

Syncretic discourse markers in Kichwa-influenced Spanish: Transfer vs. emergence



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Received 3 September 2013; received in revised form 4 July 2014; accepted 9 July 2014
Available online 22 August 2014

Abstract

In the Andean highlands of South America, the predominant indigenous language, Quechua, frequently produces phonetic and morphosyntactic effects on regional varieties of Spanish. Popular accounts of Quechua-influenced Spanish depict a picturesque jumble of mismatched vowels and erratic morphological agreement, while linguistic descriptions have concentrated on double possessives, O-V word order, and the overuse of gerunds. The underlying assumption is that Quechua-dominant bilinguals inconsistently mix Quechua-like configurations into their imperfectly acquired Spanish, while fluent Andean Spanish retains only slight traces of language contact. The present study draws on data from northern Ecuador, where Quechua-dominant bilinguals exhibit the beginnings of a hybrid morphological system based on two discourse markers that reflect the realities of both Spanish and Quechua: *-ca* (derived from the Quechua topicalizer *-ka*), and *-tan* (apparently derived from Spanish *también* 'also'). An analysis of the Ecuadoran data reveals that *-ca* in Quechua-influenced Spanish often signals topic (assumed information) much as in Quechua. It is also postulated that *-ca* has its origin in non-fluent bilinguals' incomplete suppression of Kichwa grammar when producing Spanish. The Ecuadoran data also suggest that *-tan* has developed into a syncretic marker combining reflexes of Kichwa *-pash* 'also, even' and the validator *-mi*, variably indicating focus and/or evidentiality as well as embodying innovative characteristics not directly derivable from Quechua sources. Data from a (Quechua-influenced) Spanish-to-Quechua translation task are used to further explore possible Kichwa sources for *-ca* and *-tan*.

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Keywords: Andean Spanish; Quechua; Topic-comment marking; Spanish morphology; Language contact

1. Introduction

In much of the Andean region of South America Spanish is in contact with Quechua, and beginning with the Spanish colonization in the 16th century a number of stable as well as transitory interlanguage varieties have developed in the highlands of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia, and spreading into the Amazon basin. The Spanish of Quechua-dominant bilinguals is characterized by several recurrent morphosyntactic patterns in addition to the range of idiolectal variation found among second-language learners (Cerrón-Palomino, 2003; Escobar, 2000; Feké, 2004; Haboud, 1998, 2005; Niño-Murcia, 1992, 1995; Olbertz, 2008; Pérez Silva et al., 2008; Sánchez, 2003, 2012 among many others). Many of these combinations are widely known through literary imitations and parodies; popular accounts of Quechua-influenced Spanish depict a picturesque jumble of mismatched vowels and erratic morphological agreement, while linguistic

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descriptions have concentrated on double possessives, O-V word order, and the overuse of gerunds. The underlying assumption is that Quechua-dominant bilinguals inconsistently mix Quechua-like configurations into their imperfectly acquired Spanish, while fluent Andean Spanish retains only slight traces of language contact.

The possibility of quasi-stable hybrid systems in the Spanish of Quechua-dominant bilinguals has rarely been considered; this is due in part to racialized “broken Spanish” stereotypes in popularizing descriptions, as well as to the emphasis on L2 acquisition in most linguistic approaches. Popular stereotypes are rarely accurate, and often conflate the (once common but now dwindling) attempts by speakers with little practical competence in Spanish together with relatively stable interlanguage varieties (e.g. as described by Calvo Pérez, 2001; Cerrón-Palomino, 1976; Haboud, 1998; Lee, 1997; Merma Molina, 2007; Muntendam, 2008, 2013; Muysken, 1982). Examples of such attitudes are analyzed e.g. by Cerrón-Palomino (1989), Godenzzi (1991), Pérez Silva et al. (2008), and Pérez Silva and Zavala Cisneros (2010). The present study offers a preliminary search for emergent properties in the vernacular Spanish of northern Ecuadoran Kichwa¹ speakers who acquired Spanish as a second language. These speakers of Ecuadoran Andean Spanish (henceforth EAS) variably employ two affixes not found in other varieties of Spanish. The first is *-ca*, evidently derived from the Kichwa topicalizer *-ka*. The other discourse marker found in EAS is *-tan*, which previous scholarship has derived from Spanish *también* ‘also.’

In northern Ecuador Spanish and Kichwa have been in contact for nearly five centuries and language contact phenomena—including partial convergence—are commonplace in both languages. In particular Kichwa influences on EAS phonology, word order, and gerund usage have been amply documented. Relevant to the use of *-ca* and *-tan* in EAS, are two fundamental questions. The first is why these particular (possibly Kichwa-induced) morphological elements, to the nearly total exclusion of all other potential Kichwa candidates, recur in EAS. The second question is whether *-ca* and *-tan* exhibit enough consistency individually and collectively to be considered as part of an emergent system or are only produced under duress as spur-of-the-moment attempts to speak in a weaker language e.g. when Kichwa-dominant speakers are forced to communicate in Spanish. A related issue, which due to limitations of space must be confined to a few brief remarks, is the sort of contact environment that would result in this particular usage. Given the many lacunae that exist in knowledge of both EAS and Imbabura Kichwa the ensuing analysis must be regarded as tentative and preliminary, and underscores the need for additional research into this rich linguistic interface.

The remainder of this study is organized as follows. A corpus of Ecuadoran Andean Spanish is described (section 2), followed by a survey of previous analyses of EAS *-ca* and *-tan* and their possible Kichwa sources (sections 3 and 4). The distribution of *-ca* and *-tan* in the EAS corpus is described in detail (sections 5 and 6). The results of a Spanish-to-Kichwa translation task involving EAS *-ca* and *-tan* (section 7) lead to an evaluation of the evidence for an emergent system of discourse markers (sections 8 and 9).

