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¿Qué diciendo nomás?

Tracing the sources of the Andean Spanish gerund

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In Quechua-dominant Spanish interlanguage in the Andean region the gerund is frequently found instead of finite verb forms typical of monolingual Spanish. Using data collected among Quichua-Spanish bilinguals in northern Ecuador, this study challenges claims that direct transfer of the Quichua subordinator *-s(h)pa* — often called a “gerund” — is the immediate source of the Andean Spanish gerund. Quichua-dominant bilinguals produce Spanish gerunds mostly in subordinate clauses, reflecting the general pattern of Quechua. However, in a Quichua-to-Spanish translation task, *-shpa* was most frequently translated as a gerund by school children who had received Quichua language classes, and least frequently by traditional Quichua-dominant speakers. An examination of historical documents suggests that the gerund was used in Spanish foreigner talk directed at indigenous speakers. The ultimate source of the *-s(h)pa* = *Spanish gerund* equation is traced to 16th and 17th century Quechua grammars written in the Latinate tradition, and to Spanish priests’ and missionaries’ (mis)appropriation of this grammatical interpretation in their interaction with indigenous speakers in the Andean zone.

Keywords: gerund, Quechua, Andean Spanish

1. Introduction: Gerunds in Andean Spanish

One of the most frequent traits of Andean Quechua-Spanish interlanguage is the use of the Spanish gerund in contexts where the gerund would be very infrequent or even ungrammatical in monolingual varieties of Spanish. In 1615 the bilingual Peruvian writer Guamán Poma de Ayala had already noted the non-canonical use of the gerund in Andean Spanish, instead of the finite verbs found in monolingual Spanish dialects:¹

- (1) “[...] algunos yndios se hacían ladinos, los *yanaconas* dezían
obeja chincando, pacat tuta buscando, mana tarinchos, uira cocha
 [Some Indians become Europeanized; the *yanaconas* {blacks} would say
 “sheep losing, until dawn searching, we did not find, noble sir]

*ya señor, sara paraguayando, capón asando, todo comiendo [...] yo agora
 mirando chapín de la mula”*

[yes sir, corn shucking, capon roasting, all eating ... now I looking at mule’s
 hoof]

The replacement of finite verbs by gerunds in Quechua-Spanish interlanguage was still in effect more than three centuries later, as described in a travel narrative relating a visit to the Andean region. Gill (1940: 135) says of an indigenous interlocutor that “like most Indians who can use that language, he speaks entirely in the present participle, every verb ending in ‘ing’ without reference to time, person, or number.” Today, nearly four hundred years after Guamán Poma’s comments, and despite considerable inroads made by formal education and mass media communication, gerunds continue to appear in place of finite verbs in Quechua-dominant Spanish interlanguage throughout the Andean region.

Outside of the Andean region (and the Amazon Basin of Ecuador), the use of the Spanish gerund as invariant exponent of finite verbal paradigms is almost never found; given the prominence of the gerund in Andean Spanish interlanguage, two avenues of approach to an eventual explanation suggest themselves immediately. First, the use of the gerund may be the direct result of Quechua grammatical transfer. It is not uncommon for informal second-language learners of Spanish to commit errors of verb conjugation, and to overuse a particular verb form as invariant exponent of the entire verbal paradigm, although the relatively infrequent gerund is not the usual choice (the effectively “unmarked” form is the third person singular; e.g., Bybee 1985: 50–51). Alternatively, or perhaps in tandem with morphosyntactic transfer, the socio-historical circumstances surrounding the introduction of the Spanish language into the Andean region may hold the key to the unexpectedly broad use of the gerund.

The following sections will explore the use of the gerund in Quechua-Spanish interlanguage, particularly in replacement of finite verbs. Given that the gerund is not the most commonly expected alternative to finite verbs in Spanish, attention will be directed not only to the specifics of Quechua grammar and its possible impact on learners’ Spanish, but also on the sociolinguistic profile of the learning environment itself, from the earliest colonial period to the present. Attention will be focused on the Andean Spanish dialects of highland Ecuador, especially in Imbabura province where Quechua-Spanish interlanguage is still used widely. In the following sections the pan-Andean language family will be referred to as

Quechua and the dialects spoken in Ecuador will be called Quichua, following Ecuadoran usage.²

The remainder of the article is structured as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of the Quechua morpheme most frequently implicated in the non-canonical use of the Andean Spanish gerund; previous observations of Andean Spanish are summarized in Section 3, while a recently collected corpus of Quichua-dominant Spanish from Ecuador is described and analyzed in Section 4. Section 5 recounts a pilot study based on spontaneous translations from Quichua to Spanish. An examination of additional possibilities is previewed in Section 6, while Section 7 explores the potential contribution of foreigner talk and imperious colonial speech to the enhanced use of the gerund. The role of colonial missionary grammars of Quechua and the priests who used them is considered as an additional contributing factor in Section 8, and Section 9 offers final conclusions.

2. The Quechua “gerund” *-s(h)pa* as implicated in the choice of the Spanish gerund

In setting the stage for the examination of gerund usage in Andean Spanish, it is useful to begin with an overview of the “usual suspect”: the Quechua verbal suffix *-shpa/-spa*. Traditional grammars of Quechua, from the 16th century to the present time, refer to this suffix as a gerund, perhaps due to its frequent use in adverbial constructions with nothing resembling a subordinating conjunction that would suggest the upcoming presence of a finite verb. In Ecuadoran Quichua (in this case the Imbabura variety), all verbs in subordinate clauses are non-finite, so the suffix *-shpa* is in reality a subordinating complementizer or suffix (Muysken 1997: 385; Cole 1982: 61–62).

Despite the fact that contemporary syntacticians regard *-s(h)pa* as some type of complementizer, most descriptive grammars and pedagogical materials (for Quichua speakers and for beginning students) continue to treat this element as a gerund, equivalent to Spanish forms in *-ando* and *-iendo*. In view of the widespread acceptance of the equation *-s(h)pa* = GERUND, several researchers have directly implicated this Quechua subordinating element in the expanded set of uses of the Spanish gerund in Andean Spanish: Toscano Mateus (1953: 121, 273), Gifford (1969: 171–172), Muysken (1985: 389–391; 2005), Granda (1995), Calvo Pérez (2001: 119–121), and Niño-Murcia (1995: 94–96).

The morpheme *-s(h)pa* is used when the subject of the subordinate clause is identical to the subject of the main clause; with non-coreferential subjects *-kpi* is used (*-jpi* in Ecuadoran Quichua). Although the latter morpheme is not unusual in Quechua, corresponding switch-reference gerund-based constructions are very

rare in the Andean Spanish data examined in the present study. Moreover, in traditional Quechua grammars, *-kpi/-jpi* is not included in the discussion of “gerunds.” As a consequence, the remainder of this essay will concentrate on *-s(h)pa* and its possible homologues in Andean Spanish.

Despite frequent attributions in the aforementioned studies, Ecuadoran Quichua *-shpa* and its congeners in other Quechua varieties correspond to only a subset of the manifestations of the Spanish gerund. In particular *-shpa* is never used in progressive constructions, which account for the most frequent appearance of the gerund in contemporary (non-Andean) Spanish.³ The Quichua affix *-shpa* is typically used in temporal adverbial clauses, corresponding most frequently to Spanish subordinate clauses with a conjugated verb, although adverbial gerunds are a less frequent alternative in Spanish:

- (2) Quito-man chaya-*shpa*-mi rijsi-ta riku-rka-ni
 Quito-to arrive-GER-AFFIRM friend-ACC see-PERF-1s
 ‘When I arrived in Quito I saw a friend’ (Cole 1982: 61)
 Sp. ‘Cuando llegué a Quito vi a un amigo.’

Manner adverbial clauses can also take *-shpa* when closely related or successive actions are involved, in this case corresponding to a gerund in Spanish:

- (3) Kanda-*shpa*-mi shamu-rka-ni
 sing-GER-AFFIRM come-PERF-1s
 ‘I came singing’ (Cole 1982: 62)
 Sp. ‘Vine cantando.’

