

Loanwords in Imbabura Quechua

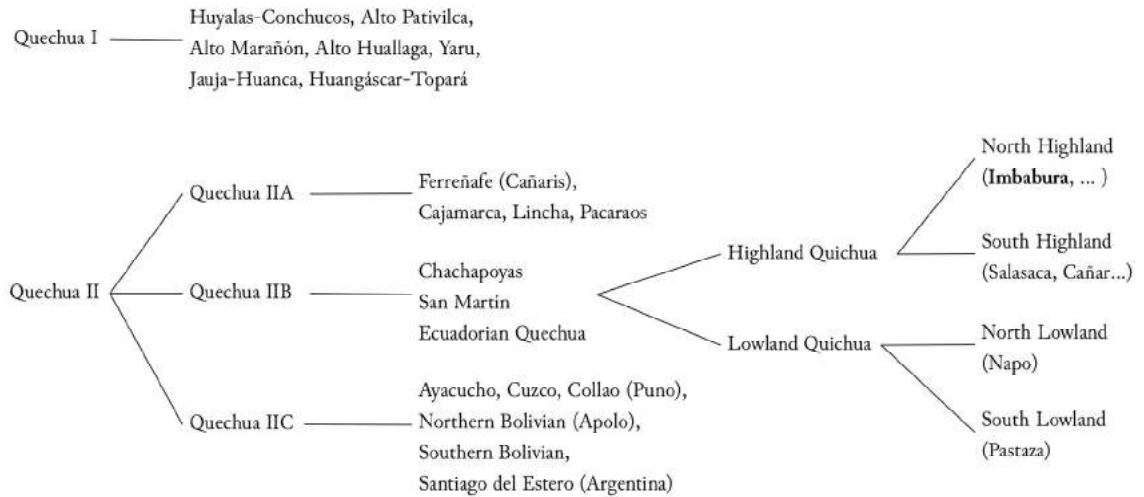
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1. The language and its speakers

Imbabura Quechua is spoken in the northern Andes of Ecuador by some 150.000 speakers. Although the majority of them rely on agriculture, an increasing number live also on the trade of handicrafts in and around the town of Otavalo. Others sell their labor to different factories in the province or migrate temporarily to work in the nearby cities of Ibarra and Quito. The socioeconomic status of Imbabura Quechua speakers is considered one of relative prosperity in comparison to that of other ethnic groups in Ecuador.

Imbabura Quechua is part of the Quechua IIB dialect group (Torero 1964). This branch covers an extensive area that includes “the dialects of the Ecuadorian highlands and *Oriente* (the eastern lowlands); the Colombian Quichua dialect usually called *Inga* or *Ingano* (Caquetá, Nariño, Putumayo); the dialects spoken in the Peruvian department of Loreto in the Amazonian lowlands (which are, in fact, extensions of the varieties spoken in the Amazonian region of Ecuador); the *Lamista* dialect spoken in the area of Lamas (Department of San Martín, Peru); and that of Chachapoyas and Luya (Department of Amazonas, Peru)” (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 186f). Figure 1 gives an idea of the place of Imbabura Quechua within the Quechua language family. Map 1 charts highland and lowland varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua.

Figure 1: *The Quechua language family*



Map 1: *The geographical setting of Imbabura Quechua*



Differences between northern Quechua (Ecuador), locally known as Quichua, and southern Quechua (Peru and Bolivia) occur at all levels of linguistic structure but are particularly noticeable in morphology. Like other Ecuadorian dialects, Imbabura Quechua has undergone a gradual process of morphological simplification involving the loss of verb-object agreement and possessive nominal suffixes.

Typologically speaking, Imbabura Quechua is much more analytic than Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua, even though it preserves the typical agglutinative character of all Quechua languages.

Imbabura Quechua shows lexical and phonetic differences from other Ecuadorian varieties of Quechua. A number of localisms are due to pre-Inca substrata while others result from semantic specialization of Quechua words. Salomon & Grosboll (1986) show that substratum influence in Imbabura Quechua comes from Cara, an indigenous language once spoken in Imbabura and Pichincha. Cara was eventually replaced by Imbabura Quechua in the early eighteenth century (Caillavet 2000: 103). Phonetically, Imbabura Quechua differs from other Ecuadorian dialects in that the stops /p/ and /k/ can be fricativized as [f] and [j] in all positions except after nasal. The same phonemes are aspirated ([p^h], [k^h]) or non-aspirated ([p], [k]) in the rest of Ecuadorian dialects. Some examples are *pukuna* 'to blow', realized as [fukuna] in Imbabura but [p^hukuna] in Bolívar (central) and [pukuna] in Loja (southern); *upiana* 'to drink', realized as [ufyana] in Imbabura but [up^hyana] in Cotopaxi and Tungurahua (central) and [upyana] in Azuay (southern).

According to Stark et al. (1973) (quoted in Cole 1982), Imbabura Quechua is divided into five subdialects: "from Cayambe through San Pablo and from the east of Mount Imbabura to Angla, Zuleta, Angachawa [sic], and Rinconada, and from these communities to Mariano Acosta and Pimampiro, hereafter Rinconada; (2) San Roque; (3) the zone from San Rafael in the north to San Roque on the east side of the Ambi River, hereafter Otavalo; (4) to the north of San Roque until San Antonio de Ibarra on the east side of the Ambi River, hereafter San Antonio; and (5) to the north of San Rafael and to the east of the River Ambi through the area near Cotacachi, hereafter Cotacachi" (Cole 1982: 7f). The present chapter is based on the Rinconada dialect.

Sociolinguistically, the province of Imbabura ranks second among the nine Quechua-speaking provinces of Ecuador as for the number of speakers (Haboud 1998: 91-92). Imbabura also shows the largest number of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in the country (Büttner 1993: 48-49). While there is a small number of Imbabura Quechua monolinguals, the tendency nowadays is one of increasing levels of bilingualism accompanied by maintenance of the native language. The language is vigorously spoken at community and family levels, being taught in schools as part of the Bilingual Intercultural Education Program implemented since 1986. In the last decades Imbabura Quechua entered oral media through regular radio broadcasting. The language has a unified writing system since 1980.

The fact that Imbabura Quechua shows a comparatively strong vitality in Ecuador should not veil its non-indigenous origin. According to ethno-historical

evidence (Torero 1974; 1984-1985) long-distance traders or *mindaláes*¹ brought and disseminated Quechua from the central Peruvian coast to the northern Andes. Later in the late fifteenth century Quechua became a lingua franca for different ethnic groups². The variety disseminated was Chinchay Quechua, so denominated by Torero (2002: 93) because of its assumed association with the commercial port of Chincha in Peru. By the time of the Inca conquest at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Quechua was extensively spoken in the northern Andes and the Incas used this language to communicate with the local peoples (Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 365).