2. Obtaining Ecuadoran Andean Spanish data

2.1. Previous documentation of *-ca* and *-tan* in EAS

The Kichwa-influenced Spanish interlanguage of Ecuador appears in several literary works, among the best known of which are Jorge Icaza’s *Huasipungo* (Icaza, 2010 [1934]) and derived theatrical versions (Descalzi, 1981; Ordóñez Andrade, 1969), Icaza’s *En las calles* (Icaza, 1944) and other collections of stories, and Enrique Terán’s *El cojo Navarrete* (Terán, 1940). More trustworthy specimens of EAS are found in transcribed interviews with rural residents in Pesillo, Cayambe, to the north of Quito (Yáñez del Poso, 1988). These texts and others like them, spanning the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, provide abundant examples of *-ca* and *-tan* in vernacular Ecuadoran Spanish as produced by Kichwa-dominant bilinguals; some examples appear in (1).

(1)

Aquí *ca* el guagua shurandu (Icaza, 2010:109)

‘The baby is crying here’

A usted, *ca* le han sabido faltar los dos o tres dientes (Terán, 1940:53)

‘You’re always missing two or three teeth’

¹ The varieties of Quechua spoken in Ecuador are known in that country as Quichua (and in the modern unified spelling as *Kichwa*), pronounced [‘ki-tʃwa], since the Ecuadoran dialects lack the uvular stop that lowers the front vowel to [e] in the dialects of Peru and Bolivia. In the present study the unified spelling of Kichwa Unificado now officialized by the Ecuadoran government (www.educacion.gob.ec; Franco, 2007; Ministerio de Educación, 2010) will be used for Quichua/Kichwa items. Thus the Kichwa topicalizer will be spelled *-ka* while its borrowing into Spanish will be spelled *-ca* in accordance with Spanish orthographic conventions.

Por eso *ca* yo me fui con burrito aquí atrás pastando (Yáñez del Poso, 1988:22)

'For that reason I took the donkey back here to graze'

¿Quién les robó? ¿Patrón grande, su mercé, *tan*? ¿Cholu, *tan*? ¿Cualquiera, *tan*? (Icaza, 2010:133)

'Who robbed them? The big boss, you, sir? An Indian? Anybody?'

Además, como mi mujer es partera de comedimiento, y todos le ocupan, ella *tan* a riunido sus realitos (Terán, 1940:77)

'Since my wife is a professional midwife and everyone uses her she has set aside a good bit of money'

Toma esto *tan* es bueno, sabroso (Yáñez del Poso, 1988:138)

'Drink this, it's good, tasty.'

2.2. Contemporary EAS-speaking communities

In order to obtain empirically verifiable data on the behavior of *-ca* and *-tan* in contemporary Ecuadoran Andean Spanish, samples were collected in several indigenous communities in the *cantón* of Otavalo in Imbabura province to the north of Quito, a region with one of the highest concentrations of Kichwa speakers in all of South America (Andronis, 2004; Cachimuel, 2001; King and Haboud, 2002; Rindstedt and Aronsson, 2002).² All members of these communities are ethnically Native American and all but some of the youngest residents are native speakers of Imbabura Kichwa (henceforth IK). 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 bus ride (or a one- to two-hour walk) from a major population settlement. In these communities there are many Kichwa-dominant late bilinguals with limited abilities in Spanish, who use more Kichwa 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. Among elderly speakers, especially women, near-monolingual speakers of Kichwa can still be found, and some women as young as the early 40's know little Spanish. Although at least rudimentary schools have existed in these communities for several decades, until recently many rural families did not send their daughters to school, under the assumption that the basic tasks performed by women are best learned at home.

2.3. Collecting samples of EAS

For the present study data were extracted from sociolinguistic interviews conducted between 2010 and 2013 with twelve speakers (ten women and two men) whose ages ranged from 40+ to 87. None had received any schooling nor lived for extended periods of time away from their communities. All participants were interviewed (in Spanish and some Kichwa) by the author after being introduced by close friends or family members, one or more of whom were present in all interviews. The author was presented as a visiting teacher interested in learning about the communities. The format was free conversation, on topics dealing with rural life and agricultural practices and at times also touching on language usage. As will be discussed further below, many of the interviews included reminiscences about past times as well as descriptions of ongoing activities, which resulted in a large proportion of temporal and locative adverbials, whose Kichwa equivalents strongly favor the attachment of *-ka*. All interviewees are self-described Kichwa-dominant speakers who acquired Spanish informally during adolescence or early adulthood through work on neighboring estates, and all exhibit the full range of Andean Spanish traits, including partial neutralization of high and mid vowels (/i/-e/ and /u/-o/), predominant object-verb word order, frequent use of gerunds instead of finite verbs, elimination of definite articles, and lapses of verb-subject and adjective-noun agreement. Quantitative analyses of some of these traits are presented in AUTHOR (2013, forthcoming). 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. Participants who met these demographic criteria were not pre-selected for any specific linguistic traits, including use of *-ca* and *-tan*. Although inter-speaker variation was not formally calculated for any EAS traits, in the author's experience all typify the speech of older Kichwa-dominant bilinguals in this region. Use of any of these traits outside of the community often engenders disapproval (e.g. Shappeck, 2011), and Kichwa-dominant speakers who are aware of such metalinguistic criticism would be expected to avoid them as much as possible. The fact that these configurations were freely used with the author suggests little linguistic insecurity and consequently little likelihood of hypercorrection or suppression of vernacular traits. From each recorded interview approximately thirty minutes of continuous speech (in Spanish) were extracted and all occurrences of *-ca* and *-tan* were transcribed.

² The communities include Angla, Casco Valenzuela, Topo, Ugsha, Pijal, Huaycupungo, Cochaloma, San Miguel Alto, and Cachimuel.