Conditional clauses can also take *-shpa*, whereas in Spanish a finite verb would almost always be used, together with a conjunction such as *si* ‘if’:

- (4) Utavalo-man ri-*shpa*-ca ruwana-ta randi-sha
 Otavalo-to go-GER-FOC poncho-ACC buy-FUT (1s)
 ‘If I go to Otavalo I will buy a poncho’ (Cole 1982: 64)
 Sp. ‘Si voy a Otavalo compraré un poncho.’

The suffix *-shpa* can be used in a perfective sense, requiring that the first action be completed before the initiation of the second:

- (5) Micu-*shpa* shamu-ngui
 eat-GER come-2s
 ‘After you eat you will come’ (Catta 1994: 179)
 Sp. ‘Después de comer vendrás.’

Concessive clauses also take *-shpa* (plus *-pash* ‘also,’ ‘even’):

- (6) Mana Utavalu-man ri-*shpa*-pash ruwana-ta randi-sha
 NEG Otavalo-to go-GER-even poncho-ACC buy-FUT (1s)
 ‘Even if I don’t go to Otavalo I will buy a poncho’ (Cole 1982:66)
 Sp. ‘Aunque [yo] no vaya a Otavalo compraré un poncho.’

In negative clauses expressing the absence of an action, corresponding to the notion of “without doing,” *-shpa* is used:

- (7) Mana jatu-*shpa* shamu-rka-nchij
 NEG sell-GER come-PERF-1pl.
 ‘We came [back] without selling [anything]’
 Sp. ‘Vinimos sin vender.’

Table 1 compares the principal uses of Quichua *-shpa* and contemporary uses of the Spanish gerund.

Table 1. Comparison of Quichua *-shpa* and the Spanish gerund

Use of <i>-shpa</i> in Quichua	Example	Gerund in Spanish?
Time clauses	Quito-man chaya- <i>shpa</i> mi rijsi-ta riku-rka-ni ‘Arriving in Quito I saw my friend’ Sp. ‘Llegando en Quito vi a mi amigo.’	Possible; less common ⁴
Closely related (simultaneous) actions	Kanda- <i>shpa</i> mi shamu-rka-ni ‘I came singing’ Sp. ‘Vine cantando’	Yes
Conditional clauses	Utavalo-man ri- <i>shpa</i> -ca ruwana-ta randi-sha ‘Upon going to Otavalo I will buy a poncho’ Sp. ‘Cuando [yo] vaya a Otavalo compraré un poncho’	No
Successive actions	Machiti-ta aisa- <i>shpa</i> ri-rka ‘Grabbing a machete he/she went’ Sp. ‘Agarrando un machete se fue’	Yes
Perfective	Micu- <i>shpa</i> shamu-ngui ‘[after] eating you will come’ Sp. ‘Después de comer vendrás’	No
Concessive clauses	Mana Utavalu-man ri- <i>shpa</i> -pash ruwana-ta randi-sha ‘Even not going to Otavalo [even if I don’t go] I will buy a poncho’ Sp. ‘Aunque [yo] no vaya a Otavalo compraré un poncho.’	No

Table 1. (continued)

Use of <i>-shpa</i> in Quichua	Example	Gerund in Spanish?
“without doing”	Mana jatu- <i>shpa</i> shamu-rka-nchij ‘Not selling [without selling anything] we came’ Sp. ‘Vinimos sin vender.’	No
Use of gerund in Spanish	Example	<i>-shpa</i> in Quichua?
Progressive phrases	Está <i>lloviendo</i> ‘It is raining’	No
Manner clauses	<i>Manejando</i> lentamente llegarás en dos horas ‘[By] driving slowly you will arrive in two hours’	Yes
Closely related simultaneous actions	El hombre salió <i>corriendo</i> ‘The man left running’	Yes

3. Gerunds in Andean Spanish: Previous observations

The use of the Spanish gerund in the Spanish of the Andean region covers a wide range of manifestations, ranging from combinations found in other Spanish dialect zones to interlanguage configurations that are strikingly at odds with canonical Spanish grammar. Peculiar to Andean Spanish — and usually confined to Quechua-dominant speakers who are not fully proficient in Spanish — are gerunds used to express anteriority or sequentiality, in contexts in which a finite verb in a subordinate clause would be used in other Spanish varieties. There are also several gerund-based fixed expressions involving evidentiality or benefactive meaning. The most extreme cases of Andean Spanish gerund usage involve gerunds used instead of finite verbs in main clauses.

3.1 The gerund in fixed expressions

Several gerund-based fixed expressions in Andean Spanish have no direct counterpart in other Spanish dialects. All are homologous to Quechua elements ending in the complementizer suffix *-s(h)pa*, which has traditionally been translated as a gerund.⁵ The most commonly occurring combinations are as follows.

The Spanish gerund *diciendo* ‘saying’ is frequently placed phrase-finally in Quechua-dominant Andean Spanish, translating Quechua *ni-s(h)pa* ‘saying,’ and used instead of a conjugated verb to report indirect speech or evidentiality:

- (8) a. Así había dicho, *diciendo* (Calvo Pérez 2001: 108)
‘That’s what he said [I’ve heard]’
b. Dice que va a venir, *diciendo* (Gifford 1969: 171)
‘He’s coming, so he says’
c. Mucha plata ha de tener *diciendo*
‘[He] must have a lot of money, it seems’ [recorded in Imbabura province, Ecuador, 2010]

Other Quechua-inspired calques are the interrogative or exclamatory combinations *qué diciendo* ‘why’ (Quechua *ima ni-s(h)pa*) and *qué haciendo* ‘how, in what manner’ (Quechua *ima rura-s(h)pa*):

- (9) a. ¿*Qué diciendo* venís tan tarde? (Granda 2001: 115)
‘Why have you come so late?’
b. ¿*Qué haciendo* te caiste? (Calvo Pérez 2008: 200)
‘How did you happen to fall?’
c. ¿*Qué haciendo* te has hecho jalar de año? (Merma Molina 2004: 202)
‘How did you come to fail this school year?’
d. ¿*Qué haciendo* pegaste a la mujer?
‘Why did you hit the woman?’ [recorded in Imbabura province, Ecuador, 2010]
e. ¿*Qué diciendo* faltaste la clase?
‘Why did you miss class?’ [recorded in Imbabura province, Ecuador, 2010]

3.2 Open-ended VERB+GERUND combinations: Anteriority and sequentiality

In addition to the aforementioned fixed combinations, Andean Spanish presents numerous other FINITE VERB + GERUND constructions that express sequential events. Haboud (1998: 204–209) analyzes these instances of the Andean Spanish gerund as perfective, as in:

- (10) Me voy *limpiando* la casa [i.e. después de haber limpiado] y ni siquiera dice gracias
‘I leave after cleaning the house, and [she] doesn’t even say thank you’

Other examples from previous research include:⁶

- (11) a. Siempre salgo *cocinando* el almuerzo (Haboud and de la Vega 2008: 176)
‘I always leave after cooking lunch’
b. *Lloviendo* voy al cine (Jorques (2008: 50)
‘After it rains I’m going to the movies’

- c. *Vete cerrando* las puertas
 ‘Leave after closing the doors’ (Bustamante López and Niño Murcia 1995: 887)

3.3 The gerund in place of finite verbs

Among the least proficient Quechua-dominant speakers of Spanish, gerunds are sometimes used instead of finite verbs, creating combinations that would be completely ungrammatical and often barely intelligible in monolingual varieties of Spanish:

- (12) a. De pueblo usted *trabajando* todo de castellano de ahora
 ‘In the towns one works now by means of only Spanish’ (Feke 2004: 183)
 b. Mis sobrino vinidu *hacindu* llurar mujir todú caminu
 ‘When my cousin came he made his wife cry the whole trip’ (Mendoza Orellana 1990: 160)

3.4 The “special” case of *dar* + GERUND constructions

Although most of the uses of the gerund in Andean Spanish occur in all Quechua-influenced Spanish interlanguage varieties, only in highland Ecuador and southwestern Colombia are gerunds used with *dar* ‘to give’ in benefactive constructions:⁷

- (13) a. *Dame haciendo* el pan mientras yo lavo (Haboud 1998: 177)
 ‘Bake the bread for me while I wash’
 b. ¿Te *doy planchando* el pantalón? (Bruil 2008a: 9)
 ‘Shall I iron your pants for you?’
 c. *Dámelo pasando* (Niño Murcia 1995: 89)
 ‘Pass it over to me’
 d. ¿Quién va *dar cocinando*?
 ‘Who will cook?’ [recorded in Imbabura province, Ecuador, 2010]