In the sixty years between the invasion of the northern Andes by Tupac Yupanqui (ca. 1470) and the fall of the Inca empire in 1532, Chinchay Quechua became consolidated but could not displace the native languages. That not all the peoples from Imbabura were bilingual in their native languages and Quechua by the early years of the Spanish colonization is demonstrated by several chroniclers. Andres Rodríguez reports that in the curacy of Lita (western slopes) “only a few speak the lengua general [Quechua]” (1991 [1582]: 413). Antonio de Borja admits in similar terms that “very few Indians of this curacy [Pimampiro, eastern slopes] speak the language of the Inca while none of the women know the language” (1991 [1591]: 483). Compare these reports with the statement of Jerónimo de Aguilar, who notes that “most of these Indians [from the curacy of Caguasquí] either speak the language of the Inca or understand it sufficiently” (1991 [1582]: 416). From early records we know that Caguasquí and Salinas were settlements of the Otavalo Indians, where salt was produced for domestic consumption or exchanged with other peoples to the west and the east of the Andes (Caillavet 1981a). These reports suggest that of the native peoples from Imbabura only the Otavalo Indians were bilingual in their own language (Cara) and Quechua. The Indians settled on the slopes of the Andes had only a few incipient bilinguals. From the chronicles it is clear that at least some of these Indians spoke Barbacoan languages. The reason why Otavalo Indians were much more proficient in Quechua than their neighbours was their permanent and intense contact not only

¹ The word *mindalá* itself is not Quechua but a local expression from one of the indigenous Ecuadorian languages.

² Before the Inca invasion the territory of today's Imbabura was inhabited by several ethnic groups: central Imbabura was the home of speakers of the Cara language (belonging to the Barbacoan family) while the western and eastern slopes were populated by other Indians of Barbacoan affiliation, probably Cayapas and Pastos (Caillavet 1981b).

with the Inca invaders but also with several groups of forced migrants, the so-called *mitimaes*, who were resettled in Imbabura after the defeat of the Cara around 1505.

The dissemination of Quechua in the northern Andes did not imply the replacement of the pre-Inca languages. The Diocesan Synod of Quito ordered in 1593 the preparation of catechisms and confessionaries in these languages for the evangelization of peoples whose mother tongue was not Quechua (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 392). It is generally assumed that pre-Inca languages survived throughout the sixteenth century to be finally replaced by Quechua around the second half of the seventeenth century or the early years of the eighteenth century.

During the Spanish colonization (1532-1810), Quechua too was used as a means of evangelization, in particular after the three Councils held in Lima between 1551 and 1583. Efforts were made to standardize Quechua in order to make its learning easier for priests and facilitate the printing of books in the language. The basis for the standardization was Cuzco Quechua, a variety directly associated with the center of the Inca empire. Cuzco Quechua presented several phonetic intricacies which were eventually omitted in the standardized version: e.g. the velar-uvular distinction /k/ – /q/ and the ejective-aspirated distinction of stops (Mannheim 1991: 142). Closely resembling the Quechua variety spoken in the northern Andes because of its simplified phonetics, the standard was used until the first half of the seventeenth century (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 183). Some scholars maintain that the missionary use of standardized Quechua influenced decisively the development of Ecuadorian Quechua, especially in the Amazon Lowlands (Oberem & Hartmann 1971; but see Muysken 2000 for an evaluation of this hypothesis). The influence of standardized Quechua may not have been as decisive, but its use by missionaries certainly promoted the dissemination of Quechua in the northern Andes at the expense of indigenous languages. Because these languages were spoken along with Quechua for a couple of centuries, their influence on the development of Ecuadorian Quechua in general and Imbabura Quechua in particular is obvious. In addition, the contact between speakers of Quechua in Imbabura and nearby ethnolinguistic groups continued presumably for at least another hundred years after the extinction of the local pre-Inca language due to an extensive network of trade that survived into the eighteenth century (Caillavet 2000: 81). These groups spoke several Barbacoan languages including now extinct Pasto (southern Colombia), living Tsafiki (western slopes of the

Andes) and living Awa Pit (southern Colombia and the Ecuadorian Province of Carchi).³

Because Quechua was not the mother tongue of the local peoples of the northern Andes until their native languages were eventually replaced, it is not possible to speak of Imbabura Quechua as a distinct variety before the end of the seventeenth century. It is only from the moment that the native people of Imbabura abandoned their pre-Inca language (Cara) and adopted Quechua that something like an Imbabura variety of Quechua emerged. The historical record shows that the shift to Quechua was a gradual process that lasted over one hundred years. From a linguistic examination of early grammatical descriptions, Muysken (2009) shows that Quechua in Ecuador kept many features of Peruvian dialects in the seventeenth century, and that these features were gradually replaced by those typical of present-day Quechua in the course of the next two centuries (e.g. the loss of an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the nominal and verbal paradigms and the loss of object encoding in the verb).

Further changes in Ecuadorian Quechua continue to date, but now they are motivated by language contact rather than internal evolution. The role played by Spanish in this case is decisive. Spanish influence on Ecuadorian Quechua dates back to the early years of the European conquest but the degree of influence has grown dramatically in the last century as a result of the expanding mainstream society. Increasing levels of bilingualism among Quechua speakers strengthen the influence of Spanish on Quechua lexicon and grammar. While Spanish influence is important, it is not the same across dialects and idiolects and often depends on geographical location and individual factors such as age and gender. More recently, the use of Quechua in radio broadcasting has introduced a number of structural changes in the language (Fauchois 1988). Contemporary Imbabura Quechua is a living language after four centuries of contact with Spanish because it made a compromise between the communicative needs imposed by the dominant culture and the speakers' need to preserve their identity.

³ Notice, however, that the presence of Awa Pit in Ecuador is the result of recent migration from southern Colombia.

2. Sources of data

The major obstacle to the present investigation was the lack of specific lexicographic studies on Imbabura Quechua. This situation is certainly not unique of Imbabura Quechua but of Ecuadorian Quechua in general. Four dictionaries of Ecuadorian Quechua were consulted for the preparation of the database accompanying this study: Cordero's (1992 [1892]) dictionary, based mainly on southern Ecuadorian Quechua; Stark & Muysken's (1977) Quichua-Spanish dictionary, with lexical information of dialectal zones and a large number of contemporary Spanish loanwords; Haboud et al.'s (1982) Quichua monolingual dictionary, with valuable phonetic information; and Torres Fernández de Córdova's (2002) three-volume dictionary, with dialectal information about Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

Data on Imbabura Quechua came from: (1) personal knowledge; (2) information provided by speakers; and (3) fieldwork notes collected by Gómez Rendón for his doctoral dissertation on Spanish lexical borrowing in Imbabura Quechua plus a corpus of spontaneous speech collected in several Quechua communities in Imbabura (Gómez Rendón 2008).

Reference works consulted for the preparation of this chapter include: Cerrón-Palomino (1987) for a discussion of the hypotheses about the origin and expansion of Quechua in the Andes; Torero (2002) for a discussion of the use of Quechua in Ecuador before the Inca conquest and the existence of a trade network between the northern Andes and the Peruvian coast; Adelaar & Muysken (2004) for the genealogical classification of dialects and a general overview of pre-Inca languages in Ecuador; Jijón y Caamaño (1940-1945) for a discussion of the aboriginal languages of the northern Andes, in particular chapter IX of the first volume, which deals with the pre-Inca Cara (or Caranqui) language; Caillavet (2000) for an updated evaluation of linguistic, archaeological and historical data from Imbabura; and Cole (1982) for a discussion of the typological features of Imbabura Quechua and the integration of Spanish loanwords.