2.4. EAS general constituent structure

Since the vernacular Andean Spanish being analyzed is spoken by Kichwa-dominant late bilinguals, there is inter-speaker variation in the degree of syntactic complexity as well as constituent order. However for all of the speakers whose data are analyzed here (S)OV word order strongly predominates when full clauses are produced:

(2)
 maicito tengo
 corn-DIM have-1s
 '[I] have corn [planted]'
 aquí-ca nada no sembra
 here-TOP nothing NEG plant-3s
 'Here [we] don't plant anything'
 Topo Alto-ca por arriba es por aquí ca vuelta Topo Chiquito es
 Topo Alto-TOP for up is for here-TOP turn Topo Chiquito is
 'Upper Topo is higher up, this on the other hand is Little [lower] Topo'

As in Kichwa there are many examples of fronted adverbials including gerund-based combinations with conditional or consequential meaning (cf. [Haboud, 2005](#); [Lipski, 2013](#)):

(3)
 enojando no sabía comer
 anger-GER NEG know-IMP-3s eat
 '[When] [he] was angry [he] would not eat'
 yo-ca no siguiendo clase-ca ni firmar no pudiendo mismo
 I-TOP NEG follow-GER class-TOP nor write NEG able-GER same
 '[Since] [I] didn't take class(es) [I] can't even write'
 comprando comemos no teniendo
 buy-GER eat-1pl NEG have-GER
 'If [we] don't have, we buy [potatoes]'

2.5. The inherent variability of EAS

From the outset it must be acknowledged that EAS *-ca* and *-tan* behave like recurring but transient interlanguage phenomena rather than fully integrated borrowings. The frequent use of both elements is found only in the speech of Kichwa-dominant bilinguals and there is more inter-speaker variability that would be expected of a stable system. Monolingual vernacular Spanish speakers from the Ecuadoran highlands very occasionally insert *-ca* after subject pronouns with a focusing effect,³ but this does not occur with adverbials, gerunds, etc. as in EAS. *Tan* as a shortened form of *también* is also residually present in the vernacular Spanish of Imbabura, but never with the full range of possibilities found in EAS. The fact that *-ca* and *-tan* have been attested for several generations of EAS speakers may be simply the consequence of predictable interlanguage configurations (particularly in the case of *-ca*) and also of the intra-community recycling non-canonical Spanish elements (in the case of *-tan*). Kichwa-dominant bilinguals do not normally speak to one another in Spanish but they are members of speech communities in which EAS is present and they do use some Spanish, especially when addressing members of increasingly Spanish-dominant younger generations. These speakers' Spanish exhibits other non-canonical traits not found in surrounding (Spanish monolingual) Euro-mestizo communities, which is reflective of the intra-community recycling of exogenous vernacular Spanish features. Although these traits have largely disappeared from the speech of younger community members, they were once acquired routinely by Kichwa-dominant speakers as part of their Andean Spanish interlanguage. In addition to the aforementioned O-V word order and use of the gerund in place of finite verbs (examples 2 and 3), in the corpus collected for the present study the most salient of these non-canonical traits are (all examples from the author's interviews):

³ A literary example, ostensibly representing working-class speakers in Ibarra (Imbabura) es: "Vaya no más usted, yo ca a pie" [You go ahead {on a bicycle} I'll go on foot'] ([Proaño, 1994:69](#)).

- Singular 2nd person singular verb forms (with and without the locally prevalent subject pronoun *vos*) with the diphthong corresponding to Peninsular Spanish 2nd person plural *vosotros* (Toscano Mateus, 1953:230, 240); this usage has all but disappeared from contemporary Imbabura:

(4)

vos soís na-vale soís para dar a luz aquí-pi-ca;
 ‘You are unfit to give birth here.’
¿por qué no vais a la escuela?
 ‘Why don’t you go to school?’
- Use of *pasque* < Sp. *parece que* ‘it seems that’:

(5)

asimismo los huahuas-tan enseñado en quichua-ca *pasque* hablan en quichua-tan en castellano-tan
 ‘So the kids are being taught Kichwa, it seems that they are speaking Kichwa and Spanish’
 este gusano-ca di undi-tan por abajo de San Grabiél *pasque* viniendo pues no sé
 ‘This caterpillar where could it come from, it may come from below San Gabriel, I don’t know’
- Use of archaic verb forms such as *vide* (modern Sp. *vi*) ‘I saw,’ and *truje* (modern Sp. *traje* ‘I brought’). These verbs are used in rustic Spanish throughout Latin America, but have disappeared from the Spanish of most monolingual Imbabura Spanish speakers in immediate contact with indigenous communities.
- Numerous other archaic or Kichwa-influenced forms are found in Andean Spanish interlanguage but not in regional received Spanish; additional examples include the pronunciation of *seis* ‘six’ as [sajs], the use of *andi* for *donde* ‘where,’ and the use of *castilla* for *castellano* ‘Spanish language.’

2.6. Obtaining corroborating judgments

Definitions of discourse-based concepts such as “topic” and “comment” cannot always be unambiguously operationalized, especially in spontaneous speech as produced by semi-fluent bilinguals. Since all of the utterances in the EAS corpus were extracted from interviews and can be situated within broader linguistic and pragmatic contexts, it is in principle possible to offer reasoned judgments as to whether new or old information is being conveyed in a given utterance. In the analysis of the corpora containing *-ca* and *-tan*, corroborating judgments were obtained from two bilingual consultants. Both are university-educated high school teachers born and raised in the communities from which the data were obtained; one teaches Kichwa language classes. Both have familiarity with linguistic terminology and basic concepts and both have collaborated with other researchers as well as with the present author. Both are native Kichwa speakers and are fully fluent in Spanish. Both consultants listened (on separate occasions) to all utterances containing *-ca* and *-tan*, including larger contextual fragments, and responded to the author’s many questions about their structure and interpretation.

3. Overview of Ecuadoran Andean Spanish *-ca* and Kichwa *-ka*

3.1. EAS *-ca*

There is no obvious source for *-ca* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish other than the homophonous affix *-ka* in Kichwa. In literary imitations of Kichwa-influenced interlanguage and descriptions of EAS, *-ca* has sometimes been described as “adversative” (Icaza, 2010:109, fn. 1), “reinforcing” (end notes to Icaza, 1950–1959?:123), marking the subject and/or emphasizing (Mafía Bustamante, 2004:72), and as “nearly untranslatable” (Icaza, 2010:109, fn. 1), with “no meaning of its own and [...] likened to a continuative or illative particle” (Kany, 1945:412), and as a *muletilla* ‘tag phrase’ (Toscano Mateus, 1953:353). Informal inquiries in northern Ecuador reveal widespread acknowledgement of *-ca* as an integral component of local vernacular Spanish, but to date no linguistic analysis of EAS *-ca* has appeared.