Given the strikingly non-Spanish nature of this construction, it is not surprising that many scholars have looked to Quichua as the source. In one of the earliest analyses of the Andean Spanish gerund, Vázquez (1940: 127) attributes *dar* + GERUND constructions to Quichua, with omission of the direct object, e.g.,:

- (14) Apamu-*shpa* ku-i
 bring-GER give-IMP
 ‘Bring [it]’

Found in Ecuadoran Quichua dialects, particularly in Imbabura, are combinations involving the subordinator *-shpa* and the verb *cu-na* ‘give’, as in:

- (15) Tanda-ta apamu-*shpa* cu-wa-i. (Niño-Murcia: 1995:90)
 bread-ACC get-GER give-1S-IMP
 'Get the bread for me'

Kany (1945:158), Toscano Mateus (1953:286–287), Hurley (1995), Niño-Murcia (1995), and others accept this Quichua construction as the basis for Andean Spanish *dar* + GERUND combinations. However, as noted, e.g. by Haboud (1998:219), as demonstrated via extensive questionnaires by Bruil (2008b), and as confirmed by the present writer, Quichua constructions based on *cu-na* 'to give' are proffered as equivalents to Andean Spanish *dar* + GERUND (e.g., *dame cerrando la puerta* 'close the door') primarily by balanced bilinguals with considerable proficiency in Spanish, while Quichua speakers who are less proficient in Spanish prefer simple Quichua honorific imperatives (also Haboud and de la Vega 2008:178–179). The inverse correlation between knowledge of Spanish and *dar* + GERUND constructions suggests that these constructions are not direct calques from Quichua but rather arose in some other fashion and, having stabilized in local varieties of Spanish make their way into Quichua (Albor 1973; Bruil 2008a; Cisneros Estupiñán 1999; Haboud 1998; Olbertz 2002, 2008).

4. The gerund in Andean Spanish: Some contemporary data

4.1 Data collection in Imbabura, Ecuador

In order to further study the emergence of the gerund in Andean Spanish, data were collected in communities representative of the Quichua-Spanish interface. The area in question is the province of Imbabura, in northern Ecuador (some 100 km to the north of Quito), with one of the highest proportions of Quechua speakers in the entire Andean region.⁸ In this zone, Quichua continues to resist effacement in many communities, and recent language revitalization efforts and the teaching of Quichua in some rural schools have further reinforced the linguistic presence of Quichua (e.g., Andronis 2004; Cachimuel 2001; King and Haboud 2002; Rindstedt and Aronsson 2002). It is still possible to find highly Quichua-dominant late bilinguals with limited abilities in Spanish, who use more Quichua than Spanish on a daily basis, and whose ongoing contacts with Spanish occur more frequently within their own communities than in sites where more canonical varieties are spoken.

The data for the present study were collected in nine small rural communities in San Pablo del Lago parish and two communities in the neighboring San Rafael parish, in the *cantón* of Otavalo.⁹ Some of these communities are located close to or on the Pan-American Highway, while others are further removed, although

even the most distant community is no more than a half-hour's bus ride (or a one- to two-hour walk) from a major population settlement. All but one of the communities are quite small, ranging from 50 to around 120 families (e.g., Cachimuel 2001: 52–53), consisting of clumps of dwellings interspersed with garden plots and pastures. Each community has an elected *cabildo* (town council) and most local issues and disputes are resolved within the community. Communal work projects known as *minga* are still carried out, and women dress in the traditional garb including long skirt, elaborately embroidered blouse, fedora hat, shawl or poncho, and numerous necklaces (*wallka*) and bracelets (*makiwatana*). Although a complete history of these communities has yet to be compiled, most can be linked to the former presence of large estates, which employed indigenous workers as peons and servants. Further information on this area can be found in Antamba Antamba et al. (2011), Cachimuel (2001), Cañarejo Quilumbaquí (2010), López Paredes (2002), and Quemac Benalcázar and Ipiales Rosero (2010).

All members of these communities are ethnically Native American and all but some of the youngest residents are native speakers of Imbabura Quichua (Cole 1982). Among elderly speakers, especially women, essentially monolingual speakers of Quechua can still be found, and some women as young as the early 40's still know little or no Spanish. Although at least rudimentary schools have existed in these communities for several decades, until recently many families did not send their daughters to school, under the assumption that the basic tasks performed by women are best learned at home. This practice combined with the fact that many indigenous women in these communities rarely leave the area and speak to one another only in Quichua results in near-monolingualism for some speakers.

4.2 Participants and interviews

For the present study, data were selected from eighteen individuals, sixteen women and two men, whose ages ranged from 40+ to 87, who had at least a rudimentary command of Spanish, and who were able to interact with the researcher in Spanish, albeit with some slipping into Quichua from time to time. Additional selection criteria included lifetime residence in their respective communities with no extended residence outside of the area, and little ongoing contact with canonical varieties of Spanish outside of their communities. Participants who met these demographic criteria were not further pre-selected on the basis of gerund usage, but they all exhibited the full range of Andean Spanish morphosyntactic configurations not found among monolingual Spanish speakers or fluent bilinguals:

- Object-Verb word order, rare in Spanish except for topicalized objects, but normal in Quechua: *dos hermana tenía* ‘[I] had two sisters; *maicito tengo* ‘I have corn [planted]’
- Use of the Quechua topicalizer suffix *-ca*: *nosotros-ca no podemos guardar* ‘we can’t keep [potatoes]’; *yo-ca dos hijos tengo* ‘I have two children’
- Use of the Quechua direct object suffix *-ta*: *guardando maiz-ta* ‘storing corn’
- Use of *-ta(n)* < Spanish *también* ‘also’ analyzed as a negative emphatic or indefinite marker by Muysken (1982: 110) and simply as an intensive particle by Kany (1945: 329): *mi mamita mi papá-tan no tenía* ‘I didn’t have a mother or a father’; *mi papá-tan joven murió* ‘my father died young’
- Elimination of definite articles, required in Spanish both for definite reference and (in subject position) for generic use: *lobo come borrego* [los lobos comen los borregos] ‘wolves eat sheep’; *en [el] páramo anda mi cuñada* ‘my sister-in-law is on the mountain-top’
- Frequent errors of adjective-noun gender and number concord and subject-verb agreement: *mis huahua[s] ya no borda[n]* ‘my children don’t embroider’; *ella-tan solito [solita] quedando* ‘she was left alone’

Use of any of these traits in settings where Spanish is spoken by monolingual or educated bilingual speakers would engender immediate reactions of disapproval and would be suppressed as much as possible by Quichua-dominant speakers. The fact that these configurations were freely used with the researcher as well as in intra-community interactions bespeaks of little or no linguistic insecurity and consequently little likelihood of hypercorrection or suppression of vernacular traits.

All of the chosen participants are totally illiterate and none had ever attended school, including recently established adult literacy programs. All were raised in essentially monolingual Quichua-speaking households, and first acquired Spanish sometime in mid to late adolescence, typically through agricultural work on neighboring estates. All of these individuals spend their days herding animals and tending to crops in their respective communities, and interact with one another principally in Quichua or in *media lengua* (in Quichua *chaupi shimi*) which is essentially Quichua grammar with heavy relexification of Spanish nouns, verbs, and adjectives (Gómez Rendón 2008; also Muysken 1981, 1989, 1997). These individuals do speak some Spanish with younger community members who are not fully fluent in Quichua, but have little interaction with speakers of canonical Spanish varieties outside of their communities except for occasional visits to nearby towns to purchase supplies, visit a health clinic, or attend to some bureaucratic function.

The Quichua-dominant speakers were interviewed by this researcher in their homes or fields, usually in the company of a trusted community member or with personal recommendations from a close friend or relative. The format

was free conversation, on topics dealing with rural life and agricultural practices. Approximately one hour of conversation was obtained for each speaker. All speakers produced both free-standing gerunds and conjugated verbs, with some errors of subject-verb agreement in finite verbs for all speakers.