Data on Spanish loanwords came from personal knowledge, except in a few cases of localisms and obsolete words no longer used in the modern language. While the identification of Spanish loanwords was rather easy, that of non-Spanish loanwords proved a major challenge in so far as they come from insufficiently described or undescribed languages of the Barbacoan family (e.g. Tsafiki, Awa Pit), and from extinct pre-Inca languages of which neither vocabularies nor grammars

are available. Moore's (1966) dictionary of Spanish and Tsafiki (the traditional name of the Colorado language) was of valuable help to establish the origin of several Barbacoan loanwords. Finally, the identification of Quechua loanwords from non-Ecuadorian dialects could be established through lexicographic comparison.

3. Contact situations

The language that has most influenced Imbabura Quechua is Spanish. This is not surprising when the duration and the intensity of contact are considered. Equally decisive for Imbabura Quechua was the contact with pre-Inca Cara. Less influential was the contact with Peruvian Quechua, in particular with Cuzco Quechua, the language of the ruling Inca elite. Finally, the contact with neighbouring Barbacoan languages may have been regular before the Spanish conquest but was presumably interrupted one century after. These contact situations correspond each to a specific period of the history of the northern Andes.

3.1. Contact with pre-Inca languages

Chronologically, the first language in contact with Quechua in Imbabura was the Cara language of the Otavalo Indians (Caillavet 1981b: 109ff). The affiliation of Cara has been disputed over the years, but most scholars agree nowadays that it was a Barbacoan language (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 393-394). Cara is therefore affiliated with other languages of southern Colombia such as Pasto or Muellamués, both extinct, but also with Tsafiki, Cha'palaa and Awa Pit, spoken today in the provinces of Santo Domingo de los Tsáchilas, Imbabura, Esmeraldas and Carchi in northern Ecuador. Therefore, it is not possible to trace a clear-cut distinction between Cara and other Barbacoan influence on Imbabura Quichua. For strictly practical purposes we have established a distinction in the following terms: a loanword is considered a borrowing from Cara in so far as similar word forms are not present in the living Barbacoan languages of the area (Tsafiki and Awa Pit); by contrast, if a loanword has a clearly identified counterpart in either of these languages, it is considered to be of Barbacoan origin, i.e. Tsafiki or Awa Pit. We are aware that this procedure is rather artificial to the extent that loanwords assigned to living Barbacoan languages could have had similar forms in Cara, but the distinction is helpful in providing a more accurate classification of loanwords.

Besides Cara, the Otavalo Indians began to use Chinchay Quechua as a lingua franca in the first half of the fifteenth century. After the Inca conquest (ca. 1470) Chinchay Quechua became the official language of the Inca administration in the northern Andes (Torero 1983: 68) but Cara continued to be spoken by the majority of the local population. After the Spanish conquest in 1532, Chinchay Quechua was used for evangelization while Cara was still vital. Finally, in the early eighteenth century Quechua replaced Cara as the native language of the Indian population of the northern Andes. In sum, Quechua was in contact with Cara for at least three centuries. Cara influence on Quechua should have been minor during the pre-Inca and Inca periods because Quechua was used only by small sectors of the population such as traders and local elites. However, for the time the Otavalo Indians adopted Quechua as their second language in the early 1600s, a greater influence from Cara must be assumed. In general, Cara-Quechua contacts involve two scenarios: one of slight borrowing, before the Spanish conquest, and another of moderate or intense borrowing from the Spanish invasion onwards until the eventual demise of the Cara language. It is expected that a long contact with Cara may have induced important language changes in Quechua that go beyond lexical borrowing. Phonetically, for example, the fricativization of stops in Imbabura Quichua and the non-aspiration of consonants in any position may be the result of Cara substratum (Torero 2002: 106, 371). This substratum could also explain the re-ordering of the switch-reference system (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 149).

3.2. Contact with Peruvian Quechua

Quechua entered the northern Andes several times and in the form of different dialects: first, through long-distance traders from Chíncha in the fifteenth century; second, through the Inca rulers from Cuzco between 1470 to 1532; and through *mitimaes* (populations uprooted from their traditional homelands and re-settled in distant areas of the Inca empire for political reasons) and segments of the Inca army during the Inca occupation. Each dialect made its own contribution. Chinchay Quechua provided the lexical and grammatical basis for the emergence of Quechua in Imbabura. Cuzco Quechua influenced Chinchay Quechua as a source of lexical innovation during the Inca occupation of the northern Andes. Cuzco Quechua was also a point of reference for all Quichua varieties in early colonial times (Garcés 1999: 35) because of the prestige associated with the former Inca capital. The influence of Cuzco Quechua did not go beyond schooling circles,

however.⁴ Peruvian varieties other than Cuzco Quechua also made their own contribution to the Quechua spoken in Imbabura through: 1) *mitimaes* uprooted from other Quechua-speaking areas of the Inca empire who were resettled in the northern Andes (Espinosa Soriano 1988b: 15, 362)⁵; (2) Inca soldiers who stayed in the conquered territories after their pacification or could not return to their Peruvian homes after the fall of the Inca empire (Torero 2002: 102). In any case, the languages of *mitimaes* and soldiers were less influential because their speech eventually merged in the pool of local Chinchay.

3.3. Contact with Barbacoan languages

Historical records show that well before the Spanish conquest the Otavalo Indians were part of a regional trade network that involved groups from the Andean western slopes (Caillavet 2000: 46ff). Today the western slopes (western Imbabura) are inhabited by speakers of Barbacoan languages (Tsafiki, Awa Pit). Therefore, the ethnic groups mentioned by the records must have spoken one or more Barbacoan languages. With the transformation of the regional economy during the second half of the seventeenth century (Caillavet 2000: 59ff), the relations between the highlands and the western slopes became less important. The Barbacoan-Quechua contact must have reached a peak in the Inca period and continued in early colonial times to eventually wane in the eighteenth century.

3.4. Contact with Spanish

Spanish is by far the most important of the languages in contact with Quechua in Imbabura. Apart from the time factor (four centuries of contact), other influencing factors such as the inferior status of Quechua vis-à-vis Spanish and the increasing rates of bilingualism among Imbabura Quechua speakers as a result of their participation in the market economy have induced major changes in the lexicon and the structure of the indigenous language (Gómez Rendón 2007). Interestingly, bilingualism in Imbabura is not accompanied by the loss of Quechua as in other

⁴ But see Itier (1991) for an example of its use in letter correspondence in 1616.

⁵ There are several cases of Peruvian *mitimaes* in the northern Andes of Ecuador, but the best documented case concerns the *Huayucuntus* from Cajamarca, who served as a military force to control Quito and Otavalo. There are also reports of Aymaran *mitimaes* in the central Highlands (the province of Cotopaxi) but no documents exist that prove their presence in Imbabura.

provinces. Compared to conservative varieties, Imbabura Quechua shows an important degree of Spanish lexical borrowing, the end point of which is the emergence of mixed varieties with Spanish lexicon and Quechua morphology (Gómez Rendón 2005, 2008).