3.2. Imbabura Kichwa *-ka*

In traditional Ecuadoran Kichwa grammar treatises *-ka* is often described as a definite article (Cordero, 1894:v; Lema Guanolema, 2007:55; Franco, 2007:17), an affirmative particle (Yáñez Cossío, 2001:107), a coordinating conjunction (Grimm, 1896:19; París, 1992 [1892]:73–74), but with few specifics. In the most complete account of Imbabura Kichwa syntax Cole (1982:166–167) analyzes *-ka* as marking topic or theme (old information), which is consistent with earlier

interpretations of definiteness and affirmation. In other Quechua languages *-qa* (corresponding to IK *-ka*) has also been analyzed as marking topic (e.g. Cerrón-Palomino, 1987; Cusihuamán, 1976/2001:226; Lefebvre and Muysken, 1988:180; Muysken, 1995:385; Sánchez, 2010:45; Weber, 1996:516–517). In IK *-ka* can be attached to most parts of speech, can attach to nouns occupying any argument position, can occur more than once per clause, cannot usually be suffixed to finite verbs, and is limited to matrix clauses (also Catta, 1994:205–208). Conjoined nouns can each be marked with *-ka*, which accounts for earlier interpretations of *-ka* as coordinating conjunction (patrimonial IK has no separate coordinating conjunction although Spanish *y* ‘and,’ *o* ‘or,’ and *pero* ‘but’ are often used):

(6)
 Juan-*ka* Mariya-*ka* shamu-rka
 Juan-TOP María-TOP come-PAST-3
 ‘Juan and María came’ (Cole, 1982:167)

As in other varieties of Quechua IK *-ka* often occurs with left-fronted constituents, although in situ constituents can also be marked with *-ka*; this often but not always occurs when another token of *-ka* is also attached to the clause-initial constituent:

(7)
 ñuka-*ka* tayta-man papa-ta-*ka* kara-rka-ni-mi
 I-TOP father-to potato-ACC-TOP serve-PAST-1s-FOC
 ‘I served the potato to father’ (Cole, 1982:167)
 alpa-ta yapu-n ñuka tayta-*ka*
 land-ACC plow-3 my father-TOP
 ‘My father plows the land’ (Cole, 1982:96)

When fronted adverbials are marked with *-ka* a conditional ‘if’ meaning obtains:

(8)
 Kito-man ri-shpa-*ka* kan-ta bisita-sha
 Quito-to go-GER-TOP you-ACC visit-FUT-1s
 ‘[If] I go to Quito I’ll visit you’ (Cole, 1982:167)

In questions *-ka* can be construed as roughly ‘what about?’

(9)
 ñuka-*ka* alli-mi ka-ni; kikin-*ka*?
 I-TOP good-FOC be-1s you-TOP
 ‘I’m doing well; what about you?’

4. Ecuadoran Andean Spanish *-tan* and possible Kichwa equivalents

4.1. EAS *-tan*

The few descriptions of *-tan* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish derive this item from a shortened version of Spanish *también* ‘also,’ adducing alternative forms such as *qué tan / también será?* ‘I wonder what it can be’ (Toscano Mateus, 1953:333; Icaza, 1944:9). These examples notwithstanding, many of the literary and naturalistic examples of *-tan* in EAS cannot be equated with the meaning of ‘also.’ Kany (1945:329) asserts that *-tan* is sometimes an “intensive particle,” but with no explanation or example; for Toscano Mateus (1953:333) *-tan* can also be an adverb of doubt or an intensive tag, and Muysken (1982:110) describes *-tan* as a negative emphatic or indefinite marker. In notes to a recent edition of *Huasipungo* (Icaza, 2010:119, fn.1) *también/tan* in questions is described as indicating the speaker’s ignorance or doubt.

4.2. Imbabura Kichwa *-pash*

Based on the assumption that EAS *-tan* is a shortened form of Spanish *también* ‘also,’ Toscano Mateus (1953:333) offers a comparison with Kichwa *-pish* (*-pash* in IK) ‘also, even.’ In addition to the fundamental meaning of ‘also’ and—in combination with negative or interrogative elements—‘even,’ *-pash* can sometimes alternate with *-tak* as an emphatic affirmative particle (París, 1993:60 [1892]; Moya, 1993:112). Kichwa *-pash* is in principle not limited to matrix clauses and

can occur several times within a single utterance, especially in coordinate constructions (Cole, 1982:79) where *-pash* . . . *-pash* means ‘. . . as well as . . .’:

- (10)
 ñuka-ka Utavalu-man-*pash* Kitu-man-*pash* ri-ju-ni
 I-TOP Otavalo-to-also Quito-to-also go-PROG-1s
 ‘I am going to Otavalo and to Quito’

4.3. Imbabura Kichwa -mi

To date no Kichwa element other than *-pash* has been implicated as a possible source for EAS *-tan*; it will be suggested below that Kichwa *-mi* may also have contributed to the range of uses represented by EAS *-tan*. Many traditional accounts of Kichwa describe the enclitic *-mi* as a sort of copulative verb replacing Kichwa *ka-na* ‘to be,’ since this particle can occur in verb-less utterances, both free-standing and in response to questions (e.g. Paris, 1993:71 [1892]; Moya, 1993:113; Lema Guanolema, 2007:65–66):

- (11)
 alli-mi [ka-n]
 good-FOC be-3s
 ‘it [is] good’
 ñuka churi-mi [ka-n]
 POSS-1s son-FOC be-3s
 ‘(he) [is] my son’

In such utterances *-mi* is not acting as a verb; Kichwa simply allows omission of the copula in many instances in which its existence is understood, e.g.:

- (12)
 Maria-ka wasi-pi-chu [ka-n]?
 Maria-TOP house-in-INTER be-3s
 ‘[is] María at home?’