4.3 Gerunds in Imbabura Quichua-dominant Spanish: An overview

In the aforementioned corpus, 1,130 tokens of the Spanish gerund occurred. Of these utterances, only four clearly involve non-coreference between the subject of a main clause and a subordinate clause (possibly corresponding to Quichua *-jpi*). In addition, 208 (18.4%) correspond to normal Spanish progressive constructions. Also noteworthy in the corpus of Quichua-dominant Spanish is the extreme scarcity of *dar* + GERUND combinations, often regarded as the quintessential imprint of Quichua on the Spanish gerund, and frequently used by monolingual Spanish speakers in Ecuador; only three examples occur in the corpus. A reviewer has astutely pointed out that a conversational interview format is unlikely to present opportunities for speech acts of requesting or ordering, and therefore that the aforementioned low rate of *dar* + GERUND combinations simply reflects the pragmatics of the data-collection environment. In defense of the above assertion, it should be mentioned that most of the “conversational interviews” were held in the respondents’ homes, gardens, or pastures with the respondents performing daily tasks throughout: shucking corn, hoeing furrows, feeding chickens and *cuyes* (Guinea pigs raised for food), herding sheep, etc. The author was a participant-observer in these events, and received numerous requests to ‘hand me this,’ ‘carry that,’ and so forth. In addition, *dar* + GERUND combinations in Ecuadoran Spanish occur not only in direct requests but also in indirect reporting and description of actions, e.g., *Le di preparando la comida* ‘I prepared the food for him/her.’ However in all of these recorded interactions only the three aforementioned instances occurred among the participants who provided the data for the present study (and during the hundreds of unrecorded hours the author has spent in the same communities *dar* + GERUND constructions do not seem to be proportionately any more frequent than in the recorded corpus. Therefore it is not unreasonable to conclude that the paucity of these purported front-line Quichua calques in the Spanish of highly Quichua-dominant bilinguals casts a measure of doubt on spontaneous translation of Quichua combinations as the immediate source of many gerunds in Andean Spanish.

4.4 Details of gerund usage in the Imbabura corpus

In the corpus a total of 14 tokens (1.2%) of the Spanish gerunds were used as adjectives, a relatively unusual configuration in monolingual Spanish:

- (16) a. *Enojando* no sabía comer
 ‘[When he was] angry [he] would not eat’
 b. Ona *amarrando* saben tener
 ‘They have one [sheep] tied up’

Of the free-standing gerunds that were unmistakably functioning as verbs, 34 (3%) were found in main clauses, corresponding neither to Quichua syntax nor to Spanish patterns:

- (17) a. Yo-ca, no *siguiendo* clase-ca ni firmar no *pudiendo* mismo
 ‘I didn’t take any classes, [I] can’t even sign [my name]’
 b. Sí allá en la casa chiquitica *tenendo*
 ‘There in that little house [I] have’
 c. Nosotros ambos mas *vivindo*-ca
 ‘Both of us [are] living’
 d. Yo pobre aquí *hacendo* arar; yo *hacendo* chagra
 ‘poor me plowing, I [have] a farm’
 e. El ternero-tan *hacendo* enseñar mayores *hacendo* enseñar con huagra mayor
 ‘The older ones teach the steer, teaching by older cattle’

A total of 438 (38.8%) tokens of the Spanish gerund occurred in what can be construed as subordinate clauses, in contexts where monolingual Spanish would require a finite verb:

- (18) a. *Comprando* comemos no *teniendo* papa
 ‘When we have no potatoes, we eat by buying them’
 b. Ese es que insiñen, *poniendo* escuela-ca
 ‘That is what they teach, having put a school there’
 c. Animalitos *teniendo*-ca no hay tiempo para ir a trabajar,
 ‘[Since we have] animals, there is no time to go to work’

The Quichua-dominant bilinguals also produced hybrid combinations of the Spanish gerund following the adverbial complementizer *cuando* ‘when,’ which requires a finite verb in monolingual Spanish. Utterances (19b) and (19c) exemplify the rare instances of non-coreferential subjects:

- (19) a. Una visita *cuando* mi marido *vivindo*
 ‘One visit, when my husband was alive’

- b. Ño patrón Galo, *cuando viviendo* ca, sembramos papa
'When Galo [Plaza Lasso] was alive, we planted potatoes'
- c. Ya vuelta así, *cuando* mama *muriendo*-tak, papá nomas *quedando*-tan
'So when mother died, only father was left'

The corresponding Quichua expressions typically contain *-shpa* attached to the subordinate verb, but lack any adverbial complementizer. The same holds for Quichua conditional clauses; no conditional complementizer accompanies the non-finite verb ending in *-shpa*. In Quichua-dominant Spanish interlanguage, conditional clauses sometimes lack *si* 'if' (20b–e) and often employ gerunds instead of finite verbs:

- (20) a. *Si lluvendo*, agua, *si no lluvendo*, todo seca
'If it rains [we have] water, if it doesn't rain, everything [is] dry'
- b. *Tenendo* platita-ca, tractor *ponindo*
'[If we] have money, [we] use a tractor'
- c. *Comprando* comemos no *teniendo* papa
'[If we] don't have any potatoes, we eat [after] buying [them]'
- d. No *querendo* ca no quiere mujer-tan, no quiere hablar
'[If she] doesn't want to, if the woman doesn't want to talk'
- e. *Cumidita*, arrucito, *tenindo*-ca, hace morochito
'Food, rice, [if we] have [any], [we] make dried corn'

The corpus contains a total of 50 time or conditional clauses containing the Spanish gerund instead of a finite verb; of these tokens, 12 (24%) are hybrid configurations combining Spanish *cuando* 'when' or *si* 'if' and the gerund; the remaining cases lack the Spanish subordinators. The hybrid combinations in effect represent a transition between Quichua structures in which non-finite verb forms in *-shpa* appear without any other subordinators and Spanish combinations of subordinator plus finite verb.

The remaining 436 tokens (38.6%) of the Spanish gerund represent incomplete fragments that could not be unambiguously assigned to any grammatical category. Some were produced in response to questions while others appear to be the result of momentary dysfluencies, interruptions, or hesitations. By extrapolating the presumed complete structures, most of these tokens appear to represent subordinate clauses, although it is impossible to assign precise values to the items in this category.

- (21) a. No sé cuánto año *teniría*; marido *trayendo* para acá
'I don't know how old I was ... husband bringing here'
- b. Gallina-tan *matando* para comer
'Chickens killing in order to eat'

- c. Tres mes vive; no *volviendo* después
‘Three months liv[ing], not returning afterwards’
- d. Asimismo con mayordomo *andando*
‘Like that, walking with the overseer’
- e. *Pidindu* yuntita, *dando* de comir
‘Requesting a team of oxen, giving food’
- f. No *tinindo* platita cun solo in ispalda no mas cargar, con soguita
‘Having no money, only carrying on the back with a rope’
- g. Pequeño *dejando*
‘Leaving [me] young’
- h. Ca *lavando* ropa, poco poco *cociendo*
‘Washing clothes, cooking a little’
- i. Sino nombre no mas *poniendo* ps
‘Only writing name’

4.5 Spanish gerunds corresponding to Quichua subordinate clauses

Leaving out the Spanish progressive constructions, which the Quichua-dominant speakers generally employ correctly (albeit with some agreement errors), the non-canonical uses of the Spanish gerund are quite consistent. Of the remaining tokens, 47.5% represent verbs in subordinate clauses, as opposed to only 3.7% for verbs in main clauses; assuming that the majority of the tokens classified as fragments can also be construed as belonging to subordinate clauses, the prominence of gerunds in subordinate clauses rises even higher. These figures demonstrate that Quichua-dominant speakers are not simply employing the Spanish gerund as the exponent for all verbs, but rather are generally distinguishing between main clauses — containing finite verbs — and subordinate clauses — which in Andean Spanish interlanguage frequently contain the non-finite gerund. This distinction corresponds to Quichua syntax, in which verbs in subordinate clauses are given the suffix *-shpa* (with no change of subject) or *-jpi* (for change of subject). The data suggest that these Quichua-dominant speakers are in fact aware of the finite- non-finite distinction and are implicitly employing the Quichua-like pattern when acquiring and using Spanish under the conditions described previously.¹⁰ The examples of gerunds used as main verbs or with adjectival or nominal force are produced only by speakers with the lowest competence in Spanish (e.g., the examples in (12)), but even these individuals employ gerunds primarily in subordinate clauses. Still left unaccounted for is the choice of the Spanish gerund as the non-finite exponent of verbs in subordinate clauses; the scarcity of such combinations in monolingual Spanish — ranging from marginally possible to completely

ungrammatical — rules out simple imitation and overgeneralization as the sole source of the free-standing gerund in Quichua-Spanish interlanguage.

