbs is another alternative for this name, since the converbs seem to express future in all cases.

### 5.6 A possible scenario for the development of switch reference converbs in future clauses

Since they do not exist in any other variety of Quechua, the switch reference converbs in Imbabura Quichua are very likely to be an innovation. The form *-ngapaj* is not entirely innovative, as it has been shown in the previous chapter, since in other varieties an analytic form of this suffix is used, namely the nominalizing suffix *-na* and the beneficiary suffix *-paq*, as can be seen in the examples (73) and (74) from the previous subsection.

(73) Waraz-ta shamu-rqu-u mamaa-nii-ta  
 Waraz-ACC come-PAST-1SG mother-1SG.POS-ACC  
 rikaa-na-a-paq. (Cole 1983:4).  
 see-NOM-1SG-BEN.

'I came to Waraz to see my mother.'

(74) Fuan-ta Waraz-ta kacha-rqu-u mamaa-nin-ta  
 Juan-ACC Waraz-ACC send-PAST-1SG mother-3SG.POS-ACC  
 rikaa-na-n-paq. (ibidem:4).  
 go-NOM-3SG-BEN.

'I sent Juan to Waraz to see his mother.'

As it was observed before, the forms *rikaanaapaq* 'to see' and *rikaananpaq* are respectively marked for a first and third person subject in examples (73) and (74) from Ancash Quechua. In many varieties of Quechua, the subject marking on the subordinated purpose clauses with *-na* and *-paq* is not obligatory when the subject of the purpose clause is the same as the subject of the main clause.

In Imbabura Quichua, however, the subject marking is completely lost. It is possible that this loss of subject marking in Imbabura Quichua is due to influences of the preincaic language Cara. Cara, a Barbarcao language, probably did not have any person marking on subordinate clauses. Other Barbacoa languages, such as Tsafiqui (Dickinson 2002; Moore 1979), do not mark the subject on

subordinate clauses either. Therefore, it is possible that when a large group of people was shifting from Cara to Quichua during the first years of the Spanish colony, the subject marking on subordinate clauses was lost due to negative transfer from Cara. Due to the loss of person marking on subordinate purpose clauses the suffixes *-nga* and *-paj* could merge into *-ngapaj*. The suffix as a whole came to denote a purpose converb in Imbabura Quichua.

Then the question emerged why a switch reference system was introduced into Imbabura Quichua. Or in other words, why did the language obtain this extra level of complexity? A possible explanation can be found in the contact with the language Cara again, as was suggested by Adelaar (2004:149). Barbacoa languages have a much more complicated converb system than Quechua. For instance, Tsafiqui possesses four sets of switch reference converbs, namely for simultaneous subclauses, consecutive subclauses, conditional subclauses and purpose subclauses (Moore 1966:101-103). Examples of the switch reference purpose converbs in Tsafiqui are presented below:

- (86) Fi-chun                      cáyoe. (Moore, 1979: 48)  
 eat-SS:GOAL                  I have bought.  
 'I bought it to eat.'
- (87) Sona                      mera-sa                      tayoé. (ibidem:49)  
 Woman                      listen-DS:CONV.PURP      I have.  
 'I have it so that my wife can listen to it.'

In Tsafiqui, as can be observed from examples (86) and (87), the use of switch reference converbs in purpose subclauses is very common. Since this switch reference converb system is characteristic of the Barbacoa family, it is very well possible that Cara also had this kind of switch reference converb system.

During the shift from Cara to Quichua, the Cara speakers lacked a system to express the switch reference in purpose subclauses. Due to the loss of subject marking on the converb *-ngapaj*, there was no indication at all what the subject was of the purpose subclause. To be able to give a better indication of what the subjects of the purpose subclauses were, the Cara speakers may have looked for an equivalent construction in Quichua. That is, possibly under the influence of the Cara switch reference system, a switch reference system for purpose subclauses has been created in Quichua.

Still, this is not an explanation for the fact that a form with a very different function was taken.

The suffix *-chun* is not a subordinate adverbial form; it expresses the third person imperative in other varieties of Quechua. One possibility would be that this suffix would originally occur with the converb *nishpa* 'saying' or 'having said'. To illustrate this example (83) is repeated below:

(83) ñuca            taita-ca            huawqui-cuna-ta            puñu-chun  
 1SG.POS        father-TOP        brother-PL-ACC        sleep-DS.SUBJ.CONV  
 cacha-n        wasi-man. (*-chun* elicitations, case 9, consultant 8).  
 send-3SG        house-DIR.

'My father sends my brothers home to sleep.'