Paris (1993:71 [1892]) suggests that *-mi* is sometimes added for purely euphonic reasons, to render utterances “less harsh”; this follows a pattern established during colonial times in grammars of Native American languages written by Europeans, in which many grammatical elements were left unanalyzed and regarded as irrelevant adornments.

Catta (1994:216–218), Cole (1982:164–167), and Lema Guanolema (2007:25) analyze Kichwa *-mi* as a validator marking the main focus of an utterance, giving first-hand (evidential) and new (rheme) information; as such *-mi* almost always occurs in affirmative utterances.⁴ Like the topicalizer *-ka* this enclitic occurs only in matrix clauses; unlike *-ka*, *-mi* can occur only once per utterance.⁵ IK *-mi* is not restricted to left-fronted constituents and can occur after any main-clause element in situ. Muysken (1995:380–383) notes that in Quechua varieties of Peru and Bolivia evidential/focus markers like *-mi* occur either clause-initially or attached to the rhematized element; in addition *-mi* does not occur on constituents to the right of the main verb. This distribution also appears to hold for Imbabura Kichwa. Also typical of other Quechua varieties is the placement of the topicalizer *-qa* before the focus/evidential marker *-mi* (Muysken, 1995:385; Weber, 1996:516–517; Sánchez, 2010:45); this tendency can also be observed in IK. When suffixed to fronted adverbials, *-mi* produces a consequential ‘when’ interpretation:

- (13)
 Kitu-man ri-shpa-*mi* kan-ta bisita-sha
 Quito-to go-GER-FOC you-ACC visit-FUT-1s
 ‘[When] I go to Quito I’ll visit you’ (Cole, 1982:167)

⁴ An anonymous reviewer remarks that *-mi* occasionally occurs in questions in Imbabura Kichwa, i.e. when the speaker implicitly affirms the interlocutor’s information source; no such instances have been identified in the present corpus.

⁵ Cole (1982:166) suggests that the restriction of *-mi* to main clauses is related to grammatical subordination rather than to rhemicity (new information), since new information can appear in subordinate clauses. For Peruvian Quechua varieties Sánchez (2010:64) attributes the single occurrence of *-mi* per clause to its syncretic nature as focus and evidentiality marker.

Table 1
Tokens of *-ca* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish (*N* = 440).

	Subject	Direct object	Obj. prep.	Temporal adverb	Locative adverb	Predicate nom.	Gerund	Verb
# of total (# fronted)	105 (64)	36 (12)	52 (5)	93 (49)	36 (17)	19 (4)	53 (4)	46 (3)
% of total (% fronted)	23.9% (61.0%)	8.2% (33.3%)	11.8% (9.6%)	21.1% (52.7%)	8.2% (47.2%)	4.3% (21.1%)	12% (7.5%)	10.5% (6.5%)
# single <i>-ca</i>/clause	93	25	45	90	34	17	46	43
% fronted	68.8%	48.8%	11.1%	54.4%	50.0%	23.5%	8.7%	7.0%

Although a corpus analysis of Imbabura Kichwa has yet to be conducted, there appears to be no shift from normal SOV word order to SVO, even when the entire utterance contains new information. Kichwa *-mi* (focus, new information, rheme) and *-ka* (topic, previous information, theme) co-exist symbiotically, but in most circumstances neither is obligatory.⁶

5. Distribution of *-ca* in the Ecuadoran Andean Spanish corpus

5.1. Overview of *-ca* in the EAS corpus

After eliminating dysfluencies such as partial fragments that could not be unambiguously parsed, the Ecuadoran Andean Spanish corpus yielded a total of 440 tokens of the particle *-ca*. Table 1 provides information on the grammatical categories to which *-ca* is attached. Since more than half of the tokens of *-ca* are not associated with nouns it is clear that describing Kichwa *-ka* and EAS *-ca* as a definite article does not adequately cover the observed data.⁷

Although in principle EAS items marked with *-ca* can occur in situ, Table 1 shows a tendency for constituents marked with *-ca* to be clause-initial, an appropriate position for topicalization. Of the 440 instances of *-ca* 174 (39.5%) appear in clause-initial position. The prevalence of clause-initial position is seen even more clearly upon consideration of the fact that some EAS utterances contain more than one instance of *-ca*; in these cases at least some instances of *-ca* must necessarily occur in non-initial position. The EAS corpus contains 52 full-clause utterances with more than one token of *-ca*; of these 45 (86.5%) contain an instance of *-ca* in clause-initial position. Considering only clauses with a single token of *-ca* the rate of appearance of all tokens of EAS *-ca* in clause-initial position rises to 44.3%. Put another way, in 219 (49.8%) or roughly half of all the EAS utterances containing *-ca* a token of this element is attached to the first constituent, and this figure is almost doubled when two or more instances of *-ca* appear in a single utterance.

Table 1 shows the high rate of clause-initial position not only for subjects marked with *-ca* but also for temporal and locative adverbs (which often begin narrations) as well as direct objects (reflecting Kichwa-influenced O-V word order in EAS as well as the status of Spanish as a null-subject language). Given that the data were extracted from interviews rather than from interactive tasks it is not feasible to provide specific reasons for left-dislocation but in many cases the fronted element reiterated a statement or query made previously in the conversation. A sample of the utterances containing *-ca* is given in Appendix 1.

5.2. Possible correspondences with Kichwa *-ka*

No quantitative data on the behavior of *-ka* in Imbabura Kichwa are available, but for a rudimentary comparison a survey was made of transcribed IK stories collected from several speakers by Díaz Cajas (2008). Since these texts were taken from oral narration of traditional tales, not all of the speech acts found in naturalistic conversation occur, but the vocabulary and style are informal and representative of the region in which the data for the present study were obtained. A continuous sample of transcribed Kichwa from the first 40 pages of the collection was analyzed, approx. 4000 “words” (all IK affixes are included in a single written “word”). Leaving aside phrase-initial storytelling gambits such as *chay-manda* ‘and then,’ *ñawpa pacha-mi* ‘long ago [lit. past time]’ and *shuk punlla-mi* ‘once upon a time [lit. one day]’ approximately half of the constituents marked with *-ka* are clause-initial. This breaks down as follows: subjects (59%), temporal adverbials (55%), locative adverbials (43%). In this small sample there were no other constituents marked with *-ka*. This brief survey

⁶ Muntendam (2008) found that Ecuadoran Kichwa speakers would accept sentences without *-ka* or *-mi* in acceptability judgment tasks; the present author’s informal observations of spoken IK confirm this observation.