5. Putting the proposed Quichua transfer to the test: A pilot study

The data presented in Section 4 suggest that Quichua-dominant speakers are in effect reflecting Quichua morphosyntax when employing Spanish gerunds in subordinate clauses whose Quichua equivalents would contain the subordinator *-shpa/-jpi*. This fossilization of Quichua-like patterns is at least partially attributable to the circumstances under which Spanish was acquired and subsequently used: in late adolescence or early adulthood, in informal settings and frequently based on non-native models, and subsequently used sparingly and often with other non-native speakers. Before probing more deeply into the choice of the Spanish gerund as equivalent to the Quichua subordinator *-shpa*, it is of interest to determine whether more fluent Quichua-Spanish bilinguals share the same intuitions about the putative equivalence *-shpa* ≡ SPANISH GERUND, even if they themselves do not use such constructions in Spanish.

5.1 The participants

In order to examine the possible correspondences between Quichua *-shpa* and the Spanish gerund, Quichua sentences containing subordinate clauses marked with *-shpa* were presented to fourteen fluent Quichua-Spanish bilinguals from the same communities in which the aforementioned data were collected. Eight were adult first-language speakers of Quichua (five women and three men). All acquired at least some Spanish prior to adolescence and all speak Spanish without the most egregious interlanguage traits. Of the men, one had only a few years of primary education and is functionally illiterate; however he works at a school and interacts with native Spanish speakers all day. Another speaker had secondary education, and the third has a university degree and teaches Quichua at the regional bilingual school. Of the women, one had a few years of primary education and is functionally illiterate, one had secondary education, and three had no formal schooling. All interact in both Spanish and Quichua on a daily basis. Data were also collected from six 7th-grade children from a rural bilingual school, with ages between twelve and fourteen. All speak Quichua (or Media Lengua) natively and come from households in which Quichua is used on a daily basis. All learned Spanish either at home (from parents or older siblings) or when attending pre-school or kindergarten. All have taken classes in Quichua language at the bilingual school, in which metalinguistic concepts are discussed. None exhibits non-canonical

interlanguage traits, although more subtle indications of Quichua-Spanish bilingualism are found in their use of Spanish.

5.2 The stimuli

The respondents heard stimulus sentences in Quichua or Media Lengua pronounced by the author (whose use of Q and ML and pronunciation had previously been verified by a bilingual teacher), and were asked to provide translations into Spanish. The sentences containing *-shpa* constructions were mixed in with filler sentences embodying other grammatical constructions unlikely to trigger the use of the Spanish gerund. All stimulus sentences were copied from utterances extracted from previously recorded interviews in the same communities. A total of twenty-one test sentences were presented to each respondent. Three of the sentences yielded only Spanish gerunds for all speakers. The remaining sentences present canonical instances of Quichua *-shpa*, in circumstances that have been regarded as equivalent to the Spanish gerund.

5.3 The results: Overview

Table 2 shows the results of the survey (excluding the three sentences unanimously translated with the gerund), and Figure 1 (also excluding the three aforementioned sentences) compares the percentage of gerund and conjugated verb responses for younger and older Quichua-Spanish bilinguals. Immediately obvious is the striking difference in the relative proportion of gerund vs. conjugated verb responses between the adult bilinguals (none of whom had ever formally studied Quichua)

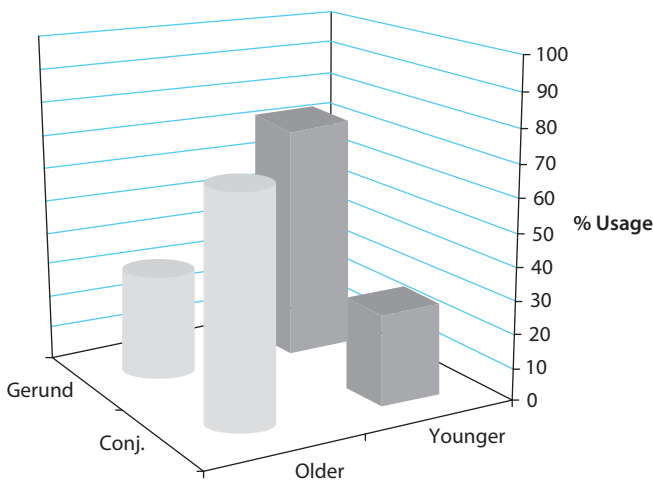


Figure 1. Results of Quichua-to-Spanish translations; non-categorical responses only

and the school children. Comparing the totals for gerunds vs. finite verbs for both school-trained children and adult bilinguals yields highly significant differences: $\chi^2 = 37.22$, $p < .0001$ ($df = 1$). In the aggregate, the children translated the Quichua subordinator *-shpa* more than twice as frequently as adult bilinguals for identical contexts; in fact several of the children translated all instances of *-shpa* by the Spanish gerund, even when this resulted in highly unlikely or even ungrammatical combinations in Spanish. Older bilinguals' translations of Quichua *-shpa* into Spanish were closest to those of school-trained bilingual children in those instances where a gerund is not unlikely in non-Andean Spanish, in particular simultaneous or immediately successive actions: picking up a machete and leaving, singing while walking, and running downhill. The largest discrepancies between children's and adults' Spanish translations of *-shpa* constructions involve conditional and concessive clauses, time clauses, and absence of actions ("without doing"). In other words, in those instances where Quichua *-shpa* constructions correspond to subordinate clauses in Spanish (Table 1), fluent adult Quichua-Spanish bilinguals do not turn to the Spanish gerund in spontaneous translation, while bilingual children with formal training in Quichua apply the equation Quichua *-shpa* \equiv Spanish GERUND as a first gambit in spontaneous translation.

Table 2. Results of Quichua-to-Spanish translations (Q = Quichua; ML = *Media Lengua*)

	Adult (N = 8)		Young (N = 6)	
	Gerund	Conjugated	Gerund	Conjugated
Ima <i>rura-shpa</i> -ta na shamu-rka-ngui wasi-man? (Q)	0	8	6	2
'Why didn't you come home?'				
¿Qué <i>azi-shpa</i> -ta chuma-shka anda-ju-ngui? (ML)	1	7	4	2
'Why are you going around drunk?'				
Patrón Galo <i>causa-shpa</i> -ca, ataju granu-kuna-ta karaj ka-rka (Q)	1	7	3	3
'When Galo was alive, he gave [us] a lot of grain'				
¿Qué <i>dizi-shpa</i> -ta trabajo-man no anda-rka-ngui? (ML)	0	8	4	2
'Why didn't you go to work?'				
Mana <i>jatu-shpa</i> shamu-rka-nchij (Q)	0	8	2	4
'We came without selling anything'				
Quito-man <i>chaya-shpa</i> mi mashi-ta riku-rka-ni (Q)	0	8	6	0

Table 2. (continued)