(83a) ñuca            taita-ca            huawqui-cuna-ta            puñu-chun  
 1SG.POS        father-TOP        brother-PL-ACC        sleep-3SG.IMP  
 ni-shpa                    cacha-n            wasi-man  
 say-SS.CONV            send-3SG        house-DIR

'My father sent my brothers home while saying: "they should sleep".'

In example (83), the innovative use of the suffix *-chun* is illustrated. The verb *puñuchun* 'to sleep' represents the predicate of a subordinate purpose clause. In (83a), when the verb *nishpa* 'saying' is added the verb *puñuchun* is used in its traditional function, namely as a third person singular suffix. That is, when *nishpa* is used, *puñuchun* becomes a report of what the father said. The subject of *nishpa* 'saying' is necessarily the same as the subject of the main clause, because of the use of the same subject *-shpa* converb. The subject of *puñuchun* is necessarily different to the subject of *nishpa* and the subject of the main clause, because it is a third person imperative suffix.

When speakers started to omit *nishpa*, the suffix *-chun* could have been reinterpreted as a different subject purpose clause. Since in the original version with *nishpa* the subject of the verb ending in *-chun* was already different than the subject of the main clause, it is understandable that this suffix lost its third person subject interpretation and obtained a different subject interpretation. The change from imperative to purpose converb is a larger step. Therefore, this reinterpretation was probably gradual.

With the introduction of a different subject purpose converb, Quichua developed a switch reference system for subordinated purpose clauses. This development has not been completed, because the *-ngapaj* converb is sometimes also used to express a purpose subclause with a different subject than

the main clause. Nevertheless, the *-chun* converb is the most used form in this kind of subordinate clauses. This emergence of a converb system for purpose subclauses that can express switch reference causes the Quichua system to be more complex.

Not only the introduction of this system is an innovation in Imbabura Quichua. That is, within the innovative purpose converbs another innovation has occurred, namely, the use of the purpose converbs ending in *-ngapaj* and *-chun* was extended to contexts with *munana* 'want'. Originally, the wanted object was expressed as the direct object of *munana*. The action was nominalized by the suffixes *-y* or *-na* and then the accusative marker *-ta* was applied to the wanted action. This is still possible in Imbabura Quichua. Nevertheless, the use of *-ngapaj* and *-chun* is preferred. In contexts with *munana*, the subclauses with *-ngapaj* and *-chun* do not express purpose anymore. The new interpretation of these converbs in contexts with *munana* is that of future action. Since the purpose clauses also express future actions, the converbs ending in *-ngapaj* and *-chun* have obtained a more general interpretation, namely, a future interpretation.

This more general interpretation of the the purpose converbs may very well be an internal change. Another possibility is that the extension is due to contact with Spanish. In Spanish, subordinate purpose clauses with different subjects than the main clause are expressed with the subjunctive mood. In contexts with *querer* 'want', when the subject of the main clause differs from the subject of the subordinate clause, the subjunctive mood is also used. This can be observed in the following examples:

- (88) lo            dejó                    para que        arre  
       3SG.OBJ    leave.3SG.PERF    so that        plough.3SG.SUBJ  
       'He left him so that he would plough.'
- (89) quiero        que    coma  
       want.1SG    that    eat.3SG.SUBJ  
       'I want him to eat.'

The fact that contexts purpose clauses and contexts with 'want' share the same verb form in Spanish, namely the subjunctive, as was shown in examples (88) and (89), may have triggered the extension of purpose converbs to contexts with *munana* 'want' in Imbabura Quichua. Therefore, this extension may be an influence from Spanish. Since the majority of Quichua speakers is bilingual in Spanish and Quichua nowadays, it would not be unthinkable that the Spanish system has had this influence

Quichua. Still, to be able to claim this Spanish influence with more certainty, the future converbs should be compared with sentences in the subjunctive mood in Spanish.

In summary, first Imbabura Quichua has lost some complexities in purpose subclauses, due to the lost subject marking on the subordinate verb and the merging of the nominalizing suffix *-nga* and the beneficiary suffix *-paj*. Nevertheless, Imbabura Quichua also has gained some complexities on the purpose subclauses. It obtained the possibility to express switch reference purpose subclauses and the switch reference converbs have extended to a more general use. The converbs now appear to express a future action.

All these changes are probably due to internal and external processes. Internal processes were necessary to create this new system, since only Quichua material is used to form the innovative future converbs. It is possible that in the time when a large group of Cara speakers learned Quichua, they did not use subject marking on subordinate clauses, since in their native subject marking on subordinate clauses did probably not exist. Another Cara influence may be the introduction of switch reference converbs in Imbabura Quichua. Later on, Spanish may have also had some influence in the extension of the purpose converbs to other future contexts, since in Spanish the subjunctive is used in future subordinate clauses. If Spanish has had this influence on Quichua, it is possible that the systems are converging. This, however, should remain for future study.