⁷ The many instances of *-ca* attached to temporal and locative adverbs may be in part reflective of the original interview situations, in which participants often reminisced about times past or described their ongoing agricultural activities (planting, harvesting, taking animals to pasture, etc.).

Table 2
Tokens of *-tan* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish ($N = 212$).

	Affirmative	Interrogative
# in corpus	204	8
% of total	96.2%	3.8%
	“also”	“even”
# in corpus	82	23
% of total	38.7%	10.8%
# unambiguous	67	15
% unambiguous	31.6%	7.1%
	excluding “also/even” & interrogative	
# in corpus	122	
% of total	57.5%	
# unambiguous	99	
% unambiguous	46.7%	

is not a substitute for a comprehensive corpus study, but it does provide a first glimpse into the behavior of IK *-ka*. The distribution of *-ka* in this IK fragment does not appear to differ substantially from the EAS data in Table 1.

Although not all of the tokens of EAS *-ca* appear in full clauses, there are no tokens in which *-ca* can be construed as appearing in a non-matrix clause; the non-clause fragments containing *-ca* occurred in contexts where a full-clause utterance was elliptically reduced. This distribution is consistent with Kichwa *-ka*. While it is true that like many L2 speakers of Spanish Kichwa-dominant Andean Spanish speakers produce fewer complex utterances than more fluent Spanish speakers, if EAS *-ca* were simply an intensifier or stylistic ornament as some have suggested, at least some occurrences in non-matrix clauses would be expected. Also consistent with the behavior of Kichwa *-ka* is the fact that EAS *-ca* is not attached to finite verbs. Finally, according to the aforementioned bilingual consultants and in agreement with the author’s own interpretation, no instance of *-ca* in the EAS corpus appears to provide new information or focus (rheme), coinciding with Kichwa usage, in which *-ka* marks topic or theme (previously assumed information). Circumstantially these preliminary observations point to a high likelihood that EAS *-ca* is a borrowing of Kichwa *-ka*.

6. Distribution of *-tan* in the Ecuadoran Andean Spanish corpus

6.1. Overview of *-tan* in the EAS corpus

The EAS corpus also yielded a total of 212 analyzable tokens of *-tan*, of which all but one occurred in a matrix clause (99.5%). The results are given in Table 2 and a representative sample is given in Appendix 2. In order to determine the extent to which the instances of *-tan* might be construed as meaning ‘also’ or ‘even,’ the present author’s interpretations were compared with the judgments of the two bilingual consultants. When all three judgments coincided the interpretation was regarded as certain; any discrepancies were coded as ambiguous interpretations.

6.2. Possible correspondences with Kichwa

Table 2 shows that nearly all instances of *-tan* occurred in affirmative utterances (including all of the ‘also’ and ‘even’ values), and that roughly half of the tokens cannot be reasonably construed as meaning ‘also’ or ‘even’ or embodying interrogative, speculative, or indefinite reference, i.e. in circumstances that would correspond to Kichwa *-pash*. The fact that half of the tokens of *-tan* are homologous with Kichwa *-pash* dispels any reasonable doubt that the correspondence *pash* \cong *también* is substantially responsible for Andean Spanish *-tan*. At the same time the fact that half of the tokens of *-tan* cannot be credibly attributed to this correspondence bespeaks of possible syncretic or emergent properties. Of the 99 instances of *-tan* for which no interrogative, negative, speculative, or ‘also/even’ interpretation is viable, in the judgment of the two bilingual consultants all are consistent with the introduction of new (theme) and first-hand information. All of these tokens of *-tan* in the EAS corpus occur in matrix clauses and never more than once per sentence. In this same group of utterances there are no tokens of *-tan* followed by *-ca*. This general distribution is similar to that of the Kichwa validator/focus marker *-mii* and does not closely resemble that of any other Kichwa affix, including *-pash*, which is not limited to single occurrences, to matrix clauses, or to specific clause-internal positions. Unlike southern Quechua *-mi* a few examples of EAS *-tan* are affixed to a constituent to the right of the main verb; it is not known with certainty the extent to which this option might be viable in Imbabura Kichwa. Such circumstantial similarity is not sufficient to postulate Kichwa *-mi* as a contributing source for the 99 remaining tokens of EAS *-tan* but does motivate further inquiry into the possibility

that EAS *-tan* has in some instances grammaticalized into a syncretic discourse marker combining more than one Kichwa and Spanish source as well as exhibiting emergent innovation.

7. Spanish to Kichwa translation as a measure of EAS viability

7.1. The translation task: rationale

An analysis of the EAS corpus reveals a distribution of *-ca* that appears to differ in no qualitative fashion from Kichwa *-ka*, while *-tan* has expanded its original status as an apocopated form of Spanish *también* 'also' in a fashion that overlaps with the Kichwa validator/focus marker *-mi*. That there may be some systematic interplay between *-ca* and *-tan* is suggested by the fact that all of the late bilinguals who provided data for the present study employed both elements, as did most of the other speakers of similar sociolinguistic profiles interviewed by the author. Variationist analyses may eventually reveal more subtle patterns but this will require a substantially larger corpus.