4. Number and kinds of loanwords

The Imbabura Quechua subdatabase contains 1482 meaning-word pairs, of which 172 are meanings without equivalents in this language. There are 257 words that correspond to two or more Loanword Typology (LWT) meanings (super-counterparts). Out of 1310 meanings with established equivalents, 389 (31.3%) correspond to loanwords or probable loanwords. The number of distinct loanwords and probable loanwords amounts to 359 different lexical items. It represents 24.2% of all the entries and 27.4% of all LWT meanings with established equivalents. Out of the set of distinct loanwords, 342 items (95.3%) are of Spanish origin, 7 items (1.8%) of Peruvian Quechua origin, 5 items (1.4%) of pre-Inca origin, 3 items (0.9%) of Barbacoan origin, and 2 items (0.2%) of unknown origin. The borrowed status is clearly established for all of the Spanish, Barbacoan and Peruvian Quechua loanwords. The status of «probably borrowed» items has been assigned to all of the pre-Inca loanwords. While there is no evidence of calquing for any borrowed item in the database, 18 entries contain analyzable compounds created on Spanish loan basis.

4.1. Loanwords compared

A comparison of loanwords per source language confirms the duration, intensity and level of bilingualism associated with each of the contact situations described in §3. The overwhelming presence of Spanish loanwords in the database is not surprising given the sociolinguistic situation of Imbabura Quechua: four centuries of contact, higher levels of bilingualism and active participation in the Spanish-speaking society. The percentage of Spanish lexical borrowing is closely similar to the percentage reported in a corpus-based investigation on Ecuadorian Quechua (cf. Gomez Rendón 2006; 2008).

Much less numerous in the database are pre-Inca loanwords. Nevertheless, their presence is indicative of a clear pre-Quechua substratum. Some pre-Inca loanwords have been inserted while others have replaced Quechua items and still others

coexist with them. Because the local pre-Inca language (Cara) was spoken during the Inca occupation and throughout the early colonial period, pre-Inca loanwords come from different periods. Among these loanwords are not only names of plants and animals but also a few of the basic vocabulary items that must have been adopted when the majority of the native population became bilingual in Cara and Quechua. On closer inspection it is possible to find a larger number of pre-Inca loanwords in Imbabura Quechua, most of them corresponding to zoological and botanical concepts not included in the database. For non-LWT meanings corresponding to pre-Inca loanwords, see the Appendix.

Loanwords from Cuzco Quechua (Peruvian) all correspond to basic vocabulary. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesize that they entered Quechua in Imbabura before or during the Inca conquest rather than in colonial times. One loanword from Cuzco Quechua is an originally Aymaran loanword: *allchi* 'grandchild' < *allch'i* 'grandson'.⁶ Alternatively, the loanword may have come directly from Aymara through forced immigrants in the northern Andes. We also have found a couple of loanwords from dialects of the Quechua I group: *shigra* 'netbag' (Huaylas-Conchucos dialect) and *pikpiga* 'burrowing owl' (Jauja-Huanca dialect) – even though the latter is not part of the LWT core list.

Of the three Barbacoan loanwords one belongs to basic vocabulary (*puzun* 'stomach' < Awa Pit *puzan*), while the other two are related to the semantic field 'animals' (*tupan* 'bat' < Tsafiki *supān*; *tazin* 'nest' < Tsafiki *ta'sin*). These words might have entered Quechua before the Spanish conquest or in the first century of colonization, when contact with Barbacoan groups was still intense. Barbacoan loanwords would be much more numerous if we expanded our database to include endemic concepts.

The large number and varied origin of loanwords in the lexicon of Imbabura Quechua demonstrates not only the intensive contact with other languages but also a permissive attitude towards language mixing. It is not unreasonable to attribute this openness to external influences to the non-indigenous origin of Imbabura Quechua and its development from regional lingua franca to local first language.

⁶ Lexical borrowing between Southern Peruvian Quechua and Aymara goes far beyond one single item. This fact has misled some scholars to propose a genealogical relation between both languages (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 34ff).

4.2. Loanwords and semantic word class

Loanwords are classified according to lexical class in Table 1. Nouns are by far the largest semantic word class, followed by verbs and adjectives. No loan adverbs have been found. As far as their origin is concerned, Barbacoan loanwords are all nouns. Similarly, Peruvian Quechua loanwords are all nouns, except for one verb. Differently, Spanish and pre-Inca loanwords include not only nouns but also verbs and adjectives. In addition, there are a couple of function words from Spanish, which are not the only ones reported for Imbabura Quechua however (cf. Gómez Rendón 2007).

Table 1: *Loanwords in Imbabura Quechua by semantic word class (percentages)*

	Spanish	Peruvian Quechua	Pre-Inca languages	Barbacoan languages	Unidentified	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
Nouns	33.7	0.8	1.4	0.3	0.3	36.5	64.6
Verbs	14.3	0.3	0.3	-	-	14.9	85.1
Adjectives	12.5	-	0.3	-	-	12.8	87.2
Adverbs	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
Function words	2	-	-	-	-	2	98.0
all words	25.7	0.5	0.4	0.2	84.2	27.0	73.0

The primacy of loan nouns over other word classes – a fact amply corroborated by most case studies – is explained by the need to name new objects and practices introduced by other speakers. While this need may be catered for by the creation of new words (neologisms) or the borrowing of lexical items from the contact language, the use of either mechanism depends on: (i) the stage of contact (the first strategy is preferred in earlier stages); (ii) the level of bilingualism of speakers (bilingual speakers usually borrow most); and (iii) the social attitude towards language mixing (if the speech community values purism, borrowings will not find their way into the language). For the case of Imbabura Quechua, the requirements are met which make Spanish borrowing the best choice: a century-long contact with Spanish, high levels of Quichua-Spanish bilingualism, and the absence of sociocultural restrictions to language mixing because of the prestige associated with Spanish.

In relation to function words notice, on the one hand, that numerals from one to ten are all Quechua and that Spanish numerals coexist with native forms in less conservative idiolects. On the other hand, function words such as the loan adverb *simpri* 'always' (< Spanish *siempre*) and the conjunction *o* 'or' (< Spanish *o*) occur not only in Imbabura but also in the rest of Ecuadorian Quechua (cf. Gómez Rendón, 2008). These and other function words are reported in many indigenous languages in contact with Spanish around the world (cf. Stolz & Stolz 1996; 1997).