## Chapter 6: Conclusions

In this study, different developments within the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish have been discussed. These changes in the converb systems of the two languages appear to have been caused both by internal motivations and by language contact<sup>40</sup>. The development of the innovative verbal periphrases and the lexical specialized combinations of an inflected verb and a converb in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish seems to be due to bidirectional influence between the two languages. First, Quichua seems to have influenced Spanish. This influence consisted of two factors, a) the transfer of the meaning of the *-shpa* converb to the gerund and b) the negative transfer due to which Spanish obtained the possibility to omit objects. Interestingly, in the case of the converbs, no Quichua forms were introduced into Spanish: only the meaning was transferred. When the meaning of the *-shpa* converb was transferred to the gerund in Spanish, the congruence between the two forms was an important factor for the meaning transfer to occur. Since the two forms both were non-finite used in temporal adverbial subclauses, the gerund was the most suitable candidate to be reinterpreted the same way as the *-shpa* converb.

After these features were transferred from Quichua to Spanish, internal changes started to take place in Spanish. The internal processes that took place in Spanish were lexical specification, and in two cases even lexicalization, and grammaticalization. These processes were, therefore, triggered by language contact. Nevertheless, this type of grammaticalization was not described by either Heine and Kuteva (2005) or Aikhenvald (2006). In their books, they describe *replica grammaticalization* and *contact induced grammaticalization*. I believe that another type of grammaticalization in language contact situations needs to be added to these two: *grammaticalization triggered through transfer*. In this case, a functional meaning is transferred from the contact language to a native form and due to this shift of meaning, a process of grammaticalization is triggered. Importantly, in this type of grammaticalization, the influence of the contact language is not found on the result of the process, but on the impulse that triggered the process. The grammaticalization itself is an internal process. This type of contact induced change is clearly due to multiple causation.

After these internal processes took place in Imbabura Spanish, Quichua started to copy some of these internal processes. Imbabura Quichua started to copy from Spanish the grammaticalization

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<sup>40</sup> These changes appear to be ongoing. Therefore, internal motivations and language contact seem to be an ongoing cause for language change in Imbabura Quichua and Spanish.

process of the combination of 'give' and a converb, which can be classified as *replica grammaticalization* in Heine and Kuteva's terminology (2005). Moreover, the younger Quichua speakers have also started to copy the lexicalization process of 'send/order' in combination with the converb 'speaking'. In analogy to the term *replica grammaticalization*, I call this *replica lexicalization*. That is, Quichua introduced a calque from Imbabura Spanish. The result of all these processes is convergence between Imbabura Spanish and Quichua.

As it has been discussed above, this convergence is due to bidirectional influence between Quichua and Spanish. This is a counterexample to the claims of Aikhenvald (2006), Myers-Scotton (2002) and Van Coetsem (2000) that convergence is mostly due to unilateral influence when there is an unequal social situation in an area. Quichua and Spanish do not have the same social status in Imbabura. Nevertheless, both languages seem to have had influence on each other. And interestingly, Spanish has been the first one to be influenced by the language contact situation.

Aikhenvald's hypothesis (2006) that in unequal social situations the languages mostly suffer simplification does not hold either. Both Imbabura Spanish and Quichua seemed to have gained extra dimensions. Imbabura Spanish has gained a new group of verbal periphrases and Imbabura Quichua even obtained a new structure: the verbal periphrasis.

Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) theory seems to give a better insight on the directions of transfer between Imbabura Quichua and Spanish. Their predictions for structural transfer do seem to hold. The structural transfer from Quichua to Spanish was introduced by native speakers of Quichua. Due to their interlanguage 'errors', Spanish obtained new features. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), this type of structural transfer is already found at the earliest stages of the contact between two languages. This can be observed in the case of Quichua transfer into the Spanish converb system: the transfers that were found in Spanish need to have taken place in a rather early stage, because they have triggered other changes.

The transfer from Spanish to Quichua is much more recent, since other changes needed to have preceded this transfer. This is also explainable in Thomason and Kaufman's theory (1988). In order for Quichua speakers to transfer structural features from Spanish to their native language, they need to have a rather high level of competence in Spanish. The indigenous community has only reached this high level of competence in Spanish the last century. Therefore, the chronology of the directions of transfer between Quichua and Spanish are understandable within the theory of Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

In the case of the appearance of the future converbs ending in *-ngapaj* and *-chun* in Imbabura Quichua, the theory of Thomason and Kaufman (1988) also seems applicable. The first changes that led to the introduction of the future converbs were probably due to the shift from Cara to Quichua. Quichua was in that era still the dominant language. There recent extension of the converbs from only purpose contexts to contexts with 'want', may be explained through influences of Spanish. It is understandable that Quichua speakers are influenced nowadays by Spanish, since they have reached a high level of bilingualism of Spanish and Quichua.