The corpus of EAS *-ca* and *-tan* provides suggestive distributional data, but offers no insight into the original speakers' intentions or likely interpretations by members of the same speech communities. In order to address the latter issue, and to further explore the intra-community viability of EAS, a Spanish-to-Kichwa translation task was administered. It was hypothesized that if *-ca* and *-tan* are consistent elements in the EAS speech communities then individuals from these same communities would have no difficulty in translating into Kichwa EAS utterances containing *-ca* and *-tan*. It was further hypothesized that participants would frequently translate EAS *-ca* with Kichwa *-ka* attached to the equivalent elements and with similar word order. Since the possibility of one or more Kichwa sources for EAS *-tan* is not as clear, the translation task also provides a first test of the cohesiveness of *-tan* and the extent to which EAS speakers recognize this element as sometimes equivalent to Spanish *también* and Kichwa *-pash* 'also.' Furthermore in those instances where EAS *-tan* cannot be construed as meaning 'also' or expressing speculation in interrogative utterances the translation task serves as a probe for other possible Kichwa sources. If most instances of *-tan* not corresponding to 'also' are consistently translated by one or more Kichwa elements this will argue for an analysis of *-tan* as a contact-induced element introduced into EAS grammar. If on the other hand most tokens of *-tan* not clearly associated with Kichwa *-pash* 'also' or interrogative elements are not given Kichwa translation equivalents or translations show little consistency, this would argue against a systematic Kichwa contribution rather than EAS-internal evolution (whether carrying additional specific semantic values or simply as a stylistic flourish).

7.2. Stimuli

From the recorded corpus that provided the examples of *-ca* and *-tan* twenty-five clear utterances containing one or more instance of *-ca* and thirty-nine utterances containing *-tan* were selected. The utterances exemplify the range of possibilities for *-ca* and *-tan* as shown in [Tables 1 and 2](#); a selection of stimuli (marked with an asterisk) is included in [Appendices 1 and 2](#). In order to prevent identification of individual speakers in the close-knit communities, the fundamental frequencies (F0) were modified by fixed multipliers (ranging from .85 to 1.15) using PRAAT software ([Boersma and Weenink, 1999–2005](#)). This procedure maintains pitch accents and prosodic contours but the slight alteration of overall voice timbre hindered identification of individual speakers. The intensity levels were normalized to ensure uniformity and the modified stimuli were randomized and uploaded to a tablet computer.

7.3. Participants and method

The stimuli were presented to a total of eleven men and twenty-seven women from the same communities represented in the recordings, with the intent of covering as broad a cross-section of community residents as possible. All were Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals who learned Kichwa prior to or simultaneously with Spanish. Their ages spanned the interval from the mid-twenties to the late seventies; the amount of formal education ranged from no schooling to a completed university education. Observed proficiency in Spanish covered a similarly broad spectrum. Participants were told (in both Kichwa and Spanish) that they would hear samples of Spanish from their own and neighboring communities; no mention was made of the L2 or interlanguage status of the examples. They were asked to quickly translate each utterance into Kichwa as completely as possible, without embellishing or abbreviating. After an initial recorded volume check participants listened to the stimuli through over-the-ear headphones; their responses were digitally recorded using a highly directional microphone (given the less than pristine conditions in which some of the recordings were made). All respondents were compensated for their participation (with food staples, as per local custom).

Since this was a novel task for all participants (many of whom were even unfamiliar with headphones), not all responses were equally viable. Some older participants insisted on providing lengthy personal reminiscences in response

to utterances that touched on the past and present vicissitudes of rural life, and had to be gently prodded to produce simple translations. When the author (who administered the task) noticed the omission of large segments of a stimulus, respondents were asked to listen again and provide a more complete translation.⁸

7.4. Participants' ability to respond

Many of the recorded stimuli included highly non-canonical grammatical patterns. The author has informally presented these stimuli to monolingual Spanish speakers not accustomed to hearing Kichwa-influenced Spanish (e.g. from coastal Ecuador as well as Argentina, Mexico, Cuba, Spain, etc.); all of the utterances were judged to be aberrant and many proved to be nearly incomprehensible. In rural Imbabura, however, the thirty-eight Kichwa-Spanish bilingual participants experienced no difficulty in comprehending and quickly translating the stimuli utterances; even highly Kichwa-dominant speakers with limited abilities in Spanish were able to adequately parse the stimuli and respond with a high degree of accuracy. Young balanced bilinguals whose own production in Spanish reveals few traces of Kichwa interference were similarly able to perform the translation task; many commented in post-task discussions that they had older relatives and neighbors who spoke "just like" the recorded utterances. Overall, the ease with which participants of widely varying levels of bilingualism translated the EAS stimuli provides a tangible measure of the viability and stability of Kichwa-influenced Spanish interlanguage (including *-ca* and *-tan*) in the communities under study.

7.5. Results: EAS *-ca* into Kichwa

The results of this phase of the translation task are given in Table 3.

The stimuli contained a total of 41 instances of *-ca* as produced by EAS speakers. In Imbabura Kichwa *-ka* is optional (except, e.g. in verbless questions, where *-ka* signals roughly 'what about . . .?'). The use of *-ka* is closely tied to speakers' assumptions about shared knowledge and focus. Since the translation task did not presuppose participants' knowledge of specific events, not all instances of *-ca* in the EAS stimuli were rendered with *-ka* in Kichwa. This was especially true when approximate paraphrases rather than exact translations were produced. At the same time there were some instances of *-ka* being added in the translation of EAS stimuli lacking *-ca*; this occurred principally with temporal adverbs referring to past time (all dealing with previous conditions in the communities under study), possibly because participants felt a personal involvement with the utterances being translated. Many respondents augmented their translations with affirmations of the veracity of the events narrated in the stimuli. The most consistently translated cases of *-ca* in the EAS stimuli involved temporal and locative adverbs, which is not surprising given participants' ready identification with the "here" and "then" events narrated in the stimuli. The stimulus lacking *-ca* that produced the most instances (twenty-two out of thirty-eight participants) of *-ka* added to temporal adverbs during translation was (14); Spanish *antes* 'before' was often translated by *punda-ka/punda-kuna-ka* 'past time(s),' and Spanish *ahora* 'now' by Kichwa *kunan-ka* 'now.'⁹

(14)

antes conejo-tan tenemos ahora ya no tiene
before rabbit-tan have-1pl-IMP now already NEG have-3s
'In the past we also had rabbits now [we] no longer have'

Kichwa *-ka* was also frequently added to the translation of the first subject (*algunos* 'some') in stimulus (15), following the Kichwa pattern of marking contrastive or adversative disjunctions with *-ka*.