4.3. Loanwords and semantic field

Although Spanish loanwords are the great majority, most semantic fields have at least one loanword of non-Spanish origin. Only the field of Miscellaneous function words has Spanish loanwords exclusively. Spanish influences all semantic fields. An important number of Spanish loanwords are lexical insertions referring to new entities (objects, concepts, practices) of the dominant society. In 25% of the entries, Spanish loanwords have replaced native items in different periods of time. Here are some examples:

LWT meaning	Quechua word replaced	Spanish borrowing	Time of replacement
'the star'	<i>kuillur</i>	<i>luziro</i> < <i>lucero</i>	Late Colonial
'to measure'	<i>tupuna</i>	<i>midina</i> < <i>medir</i>	Early Republic
'the cow'	<i>wagra</i>	<i>baka</i> < <i>vaca</i>	Contemporary

In other cases Spanish loanwords coexist with native items, although there is no exact semantic equivalence between them. Such is the case of *micha* 'light' (< Spanish *mecha* 'wick') and *tayta* 'father' (< old Spanish *taita*) which overlap with Quechua *nina* 'light' and *yaya* 'father', respectively. While Spanish-derived *micha* is used to refer to the light produced by a candle, Quechua *nina* refers to any kind of light. Similarly, Spanish-derived *tayta* marks respect towards a male individual for his age or social position⁷ while Quechua *yaya* refers to one's father or grandfather. It is worth noting that the semantic differentiation between the elements of both pairs is not an independent development of Quechua.

⁷ For example, *taita* was a term of respect for priests and other individuals of high position in sixteenth-century Spanish.

Table 2: *Loanwords in Imbabura Quechua by semantic field (percentages)*

	Spanish	Peruvian Quechua	Pre-Inca languages	Barbacoan languages	Unidentified	Total loanwords	Non-loanwords
1 The physical world	8	2.6	0	-	-	10.6	89.4
2 Kinship	38.8	1.2	1.2	-	-	41.2	58.8
3 Animals	32	1	1	1.5	2	37.5	62.5
4 The body	15.8	-	0.6	0.6	-	17.0	83.0
5 Food and drink	29.7	1.2	-	-	-	30.9	69.1
6 Clothing and grooming	35.0	-	-	-	-	35.0	65.0
7 The house	40.4	-	-	-	-	40.4	59.6
8 Agriculture and vegetation	31.1	-	-	-	-	31.1	68.9
9 Basic actions and technology	32	1.3	0.6	-	-	34.0	66.0
10 Motion	13.2	1.2	-	-	-	14.4	85.6
11 Possession	32.6	-	-	-	-	32.6	67.4
12 Spatial relations	21.3	-	-	-	-	21.3	78.7
13 Quantity	2.5	-	-	-	-	2.5	97.5
14 Time	21.0	-	-	-	-	21.0	79.0
15 Sense perception	16.3	-	2.1	-	-	18.4	81.6
16 Emotions and values	41.6	-	-	-	-	41.6	58.4
17 Cognition	15.7	-	-	-	-	15.7	84.3
18 Speech and language	16.6	-	-	-	-	16.6	83.4
19 Social and political relations	22.2	-	-	-	-	22.2	77.8
20 Warfare and hunting	15.0	-	-	-	-	15.0	85.0
21 Law	46.1	-	-	-	-	46.1	53.9
22 Religion and belief	66.0	-	-	-	-	66.0	34.0
23 Modern world	72.0	-	-	-	-	72.0	28.0
Miscellaneous function	2.0	-	-	-	-	2.0	98.0
24 words							
	25.7	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2	27.0	73.0

The distribution of loanwords across semantic fields is given in Table 2. Since the overwhelming number of Spanish loanwords does not allow a meaningful cross-linguistic comparison, we will focus on the semantic distribution of Spanish borrowings only. We have grouped semantic fields according to levels of influence:

the first group contains semantic fields where Spanish lexical borrowing is particularly high (66% > 100%); the second group includes semantic fields where such borrowing is moderate (36% > 65%); finally, the third group contains semantic fields where Spanish lexical borrowing is generally low (0% > 35%).

The semantic fields *Modern world* and *Religion* make the group of heavy borrowing. The number of Spanish loanwords in these fields represent 72% and 66% of their respective entries. The well-attested use of evangelization for the acculturation of native American peoples from the early years of Spanish colonization explains the occurrence of such a large number of loanwords in these fields.

Semantic fields with moderate lexical borrowing include *Clothing and grooming*, *The house*, *Kinship*, *Basic actions and technology*, and *Law*. The presence of Spanish items in the first two fields reflect the new clothing and housing practices of Quechua speakers in Imbabura. Thus, for example, the loanword *biga* 'rafter' was introduced in the second half of the twentieth century, when straw houses began to be replaced by log cabins, and brick houses with tiled roofs. The semantic field *Kinship* includes loanwords for kinship terms which result from the rearranging of family relations. Most of the loanwords referring to basic actions and technology are associated with the introduction of implements used in Western arts and crafts. A further field of moderate borrowing concerns law. Here we find an interesting mixture of Quechua words and Spanish items. On closer inspection it becomes clear that concepts referring to spaces (e.g. *karsil* 'prison', *tribunal* 'court'), actions performed therein (e.g. *jwizhu* 'judgment', *jurana* 'to swear') and performers themselves (e.g. *jwis* 'judge', *tistigo* 'witness') use Spanish loanwords while other, more general concepts such as *shuwana* 'to steal' or *wañuchina* 'to murder' are mainly Quechua.

Semantic fields in which Spanish lexical borrowing is low are sixteen in total. Those with a minimum of Spanish loanwords include *Quantity*, *Emotions and values*, and *The physical world*. For the first of these fields, it is necessary to consider that Quechua numerals often coexist with Spanish forms in the speech of young bilinguals. Semantic fields on the verge of moderate borrowing are *Food and drink*, *Agriculture and vegetation*, *Animals*, and *Possession*. Spanish loanwords in the first two of these fields result from the replacement of native practices with those of Western society. For example, the Spanish names for 'fork', 'spoon' and 'knife' refer to new utensils for eating. On the other hand, Quechua words referring to native

cooking objects still in use such as *manga* 'kettle' have not been replaced by loanwords referring to similar objects in the mestizo society.

In the field of *Agriculture and vegetation* it calls our attention that Imbabura Quechua speakers, active farmers themselves, have replaced Quechua words with Spanish items or use both interchangeably. Thus, Quechua *lampa* was replaced by *asadun* (< Spanish *azadón* 'spade') but *pallana* 'harvest' coexists with *kuzicha* (< Spanish *cosecha* 'harvest'). Finally, there are cases of lexical insertions to name objects introduced in agriculture by Spaniards (e.g. *jurkita* 'pitchfork'). Both replacements and insertions mirror past and present changes in agricultural practices among the indigenous population of Imbabura.

Notice, to conclude, that most of the Spanish names of animals and plants correspond to those introduced by Spaniards since the beginning of colonization: e.g. *pullu* 'chicken'; *trigu* 'wheat'. In addition to Spanish loanwords there are one Pre-Inca loanword (i.e. *pilis* 'body louse' < Pre Inca language *pilis*)⁸ and two items of Barbacoan origin (Tsafiki). Several pre-Inca loanwords referring to local flora and fauna which are not part of the core LWT list were not included in the statistics (cf. Appendix).