	Adult (N = 8)		Young (N = 6)	
	Gerund	Conjugated	Gerund	Conjugated
‘When I arrived in Quito I saw my friend’ Utavalo-man <i>ri-shpa</i> -ca ruwana-ta randi-sha (Q)	1	7	3	3
‘When I go to Otavalo I will buy a poncho’ Machiti-ta <i>aisa-shpa</i> ri-rka (Q)	7	1	6	0
Grabbing a machete [he] left’ <i>Micu-shpa</i> shamu-ngui (Q)	7	1	6	0
‘I came after eating’ Cebolla-ta no <i>tini-shpa</i> anda-rkani compra- ngapa (ML)	0	8	4	2
‘Since we had no onions we went to buy [some]’ <i>Comi-shpa</i> andai-chi breve (ML)	3	5	6	0
‘After eating go quickly’ No <i>vindi-shpa</i> vini-rka-nchi (ML)	0	8	2	4
‘We came without selling [anything]’ Caza-pi <i>azi-shpa</i> ri-nchi (ML)	5	3	6	0
‘After making up the house we left’ Plata-ta <i>incarga-shpa</i> manda-ju-ngui (ML)	6	2	6	0
‘You are having money sent’ Yu-ca tio-kuna-ta <i>servi-shpa</i> vivini (ML)	8	0	5	1
‘I lived serving my aunt and uncle’ Inqui-ta ta compra-gri-ngui Otavalo-man <i>i-shpa</i> -ca? (ML)	1	7	4	2
‘What will you buy when you go to Otavalo?’ Aqui-manta <i>salishpa</i> -ca otro colegio-mi i-gri-ju-ni (ML)	4	4	4	2
‘When I leave here I’ll go to another school’ Chiquito <i>ka-shpa</i> undi-pi-ta vivi-rkangui? (ML)	1	7	3	3
‘When you were younger, where did you live?’				
TOTALS	45	99	80	30
% Gerund/Conjugated	31.2	68.8	72.7	27.3

5.4 The children's responses: Possible explanation

Informal observations indicate that Quichua-speaking children who acquire Spanish at home or in early pre-school do not pass through an interlanguage stage in which gerunds systematically replace finite verbs, but rather commit the usual morphological errors characteristic of monolingual children's acquisition of Spanish verbs. This suggests that the school children's interpretation of Quichua *-shpa* as equivalent to the Spanish gerund in subordinate clauses may be an acquired response, prompted by school instruction in Quichua grammar and reinforced by the lingering presence of the Spanish gerund in the speech of elderly Quichua-dominant speakers. The author has frequently visited Quichua and Spanish language classes in the region's one bilingual school, and has repeatedly spoken informally with the students and language teachers. Although the Quichua language textbooks do not explicitly equate Quichua verbal structures with Spanish constructions (and no mention of Quichua is made in the Spanish-language materials), the teachers do spontaneously compare the two languages from time to time, including possible equivalents to Quichua *-shpa*. However in order to conclusively demonstrate effects due to formal language instruction additional research is required.

5.5 The adults' responses: Greater complexity

Interpretation of the fluent adult bilinguals' responses is more complex. None of these speakers produces non-canonical instances of the Spanish gerund, but all were raised in the presence of individuals who spoke rudimentary Spanish in this fashion (two of the older speakers who provided the data for Section 6 are the mothers of adult speakers who responded to the questionnaire). However, these Quichua-dominant family members and neighbors spoke only Quichua to their children, so that Quichua-Spanish interlanguage — including gerunds instead of finite verbs — was not the primary source of Spanish language input. According to their own (unconfirmable) recollections, the fluent bilinguals did not use gerunds instead of finite verbs when they first learned Spanish, and in view of contemporary observations of Quichua speakers acquiring Spanish during childhood, there is no reason to doubt these assertions.

5.6 Main points of convergence

Although Quichua-speaking school children differ significantly from unschooled adult bilinguals as regards the spontaneous translation of Quichua *-shpa* into Spanish, all bilingual speakers converge in translating Quichua VERB STEM + *ju-* as

Spanish progressive with gerund: for example the Media Lengua phrase *minga-ta azi-ju-nchi* was uniformly translated as “*estamos haciendo minga*” [we are carrying out a collective labor], ML *chuma-shka anda-ju-ngui* was rendered as “*estás andando borracho*” [you are walking around drunk], etc. In conversational Spanish, the progressive constructions based on *estar* ‘to be’ + GERUND are the most frequently occurring instances of the gerund, and these always correspond to Quichua VERB STEM + *ju-na*, and never to *-shpa*. The relatively high frequency of occurrence of *ju-na* combinations in Quichua and progressive constructions in Spanish facilitates the nearly exceptionless equivalence effected by bilingual speakers of all ages. Only the most Quichua-dominant adult speakers use Spanish progressive constructions less often, implicitly indicating lack of awareness of the correspondence between the frequent *ju-na* combinations in Quichua and gerund-based constructions in Spanish. The fact that the equivalence *-shpa* ≡ SPANISH GERUND is not as robust among bilingual speakers, despite the very high relative frequency of *-shpa* constructions in Quichua provides additional circumstantial evidence against the notion of the Andean Spanish gerund as a naive and spontaneous translation of Quichua *-shpa*.

From the responses of the Quichua-Spanish bilinguals, it can be deduced that the use of the Spanish gerund instead of subordinate clauses with finite verbs is not simply the first stage in the acquisition of Spanish by Quichua speakers. In order to equate Quichua constructions in *-shpa* specifically with the Spanish gerund — rather than with a more randomly dispersed array of finite and non-finite verb forms — some type of external “priming” is suggested. Among contemporary Quichua-speaking school children, this priming may be due to instruction in language classes, but for preceding generations of non-literate speakers, it is not likely that the rather infrequently occurring Spanish gerund would be spontaneously and independently suggested as the principal exponent of Quichua *-shpa*.

6. Searching for the historical origins of the Andean Spanish gerund: An overview

If the 1615 quote from Guamán Poma de Ayala given in (1) accurately reflects linguistic usage at the beginning of the 17th century, then Quechua speakers were turning to the Spanish gerund as invariant substitute for finite verbs from the onset of the Spanish colonial presence in the Andean region. Given the tenuous nature of the correspondence between the contemporary Spanish gerund and the full range of Quechua structures based on *-s(h)pa*, at least three possibilities suggest themselves as explanations for the emergence of the gerund in early colonial Andean Spanish. First, the behavior of the gerund in early colonial received

Spanish may have differed significantly enough from contemporary patterns as to trigger the spontaneous use of the gerund as invariant substitute for the Spanish verbal paradigm by Quechua speakers. Second, Spanish colonial administrators and settlers may have deliberately altered their own speech when addressing indigenous speakers, through enhanced use of the gerund. Third, the equation Quechua *-s(h)pa* \equiv Spanish GERUND may be a consequence of language planning efforts by Spanish missionaries and administrators.

The first possibility does not receive much support from the historical facts. During the 16th–17th centuries the Spanish gerund with adverbial force appears in written texts in a wide variety of contexts, all of which are found in contemporary Spanish, albeit at times with finite verbs providing a more frequent alternative (Keniston 1937:552–557; Muñío Valverde 1995; Torres Cacoullós 2000). The Spanish progressive forms combining *estar* and the gerund had not yet fully coalesced, but there were no gerund-based configurations corresponding to the non-canonical uses of the gerund in Andean Spanish interlanguage. The remaining two possibilities warrant further exploration.

7. The Andean Spanish gerund: Phonological prominence and foreigner talk

Not all attempted explanations of the non-canonical uses of the gerund in Andean Spanish have focused only on Quechua *-s(h)pa*. For example Muysken (1982:116–117), noting that use of the gerund as main verb is found only among beginning (Quichua-speaking) learners of Spanish in Ecuador (also noted for Peru by Escobar 2000: 129), postulates that this is due to the phonological prominence of the Spanish gerund. Albor (1973:317) attributes the greater use of the gerund in Andean Spanish to a possible phonetic association between the past participle and the gerund. But these observations by themselves beg the question of who capitalized on this presumed phonological prominence, in the face of other more frequently occurring and equally salient alternatives. In a noteworthy attempt to introduce complementary extralinguistic factors, Alcalá Zamora (1945:494) speculated on “el abuso que del gerundio hicieron los indios, hecho a su vez determinado por dos causas: la una que sirviendo el indio en casas, estancias, encomiendas, obrajes, ostales, etc., recibiría las órdenes de servicio, como se dan todas las recetas e instrucciones, con alternativas de gerundios e imperativos, y no pudiendo devolver éstos, al hablar se acostumbró más a aquéllos; y porque le resultó más fácil una forma verbal de terminación sencilla y uso indistinto para tiempos, números y persona.”