Again, the claim of Aikhenvald (2006), Myers-Scotton (2002) and Van Coetsem (2000) that in unequal social situations transfer takes place mostly from the dominant language to the non-dominant language can not be maintained. When Quichua was the socially dominant language in Imbabura, it was probably influenced by Cara, the non-dominant language. That is, negative transfer (the loss of subject marking on subclauses) and transfer of a functional meaning (the introduction of a switch reference system for subordinate future clauses) from Cara can be found until today in Imbabura Quichua. Aikhenvald's hypothesis (2006) that languages simplify in unequal social situations also does not seem to be maintainable in this case. Through the introduction of the future converb system in Imbabura Quichua the language has obtained new complexities: it has obtained the possibility to express switch reference in future clauses.

In the two developments within the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, only meanings have been transferred, as it was mentioned above. In both the future converbs in Quichua and the innovative verbal periphrases and lexical specialized combinations of an inflected verb and a converb in Imbabura Spanish and Quichua, there is not a foreign form to be found. This may be the reason why the negative attitudes towards Spanish and Quichua of the non-native speakers of the languages did not prevent the transfer between the two languages. The newly obtained features are mostly not associated to the other language. This is probably why these innovative features in the converb systems of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish could develop freely without the interference of negative linguistic attitudes.

## Chapter 7: Suggestions for future research

In this study, the goal was to provide empirically based arguments on how languages change in contact situations. The idea was to describe how it was possible that languages that differ greatly in structure still present cases of structural transfer. However, while describing the different cases of transfer in the converb system of Imbabura Quichua and Spanish, I also came across some interesting features that could not be addressed in this study. The purpose of this chapter is to point those interesting features out and give some suggestions for future research.

For instance, the converb *nishpa* 'saying' in Imbabura Spanish seems to have obtained a special function in speech report. The form *nishpa* does not always seem to function as a converb, since there is not always a main verb that it complements. It would be interesting to study this new function and to compare this with the way speech is reported in other varieties of Quechua.

Another interesting feature that I came across in this study is the possible fixed word order in verbal periphrases in Quichua. Especially, in the case of the *-shpa* converb in combination with *cuna/carana* 'give' the word order appears to be fixed so as to obtain the beneficiary interpretation. For instance, the converb and the inflected form of *cuna* or *carana* can not be separated by another constituent. It would be interesting to study whether the word order in this innovative verbal periphrasis is becoming fixed, that is whether no other word orders are possible. Moreover, it would be interesting to see whether this possible word order fixation can be a prediction for the grammaticalization and lexical specialization of other combinations of the *-shpa* converbs and an inflected verb, such the *-shpa* converb in combination with *shamuna* 'come' or *cachana* 'send'/'order'.

Another interesting topic for future research would be the study of the emergence of innovative verbal periphrases in other varieties of Andean Spanish. In Peru, the combination of *parar* + gerund is used to express repetition (Adelaar, personal communication). It would be interesting to see what other verbal periphrases have emerged in Spanish due to contact with Quechua. It would also be an informative study on whether in other varieties of Quechua, verbal periphrases were introduced due to Spanish influence. Since the Quechua-Spanish bilinguals interpret the gerund as the *-shpa* converb, it is quite possible that verbal periphrases with the gerund have been copied into Quichua. Not only innovative Spanish verbal periphrases may be copied into Quechua, but also frequently used standard Spanish verbal periphrases such as *estar* 'be' + gerund to express the progressive or *seguir* + gerund to express the continuation of an action.

Another topic that was suggested for future research in this study is the alleged influence of the Spanish subjunctive on the extension of the use of the purpose converbs to future contexts. In order to obtain an idea whether Spanish has had this influence, the use of the Spanish subjunctive and the use of the future converbs should be compared. Another way to find out whether there is a link between the Spanish subjunctive and the future converbs is to find out whether bilinguals lay the same connection, that is, whether bilinguals translate the Spanish gerund with the *-shpa* converb, because the two forms are more or less equivalent to the bilinguals. It is possible that the Quichua speakers translate the Spanish subjunctive with the Imbabura Quichua future converbs, because according to them the forms in Spanish and in Quichua are similar.

Finally, another topic for future research would be the influence of pre-Quechua languages on Quechua. As in the case of the innovative set of converbs ending *-ngapaj* and *-chun*, it is possible that in other varieties of Quechua features can be found from the substratum languages that are now long extinct. The study of these features would give an idea of what features are adopted from a substratum language. In general, the study of pre-Quechua features would also contribute to the research on how languages change when they are in contact with other languages.

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