5. Integration of (Spanish) loanwords

In this section we deal with the mechanisms for the integration of Spanish loanwords in Imbabura Quechua. The processes described hereunder can be applied also to non-Spanish loanwords in so far as they follow Quechua morpho-phonological rules.

The majority of Spanish loanwords (88%) are fully or almost fully assimilated to the phonological patterns of Imbabura Quechua. Partially integrated loanwords amount to 5% while unintegrated loanwords represent 7% of the whole set. Unlike loanwords from non-Spanish origin (e.g. Cuzco Quechua or pre-Inca), which occur always as integrated forms regardless of other considerations (e.g. age, semantics), the integration of Spanish loanwords depends heavily on an interaction of factors including age, frequency, pragmatics and discourse. Thus, an old loanword frequently used in discourse may be more integrated to Quechua phonology than a recent loanword whose frequency is also high.

⁸ This non-Quechua word might be related also to Guambiano /paliti/ 'louse'. The other Barbacoan languages do not yield similar forms.

The phonological integration of Spanish loanwords involves mainly vocalic changes. Spanish medial vowels are generally raised (/e/ > /i/, /o/ > /u/) or otherwise pronounced as close as possible to their Quechua equivalents, as illustrated in (1).

(1) [misa] / [miza] < Spanish /mesa/ 'table'

Partial assimilation is frequent in words with several medial vowels, as shown in (2). Assimilation varies across idiolects, resulting in different pronunciations of the same word.

(2) [prizidinti]/[presidinti]/[presidente] < Spanish /presidnte/ 'president'

Words with more than one medial vowel have different phonetic realizations depending on their environment and frequency of use. The less frequent a word in everyday speech (i.e. the more external to basic vocabulary) the less assimilated to Quechua phonology. A further factor influencing phonological integration is the speaker's level of bilingualism. From this perspective the three realizations of the Spanish loanword in (2) can be correlated to three increasing levels of bilingualism, with the first realization corresponding to an incipient bilingual, the second to a subordinate bilingual, and the third (unassimilated) to a coordinate bilingual.

The phonological adaptation of Spanish consonants is less frequent. One of the few consonant changes concerns the velarization of the fricative labiodental /f/, as illustrated in the following examples:

(3) [xiřu] < Spanish /fieřo/ '(piece of) iron'

(4) [xurkita] < Spanish /forketa/ 'pitchfork'

Notice that both word forms reflect a typical Spanish American pronunciation and contrast with their Peninsular equivalents *hierro* [yeřo] and *horqueta* [orketa] which do not involve consonant onsets. In turn, the presence of a velar onset in the following loanword –originally lacking a consonant onset – suggests that it was borrowed in an earlier phonological stage of the source language:

(5) [xazinda] < old Spanish /fasienda/ 'estate'

The loanword [jazinda] in (5) resembles the sixteenth-century pronunciation of contemporary Spanish *hacienda* 'estate'. Accordingly, the velarization illustrated in (5) results from the phonological adaptation of an old Spanish word form and not from dialectal pronunciation as in the previous examples. Notice also the sonorization of the intervocalic sibilant in (5). The same sonorization is attested in the following word:

(6) [xuižu] < Spanish *juicio* /xwisio/ 'estate'

Another process of loanword assimilation is metathesis. The nature of this process is not only phonological but also morphological in so far it affects the syllable structure of loanwords. The order of syllables changes in some cases while syllables are replaced or simply deleted in others. Consider the following case of syllable deletion:

(7) *tempora* < Spanish *temporada* 'season'

In a few other cases metathesis affects not the syllable proper but only a particular feature. This is the case of (8), where the palatality of /r/ goes to /n/.

(8) *sañora* < Spanish *zanahoria* /sanaoria/ 'carrot'

The morpho-phonological integration of loanwords may involve semantic changes too. Accordingly, certain nouns and verbs are borrowed in the guise of other nouns and verbs but with different meanings:

(9) *rifuirso* 'effort' < Spanish *refuerzo* 'reinforcement'; compare *esfuerzo* 'effort'

Verbs are particularly prone to morpho-phonological changes whereas nouns, adjectives and adverbs are less so. The integration of Spanish verbs in Imbabura Quechua involves the drop of inflectional endings. The resulting verbal root becomes the base form to which Quechua verbal morphology is added. The following example illustrates this process for the verb *volar* 'to fly'. The raising of the stem vowel occurs also in this case.

- (10) *bula-na* < *bula-* < Spanish *vola-r* 'fly-INF'
 fly-INF
 'to fly'

Once adapted to Quechua morpho-phonology, loan verbs behave exactly as any other verb. In a few cases verbs are derived directly from loan nouns by simply adding the infinitive marker. Consider the following example created on loan basis:

- (11) *kaballu-na* < *kaballu* < Spanish *caballo* 'horse'
 ride-INF
 'to ride (a horse)'

Spanish nouns and adjectives are sometimes borrowed along with their plural and gender markers (frozen borrowing). This is illustrated in (12) and (13) below.

- (12) *barbas* < Spanish *barba-s* 'beard-PL'

- (13) *awila* < Spanish *abuel-a* 'grandparent-FEM'

The borrowing of roots along with bound morphemes does not imply the effective borrowing of the latter, because Spanish bound morphemes do not occur in native Quechua forms. Another case of frozen borrowing is the occurrence of Spanish gender markers in loan adjectives. Here are two examples:

- (14) *santu* < Spanish *sant-o* 'holy-MASC'

- surdu* < Spanish *sord-o* 'deaf-MASC'

A unique type of frozen borrowing involves Spanish words and Quechua particles. This is the case of *nakrina* 'to doubt', in which the Quechua negative form (*ma*)*na* is prefixed to the borrowed verb root *kri-* 'to believe' (from Spanish *creer*) and followed by the Quechua infinitive *-na*. The main characteristic of these loanblends is that their original constituents cannot be detached, modified or otherwise subjected to derivational or inflectional mechanisms. The same feature is shared by phrasal borrowings, i.e. phrasal constructions created on loan basis as (15).

- (15) *afila-na* *rumi*
 sharpen-INF stone
 'whetstone' (Spanish, *piedra de afilar*)

In this case no adjectival modifier can be inserted between *afilana* and *rumi*. Should we like to modify this compound with an adjective such as *jatun* 'big', we would have to put the latter immediately before *afilana*. This means that a phrase such as **afilana jatun rumi* is ungrammatical because the adjective splits the compound in two.

6. Grammatical borrowing

The affluence of Spanish loanwords in Imbabura Quechua goes hand in hand with changes at the levels of the clause and the sentence. Even if syntactic developments are not necessarily explained by lexical borrowing, the co-occurrence of loanwords and syntactic calquing suggests a close relation between both phenomena.