This quote embodies the hypothesis that Spanish colonizers’ frequent use of direct and indirect command forms to indigenous speakers was implicitly

construed by the latter as default verb form. It is not uncommon in the formation of contact vernaculars for derogatory or abusive language as used by speakers of the dominant group to subaltern individuals to become lexicalized with no negative connotations in emergent interlanguage. In Spanish, impatient urging directed at children, animals, or reluctant servants often employs the gerund (sometimes accompanied by bodily gestures), e.g., *andando* ‘get going,’ *corriendo* ‘run along,’ etc. Such uses of the gerund rarely appear in the literary and legal documents that form the bulk of the corpora from colonial Spanish America, but there is no reason to suppose that they were less frequent in the 16th century than they are in the 21st. Spanish colonists in the Andean region employed the *encomienda* system of indigenous labor, and much of the Spanish speech directed at indigenous workers would contain a high proportion of exhortations, reprimands, orders, and imprecations, in which non-finite forms such as gerunds are frequent. Indigenous subjects hearing this type of imperious language from Spanish soldiers and colonists would receive more robust cues for the gerund than in other types of received speech.

Foreigner talk by native Spanish speakers to indigenous subjects, in this case the deliberate use of non-finite verb forms instead of correctly conjugated verbs, could have contributed to the increased frequency of Spanish gerunds in Quechua-Spanish interlanguage. Foreigner talk is typically produced by native speakers and directed at interlocutors felt to be inferior and incapable of fully acquiring the target language (Ferguson 1975, 1981; Hatch et al. 1978; Hinnenkamp 1982). From the inception of the Spanish colonial enterprise, indigenous persons were treated with a combination of paternalism and derision, and their ability to comprehend anything more than the simplest concepts was frequently called into question. Literary parodies of the pidginized Spanish of subaltern groups (including Africans, Moors, Gypsies, Basques) were emerging in Spain and the Spanish American colonies, with the common thread of attributing to second-language speakers of Spanish the use of invariant verb forms, most frequently the infinitive (Lipski 2002). Foreigner talk has been documented for Ecuador, including speech by native Spanish speakers directed at indigenous interlocutors. Muysken (1980: 71; 1984: 64) specifically mentions the use of the gerund as well as the infinitive in foreigner talk.

8. The impact of missionary translations and pastoral language

Only in Quechua-speaking Andean regions has the gerund emerged as an alternative to finite verbs in main and subordinate clauses. Since Quechua speakers are not likely to spontaneously acknowledge the correspondence between Quechua

subordinating suffixes and Spanish gerunds, additional metalinguistic intervention during the colonial period seems probable. From the beginning of the Spanish colonial enterprise missionaries and pastors formed a crucial linguistic link between Spanish and Native American languages, through the elaboration of grammars of indigenous languages, the translation of Christian texts and sermons into these languages, and in some cases instruction in Spanish. For speakers of indigenous languages As the language of the Inca empire, Quechua was the first Native American language to be formally analyzed by Spanish missionaries, beginning with the grammar of Domingo de Santo Tomás published in 1560. This was followed by Antonio Ricardo (1586), Diego de Torres Rubio (1603), Diego González Holguín (1608), Alonso de Huerta (1616), Juan de Aguilar (1690), an anonymous 16th or 17th century grammar (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1993), and many others in the succeeding centuries (Lee 1997: 14–15; Masson 1997). In Ecuador the grammar of González Holguín was widely used as the source for catechisms and other religious translations during the 17th century and even beyond, being the basis for Quichua catechisms published in 1725 and 1753 (Hartmann 1999: 63–65).

The colonial missionaries who wrote grammars of Native American languages were bound by the Latinate tradition, and forced all structures into the classifications found in Latin grammars. At the same time, uniquely Quechua constructions were often overlooked, glossed as optional and decorative, or misconstrued and mistranslated (Durstun 2007: 182). Missionaries and priests often resorted to circumlocutions and wholesale borrowings from Spanish when confronted with the significantly different epistemological structures of Quechua and the lack of ready mechanisms for indirect quotation and metalinguistic commentary (Durstun 2007: 288–289). Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz (1997: 309) observes that the early colonial grammars of Quechua virtually ignored the role of suffixes like *-s(h)pa* in the creation of complex phrases, and often saw these poorly understood elements as mere adornments. Once a Quechua-Spanish grammatical correspondence had been asserted, it was seldom challenged or subsequently modified. The Latinate grammars of Quechua and their incorporation into liturgical and pastoral language resulted in grammatically distorted Quechua being presented by Spaniards to native Quechua speakers, who in turn internalized these constructions in oral confessions, songs and recitations, and in conversations with religious personnel.

From the earliest attempts by Europeans to analyze Quechua grammar, verbal forms ending in *-s(h)pa* were regarded as “ablative gerunds” (and the switch-reference morpheme *-kpi/-jpi*) was not included in the discussion. Given the strong Latin grammatical tradition that permeated all Europeans’ analyses of non-European languages until well into the 20th century, this is not a surprising extrapolation. Quechua *-s(h)pa* is clearly a non-finite form (carrying no person or number marking), and its range of uses in Quechua are not inconsistent with the semantic

domain of the Latin ablative, namely a variety of temporal and instrumental values. Moreover since forms in *-s(h)pa* are never proffered by Quechua speakers as the abstract exponent of verbs (e.g., in Ecuadoran Quichua “infinitive” forms ending in *-na* are used: *shamu-na* ‘to come,’ *rura-na* ‘to do’), *-s(h)pa* could not be regarded as an infinitive. Nor could *-s(h)pa* be a past participle (e.g., with adjectival force or in perfective verb forms) since this function was transparently realized by *-s(h)ka*. This left the gerund as the most likely Latinate equivalent, and since the Spanish gerund itself derives from the Latin ablative gerund, examples of Quechua *-s(h)pa* were automatically translated by Spanish forms in *-ando* and *-iendo*.¹¹

In the first known grammar of Quechua, by Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560), the verbal ending *-spa* is construed as *gerundio ablativo* ‘ablative gerund,’ with the example *caspa* translated as Spanish *siendo* ‘being’ (Santo Tomás 1951 [1560]:56). Further in the same grammar, Santo Tomás (1951 [1560]:111) gives numerous examples with different subject pronouns, e.g., *cam alli caspa*, translated as “siendo tu bueno” [you being good], following the examples with the remark that “esto no es de maravillar pues lo mismo podemos desir que acontesce en la lengua española.” The same translation of *-s(h)pa* as “ablative gerund” was continued in successive grammars of Quechua: Ricardo (1966 [1586]:25); Torres Rubio (1754 [1603]: n.p.); González de Holguín (1901 [1608]: 30; also 40, 51, 55, 59); Huerta (1993 [1616]:36 and passim.); Roxo Mejia y Ocon (1648: 11, 15). The first known grammar of a clearly Ecuadoran variety of Quichua, the anonymous late 16th or early 17th century text treats Quichua *-shpa* as “ablative gerund” (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 1993: 73, 90). In the closely-knit religious communities these texts circulated freely, and there is every reason to suppose that later writers based their grammars as much on the descriptions of the first texts as on original first-hand observation. The overwhelming similarity not only of grammatical nomenclature but of the actual Quechua words chosen as examples supports this conclusion.

The Spanish translations of Quechua *-s(h)pa* in colonial grammars almost always use the gerund, in Spanish configurations which while grammatically possible are sometimes awkward and not typical of natural discourse. Spanish religious personnel were not only attempting to instruct indigenous subjects in some approximation to Quechua but, increasingly, interacting with indigenous speakers in the latter’s Quechua-Spanish interlanguage. The mission of the religious figures was the Christianization of the indigenous populations, not the teaching and enforcement of proper Spanish grammar; thus there is little likelihood that corrective linguistic feedback was a regular part of the priests’ interaction with their indigenous parishioners. More likely would be the attempt on the part of priests to make their own use of Spanish conform to what was understood of Quechua grammar, a form of foreigner talk based not only on attitudes of cultural superiority but also on a desire to facilitate the comprehension of important concepts, both

religious and secular. Suárez Roca (1992:30–31) notes that Spanish priests often preferred to give grammatical instruction to indigenous subjects in their own languages, by means of grammars written by missionaries: “Si los naturales aprendían su lengua «por arte», podían llegar a hablarla con perfección y ser entendidos más fácilmente por sus confesores, con lo que unos y otros se ahorrarían muchos y graves problemas de consciencia.” González Holguín (p.260) warned priests not to speak in Quechua to Hispanized Indians (known as *ladinos*) nor to imitate their speech, “porque ya los indios ladinos por mostrar que lo son dejan el estilo galano de su lengua, y españolizan lo que hablan, y precianse de atraer su lenguaje al castellano, e yerrando tanto que ni bien hablan su lengua, ni bien imitan la nuestra.”¹²

Given the insistence with which Quechua *-s(h)pa* in all its functions was translated as the Spanish gerund, as well as Spaniards’ demonstrable failure to grasp the fundamental structures of subordination in Quechua, increased use of the Spanish gerund in language directed at indigenous speakers would be a plausible result. Originally used by religious personnel familiar with treatises on Quechua grammar, the use of the Spanish gerund in speech addressed to indigenous people would eventually become part of the *de facto* foreigner talk employed by Spanish colonists and their descendents. This mutual reinforcement between Quechua speakers’ Spanish interlanguage and the enhanced use of the gerund by native Spanish speakers when they (perhaps condescendingly) addressed Quechua speakers would contribute to the stabilization of the gerund as exponent of finite verbs in Andean Spanish interlanguage.