The outcomes of grammatical borrowing in Imbabura Quechua are many and varied. A comprehensive study of this phenomenon has been presented elsewhere (Gómez Rendón 2007). Three contact-induced changes are worthy of notice. First, the replacement of embedded nominalized constructions with subordinated clauses that use loan connectives including relativizers (e.g. *que* 'that', *lo que* 'that which') and conjunctions (e.g. *purki* 'because', *si* 'if'). Second, the occurrence of SVO word order in declarative sentences and the use of non-verbal predicative constructions with copulas. Third, the shift from relative clause-head to head-relative clause order, with Quechua interrogative pronouns used as relative markers. These and other contact-induced changes have modified and continue to modify the typological character of Imbabura Quechua as a typical agglutinative, verb-final language that uses clause embedding instead of clause subordination through connectives. In general terms, the combined effects of lexical and grammatical borrowing have made Imbabura Quechua a Hispanicized variety different from conservative dialects. At the same time, these changes have made the language extremely adaptive to new communicative settings.

7. Conclusion

Quechua has been in contact with different languages since its Chinchay variety entered Imbabura as a regional lingua franca in the fifteenth century. Four distinct contact languages can be distinguished, each associated with a specific period of time: Cara (pre-Inca, Inca and early Colonial); Peruvian Quechua (Inca); Barbacoan languages (pre-Inca, Inca, early Colonial); and Spanish (early Colonial to the present). While all of these situations left imprints on the lexicon, the influence from Spanish has been by far the largest. Four centuries of intense long-term contact with the European language have led to borrowing in the lexicon and the grammar. The higher levels of bilingualism among Imbabura Quechua speakers and their permissiveness to language mixing have further encouraged Spanish borrowing. It remains to explore to what extent the present-day configuration of Imbabura Quechua is due to the contribution of languages other than Spanish, in particular pre-Inca; and to what extent the non-indigenous origin of Imbabura Quechua as a pidginized variety turned into the first language of an ethnic group made it permeable to language mixing.

Abbreviations

MASC = masculine; FEM = feminine; PL = plural; INF = infinitive

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▪ luziru	'star'
▪ rilampagu	'lightning'
▪ rayu	'bolt of lightning'
▪ micha	'wick'
▪ bichi	'pan'
▪ fúsfuru	'match'
▪ karbun	'charcoal'
▪ jinti	'people'
▪ kazarana	'to get married'
▪ kazamintu	'marriage'
▪ dibursyu	'divorce'
▪ tayta	'father'
▪ millisus	'twins'
▪ awilu	'grandfather'
▪ awila	'grandmother'
▪ ñitu	'grandson'
▪ ñita	'granddaughter'
▪ tiyu	'uncle'
▪ tiya	'aunt'
▪ subrinu	'nephew'
▪ subrina	'niece'
▪ primu	'cousin'
▪ swidru	'father-in-law'
▪ swidra	'mother-in-law'
▪ yirnu	'son-in-law'
▪ padastru	'stepfather'
▪ madastra	'stepmother'
▪ intinadu	'stepson'
▪ intinada	'stepdaughter'
▪ byuda	'widow'
▪ byudu	'widower'
▪ animal	'animal'
▪ putru	'pasture, colt'
▪ istablu	'stable, stall'
▪ buyi	'ox'
▪ baka	'cow'

▪ shiku	'small'	
▪ karneru	'ram'	
▪ kaballu	'horse'	
▪ bistya	'beast'	
▪ burru	'donkey'	
▪ mula	'mule'	
▪ gallu	'rooster'	
▪ pullu	'chicken'	
▪ gansu	'goose'	
▪ patu	'duck'	
▪ garsa	'heron'	
▪ luru	'parrot'	
▪ paluma	'dove'	
▪ kunu	'rabbit'	
▪ rapusa	'opossum'	
▪ piji	'fish'	
▪ usu	'bear'	
▪ munu	'monkey'	
▪ elefanti	'elephant'	
▪ sintupis	'centipede'	
▪ alakrán	'scorpion'	
▪ añara	'spider'	
▪ abija	'bee'	
▪ kulibra	'snake'	
▪ dyablillu	'grasshopper'	
▪ sapu	'frog'	
▪ palu kuku	'lizard'	(created on loan basis)
▪ kukudrilu	'crocodile'	
▪ turtuga	'turtle'	
▪ barbas	'beard'	
▪ kaspá	'dandruff'	
▪ kustilla	'rib'	
▪ piku	'beak'	
▪ kunga nuka	'nape of the neck'	(created on loan basis)
▪ umbru	'shoulder'	
▪ subaku	'armpit'	

▪ maki tabla	'palm'	(created on loan basis)
▪ didu	'finger'	
▪ talun	'heel'	
▪ alas	'wings'	
▪ pichu	'chest'	
▪ sintura	'waist'	
▪ madri	'womb'	
▪ sudana	'to sweat'	
▪ lanzana	'to throw'	
▪ lambina	'to lick'	
▪ runkana	'to snore'	
▪ awarina	'to drown'	
▪ kalintura	'fever'	
▪ rumas	'a cold, a flu'	
▪ bininu	'poison'	
▪ surdu	'deaf'	
▪ chupana	'to suck'	
▪ awana	'to choke'	
▪ jurnu	'oven'	
▪ platu	'dish'	
▪ platillu	'saucer'	
▪ kuchara	'spoon'	
▪ almuza	'lunch'	(from Spanish <i>almorzar</i> 'to have lunch')
▪ sina	'cena'	
▪ masa	'dough'	
▪ masana	'to knead'	
▪ igus	'fig'	
▪ uba	'grape'	
▪ nuwis	'nut'	
▪ asituna	'olive'	
▪ asiyti	'oil'	
▪ lichi	'milk'	
▪ kizu	'cheese'	
▪ binu	'wine'	
▪ serbisa	'beer'	
▪ algudun	'cotton'	

▪ seda	'silk'
▪ tilar	'loom'
▪ awuja	'needle'
▪ tiñina	'to dye'
▪ shwiter	'coat'
▪ kamiza	'shirt'
▪ pantalun	'trousers'
▪ midias	'socks'
▪ butas	'boots'
▪ bulsiku	'pocket'
▪ butun	'button'
▪ surtijas	'ring'
▪ sarsillu	'earring'
▪ sinta	'band'
▪ panilu	'handkerchief'
▪ twalla	'towel'
▪ sipillu	'brush'
▪ jabun	'soap'
▪ ispiju	'mirror'
▪ wirta	'garden'
▪ tuldu	'tent'
▪ llabi	'key'
▪ bintana	'window'
▪ kama	'bed'
▪ miza	'table'
▪ lampara	'lamp'
▪ bila	'wax'
▪ batiya	'trough'
▪ kumbrira	'ridgepole'
▪ biga	'rafter'
▪ tabla	'board'
▪ arku	'arch'
▪ albañil	'mason'
▪ ladrillu	'brick'
▪ adubi	'adobe'
▪ labradur	'farmer'