9. Summary and conclusions

In the Spanish interlanguage of Quichua-dominant speakers, the gerund most frequently replaces a finite verb in subordinate clauses, following the pattern of Ecuadoran Quichua (and most other varieties), in which verbs in subordinate clauses lack person and number inflection and attach only the subordinating suffix *-s(h)pa*. The high degree of correspondence between the appearance of non-canonical gerunds in Andean Spanish and the syntactic structures of the equivalent Quichua combinations provides strong support for some type of Quichua-influenced syntactic patterning, but the specific choice of the Spanish gerund as the invariant exponent of verbs in subordinate clauses cannot be directly predicted from the structures of Quichua. In the preceding sections a circumstantial case has been built for external intervention in equating the Spanish gerund with the Quichua subordinating affix *-shpa*. Implicated in the equation is the deliberate use of gerunds in Spanish foreigner talk as used by Spanish colonists and their descendents to Quichua speakers, as well as the imitation by Quichua

speakers of Spanish-language orders and commands containing gerunds. It should be noted that regional varieties of Ecuadoran Spanish as used by monolingual speakers do not present any non-canonical uses of the gerund beyond the benefactive *dar* + GERUND combinations as described in Section 3; the non-canonical cases are confined to Quichua-Spanish interlanguage. Nowadays deliberate overuse of the gerund in foreigner talk directed at Quichua speakers is no longer socially acceptable (most of the observations in Muysken 1982 represent data collected in the 1970's). The present author has systematically observed numerous interactions in town markets, stores, churches, and health clinics in the region where Andean Spanish interlanguage survives, and has never witnessed monolingual Spanish speakers deliberately modifying their speech when addressing indigenous interlocutors, although other rude behavior may be displayed. As a consequence of the evolving social dynamic, additional uses of the Spanish gerund as produced by successive generations of Quichua-dominant bilinguals may eventually fade away.

The hypothesis that the overuse of the gerund by Quichua-dominant speakers is a carryover from previous generations is also supported by the retention of other archaic elements which have now disappeared from the speech of surrounding Spanish-speaking groups. These include:

- Second-person singular verb forms containing a diphthong (in conjunction with the subject pronoun *vos*), e.g., *sois, vais*;
- *-ta(n)* < Spanish *también* ‘also,’ is not found among monolingual Spanish speakers and can only be learned through recycling within the indigenous communities.
- Use of *pasque* < Sp. *parece que* ‘it seems that.’ This usage is confined to indigenous interlanguage.
- Use of archaic verb forms such as *vide* (modern Sp. *vi*) ‘I saw,’ and *truje* (modern Sp. *traje* ‘I brought’). These verbs have disappeared from the Spanish of most monolingual Ecuadoran Spanish speakers in immediate contact with indigenous communities.
- The pronunciation of *seis* ‘six’ as [sajs], the use of *andi* for *donde* ‘where,’ and the use of *castilla* for *castellano* ‘Spanish language.’

The recurring presence of these items in Andean Spanish interlanguage provides indirect evidence of the recycling over many generations of non-canonical items within indigenous communities. This suggests a mechanism for the learning and retention of non-canonical uses of the Spanish gerund that does not rely solely on spontaneous translation from Quichua or ongoing use of foreigner-talk stereotypes by Spanish speakers.

The ultimate wellspring of the gerund as the translation of choice for Quechua *-s(h)pa* may be the series of 16th and 17th century missionary grammar books

couched in the Latinate tradition, in which *-s(h)pa* was analyzed as an ablative gerund and represented by Spanish gerunds. It is even possible that Spanish priests during the colonial period, most of whom were familiar with the Quechua grammar books, inadvertently initiated the foreigner talk tradition when giving sermons and catechisms by modifying their own use of Spanish in ways they felt would enhance comprehension by Quechua speakers.

In the development of the Andean Spanish gerund, multiple causality almost certainly defined the formative environment. The indisputable contributions of Quechua grammar were intertwined with both unwitting and deliberate manipulation of first and second languages, in a complex sociolinguistic mesh that included priests and parishioners, settlers and servants, subjects of the Spanish empire and of the former Inca empire, all striving to communicate in two languages. The scientific study of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism has been confounded by prejudice, stereotyping, and second-hand anecdotes, all of which remove the real human participants from the scene. The preceding sections, far from closing the chapter on Andean Spanish gerunds, are offered in the spirit of adventure that accompanies any attempted reconstruction of the five-century Quechua-Spanish interface.

Notes

1. Taken from the on-line facsimile edition and transcription of Guamán Poma de Ayala's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615/1616), on the Royal Danish Library's permanent website www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/397/en/text (retrieved February 1, 2012).
2. In the new official Ecuadoran orthography the name of the language and the people is written as *Kichwa*, but given the greater familiarity of the spelling *Quichua*, which dominates the research bibliography as well as popular culture, the latter spelling will be used throughout this essay.
3. The adverbial uses of the Spanish gerund, in particular the *gerundio de posterioridad* 'gerund of posteriority' is not a new phenomenon, but harks back to the earliest period of the language (e.g., Badía Margarit 1964), and many combinations that today are infrequently used were once more common.
4. Spanish does allow the gerund in time clauses, both with same-subject (corresponding to Quichua *-shpa*) and even switch-subject (corresponding to Quichua *-jpi*) reference, e.g., *Estando (yo) en casa, pude recibir la llamada; Estando el presidente de viaje los militares le dieron golpe de estado*. Such combinations are comparatively rare and appear more often in literary texts and oratory than in everyday speech; they were documented for the medieval and early Spanish colonial period (e.g., Muñío Valverde 1995: chap. 1).
5. This element is pronounced [ʃpa] and is written as *-shpa* in Imbabura Ecuadoran Quichua; it is pronounced as [spa] and written *-spa* in most other Quechua dialects.

6. The gerund occasionally takes the place of the Spanish past participle used with adjectival force, as in *Lo dejé escribiendo* [escrito] 'I left it written' (Granda 2001: 113).
7. Other verbs participate in similar constructions, including *mandar* 'order', *poner* 'put,' and *dejar* 'leave' (e.g., Niño Murcia 1995: 89–90; Toscano Mateus 1953: 286–287).
8. I m grateful to Gabriel Cachimuel, José María Casco, Rafael Cacuango, Marisol Calapaqui, and their families for assistance and friendship during the data collection. Thanks are also due to the dozens of Imbabureños who graciously shared their homes and their languages with me.
9. The communities in question are Angla, Casco Valenzuela, El Topo, Ugsha, Gualacata, Huaycupungu, Pijal, Cochaloma, San Miguel Alto, Cachimuel, Zuleta.
10. Muysken (2005: 45–47) observed that Quichua-dominant Ecuadoran speakers tended to use more gerund-based adverbial clauses with distinct subjects. In the corpus collected for the present study, however, the number of such clauses was vanishingly small, and Muysken's observation cannot be verified.
11. The Latin ablative gerund was already converging with the present participle (e.g., Nutting 1926), and given the scarcity and non-productive nature of Spanish present participles (in *-ante* and *-iente*), the present participle never emerged as a contender for the translation of Quichua *-s(h)pa*.
12. At present there are no known church services in Quichua although there are Quichua-speaking ordained priests and ministers.

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