▪ sanja	'ditch'	
▪ azadun	'spade'	
▪ pala	'shovel'	
▪ jurkita	'pitchfork'	
▪ kuzichana	'to mow'	
▪ usis	'scythe'	
▪ ira pamba	'threshing floor'	(created on loan basis)
▪ kuzicha	'harvest'	
▪ granu	'grain'	
▪ trigu	'wheat'	
▪ sibada	'barley'	
▪ sintinu	'rye'	
▪ abina	'oats'	
▪ arrusa	'rice'	
▪ pinu	'pine'	
▪ tabaku	'tobacco'	
▪ jurkita malki	'pitchfork'	(created on loan basis)
▪ koku	'coconut'	
▪ platanu	'banana'	
▪ kamuti	'sweet potato'	
▪ trabajana	'to work'	
▪ zafana	'to untie'	
▪ kadena	'chain'	
▪ kuchillu	'knife'	
▪ kuchilluna	'to stab'	
▪ tijiras	'scissors'	
▪ jacha	'axe'	
▪ aswila	'adze'	
▪ ajustana	'to press'	
▪ jirraminta	'tool'	
▪ karpinteru	'carpenter'	
▪ sirruchu	'saw'	
▪ martillu	'hammer'	
▪ klabus	'nails'	
▪ jirriru	'blacksmith'	
▪ jirru	'iron, copper'	

▪ kanastu	'basket'	
▪ ishtira	'mat'	
▪ sinsil	'chisel'	
▪ tiñi	'paint'	
▪ bulana	'to fly'	
▪ lisyana	'to limp'	
▪ umbrospi markana	'to carry on shoulders'	(created on loan basis)
▪ subakupi apana	'armpit'	(created on loan basis)
▪ manijana	'to drive'	
▪ kaballuna	'to ride a horse'	
▪ rwida	'wheel'	
▪ yugu	'yoke'	
▪ kanuwa	'canoe'	
▪ dibina	'to own'	
▪ debi	'debt'	
▪ pagana	'to pay'	
▪ kwinta	'bill'	
▪ impwesto	'tax'	
▪ alkilana	'to hire'	
▪ ganana	'to earn'	
▪ nigusyanti	'trader'	
▪ tyinda	'shop'	
▪ prisyu	'price'	
▪ karu	'expensive'	
▪ baratu	'cheap'	
▪ repartina	'to share'	
▪ pushtu	'place'	
▪ muntunana	'to pile up'	
▪ partina	'to divide, to split'	
▪ filu	'sharp'	
▪ ali ladu	'right side'	(created on loan basis)
▪ lluki ladu	'left side'	(created on loan basis)
▪ inti llujshina ladu	'East'	(created on loan basis)
▪ inti yaykuna ladu	'West'	(created on loan basis)
▪ midina	'to measure'	
▪ brasa	'fathom'	

▪ anchu	'wide'	
▪ jundu	'deep'	
▪ dirichu	'right, straight'	
▪ krus	'cross'	
▪ kwadradu	'square'	
▪ kambyana	'to trade'	
▪ achka jinti	'people'	(created on loan basis)
▪ timpu	'time'	
▪ simpri	'always'	
▪ uras	'hours'	
▪ riluju	'watch'	
▪ simana	'week'	
▪ dumingo	'Sunday'	
▪ lunis	'Monday'	
▪ martis	'Tuesday'	
▪ mircules	'Wednesday'	
▪ juibes	'Thursday'	
▪ birnes	'Friday'	
▪ sabadu	'Saturday'	
▪ gushtana	'to like'	
▪ bulla	'noise'	
▪ kulur	'color'	
▪ asul	'blue'	
▪ birdi	'green'	
▪ sintina	'to feel'	
▪ filulla	'sharp edge'	
▪ alma	'soul'	
▪ atribina	'to dare'	
▪ kriyina	'to believe'	
▪ intindina	'to understand'	
▪ adibinana	'to guess'	
▪ siguru	'sure'	
▪ kawza	'cause'	
▪ nakrina	'to believe'	(created on loan basis)
▪ minishtina	'need, duty'	
▪ o	'or'	

▪ silbana	'to whistle'
▪ awllana	'to howl'
▪ ufrisina	'to offer'
▪ papil	'paper'
▪ flawta	'flute'
▪ tambur	'drum'
▪ trumpita	'trumpet'
▪ billa	'town, village'
▪ linderu	'boundary'
▪ amu	'master'
▪ sirbyenti	'servant'
▪ swiltu	'loose'
▪ bizinu	'neighbor'
▪ koshtumbri	'custom'
▪ ispada	'sword'
▪ iskupita	'gun'
▪ armadura	'armour'
▪ durri	'tower'
▪ trampa	'trap'
▪ ley	'law'
▪ tribunal	'court'
▪ jwizhu	'judgement'
▪ jwis	'judge'
▪ dimandanti	'plaintiff'
▪ tistigu	'witness'
▪ jurana	'to swear'
▪ juramintu	'oath'
▪ inusinti	'innocent'
▪ kashtigu	'punishment'
▪ multa	'fine'
▪ karsil	'prison'
▪ rilijyún	'religion'
▪ iglizya	'temple'
▪ altar	'altar'
▪ ufrinda	'offering'
▪ kultu	'worship'

▪ rizana	'to pray'	
▪ tayta kura	'priest'	
▪ santu	'holy'	
▪ bindisina	'to bless'	
▪ ayunana	'to fast'	
▪ silu	'heaven'	
▪ infirnu	'hell'	
▪ brujoyana	'witch'	
▪ bruju	'sorcerer'	
▪ dwindi	'elf'	
▪ fantasma	'ghost'	
▪ radyu	'radio'	
▪ tilibisyún	'television'	
▪ tilefunu	'telephone'	
▪ mutu	'motorcycle'	
▪ awtu	'car'	
▪ abyun	'airplane'	
▪ pila	'battery'	
▪ uspital	'hospital'	
▪ pastilla	'pill'	
▪ indijsyún	'injection'	
▪ yaku llabi	'faucet'	(created on loan basis)
▪ lababu	'sink'	
▪ iskusadu	'toilet'	
▪ mantana	'blanket'	
▪ gubyernu	'government'	
▪ prisidinti	'president'	
▪ ministru	'minister'	
▪ pulisiya	'police'	
▪ karta	'letter'	
▪ banku	'bank'	
▪ lata	'can'	
▪ turnillu	'screw'	
▪ butilla	'bottle'	
▪ antyujus	'glasses'	
▪ plastiku	'plastic'	

▪ trwinu	'thunder'	
▪ fabrika	'factory'	
▪ almanaki	'calendar'	
▪ pilíkula	'movie'	
▪ muzika	'music'	
▪ trin	'train'	
▪ partida	'certificate'	
▪ pitrulyu	'petroleum'	
▪ mutur	'motor'	
▪ makina	'machine'	
▪ bisiklita	'bicycle'	
▪ armadillu	'armadillo'	
▪ ardilla	'squirrel'	
▪ ataju	'herd'	
▪ briya	'tar'	
▪ kurtina	'to tan'	
▪ofilana rumi	'whetstone'	(created on loan basis)
▪ tamal	'tamale'	
▪ jamaka	'hammock'	
▪ aru	'ring'	
▪ bisya*	'vetch'	
▪ liyón	'lion'	
▪ tenedur	'fork'	
▪ karritilla	'cart'	
▪ kosa	'thing'	
▪ piji japik	'fisherman'	(created on loan basis)
▪ kafé	'coffee'	
▪ te	'tea'	
▪ swidrus	'parents-in-law'	