(15)

algunos si tiene pero nosotros-ca no tenemos
some-pl yes have-3s but we-CA NEG have-1pl
'Some have [cows] but we do not have [any]'

In example (16) EAS *-ca* was translated (by thirty-one of thirty-eight respondents) as Kichwa *-pash* as was EAS *-tan*, since conjoined expressions in Kichwa typically take *-pash* after every element.

⁸ Given the relatively small sample size responses were not subdivided according to participants' demographic characteristics (age, level of education, proficiency in Spanish), but there do not appear to be any prima facie differences in the responses relevant to the translation of *-ca* and *-tan*.

⁹ For many Kichwa speakers temporal adverbs have become grammaticalized with *-ka*, thus *kunan-ka* 'now,' *punda-(kuna)-ka* 'at that time/those times.'

Table 3
Translations of Ecuadoran Andean Spanish *-ca* as Kichwa *-ka* by Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals ($N = 38$).

	Subject ($N = 11$)	Direct object ($N = 6$)	Obj. prep. ($N = 3$)	Temporal adverb ($N = 12$)	Locative adverb ($N = 3$)	Predicate nom. ($N = 3$)	Gerund ($N = 3$)
#	306	137	80	380	84	76	53
%	73%	60%	70%	83%	74%	67%	46%

(16)

borreguito-*ca*- ya acaba, puerco-*tan* ya no hay
sheep-DIM-CA now finish pig-*tan* now NEG exist
'There are no more sheep or pigs'

The breakdown by grammatical category in Table 3 reveals the prevalence of *-ka* in subject position, consistent with topic marking. Rates of translation of EAS *-ca* as Kichwa *-ka* were almost as high for Spanish direct objects and objects of prepositions, while fewer than half of the instances of *-ca* attached to gerunds were rendered with Kichwa *-ka*. Although Kichwa allows for *-ka* to attach to gerund constructions in *-shpa* (e.g. example 8) Kichwa-dominant EAS speakers frequently employ Spanish gerunds in constructions that do not correspond to Kichwa *-shpa* (Haboud, 2005; Lipski, 2013). The participants in the translation task did not automatically render all instances of EAS gerunds with Kichwa *-shpa* combinations, and only when the EAS gerund was translated by a Kichwa gerund was *-ka* attached, as in (17):

(17)

animalitos teniendo-*ca* no hay tiempo para ir a trabajar
animals-DIM-pl have-GER-TOP NEG exist-es time for go to work
'When you have animals there is no time to go to work'

In the aggregate the results of this translation task are consistent with the convergence of Kichwa *-ka* and EAS *-ca* not only in form but also in general function.¹⁰

7.6. Results: EAS *-tan* into Kichwa

Whereas EAS *-ca* points to Kichwa *-ka* as an obvious source of inspiration, matters are not as straightforward for EAS *-tan*. Spanish *también* 'also' is the most plausible source of the phonetic shape, and as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, may be more easily translatable than discourse-dependent interrogation. At the same time Table 2 shows that approximately half of the examples of *-tan* in the EAS corpus do not embody the notion of 'also, even' or the other uses of Kichwa *-pash*. The stimuli, derived from the EAS corpus, contained thirty-nine tokens of *-tan*. Eighteen had been judged to be equivalent to 'also/even' (e.g. corresponding to Kichwa *-pash*) or in interrogative utterances (corresponding to Kichwa *ima-shina* 'how,' *ima . . . ka-nga* 'what can it be,' or *ima-pash* 'how can it be'). Twenty-one tokens of EAS *-tan* could not be clearly correlated with the semantic range associated with Spanish *también* 'also' or with the aforementioned distribution of Kichwa *-pash*. Table 4 lists the overall results.

Participants' translations were not always word-by-word, particularly with longer utterances, so not all tokens of *-tan* in the stimulus set yielded a directly correlated translation response. Of the tokens of *-tan* that a priori could correspond to Kichwa *-pash* 'also, even' participants' translations included *-pash* at the rate of more than 80%. This indicates that in these cases EAS *-tan* is not a capricious embellishment but rather an element that in many contexts is clearly associated with the semantic value of 'also/even.' Assuming that Spanish *también* 'also' is the original etymological source of *-tan*, the close association of *-tan* and Kichwa *-pash* is not unexpected.¹¹ On the other hand almost no uses of EAS *-tan* with interrogative meaning were translated by Kichwa *-pash*, despite suggestions (e.g. Toscano Mateus, 1953:333; Icaza, 2010:119, fn.1) of Kichwa influence in this use of EAS *-tan*. When EAS *-tan* could not be clearly construed as meaning

¹⁰ In the present study participants were not asked to translate from Kichwa to Spanish so the consistency of the Kichwa-to-Spanish correspondence of *-ka* to *-ca* cannot be directly measured. However in the Kichwa to Spanish task reported in Lipski (2013), whose primary goal was to determine how bilingual speakers translate Kichwa gerunds in *-shpa*, Kichwa-dominant bilinguals often retained *-ka* in their translations.

¹¹ In one interview an EAS speaker performed an apparent repair strategy by saying *ellos-tan* 'they-tan' immediately followed by *ellos también tienen . . .* 'they all have. . .' This indicates awareness that at least some tokens of *-tan* are interchangeable with the full form *también*. An anonymous reviewer poses the query of how participants might respond to a translation task for which they had direct experience; this matter awaits future research.

Table 4

Translations of Ecuadoran Andean Spanish *-tan* by Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals ($N = 38$).

	“also”/“even” ($N = 15$)	Interrogative ($N = 3$)	Other ($N = 21$)
-pash	473/83%	3/3%	77/10%
-mi	0	0	106/13%
Other particle	2	61/54%	3
No particle	95/17%	50/44%	612/77%

‘also, even’ or expressing an interrogative speculation there were significantly fewer¹² translations with *-pash*.¹³ In fact in three quarters of the instances there was no direct translation correspondence with any Kichwa affix at all.

The distribution of responses, in particular *-mi* vs. *-pash* or no translation equivalent, is significantly different from chance,¹⁴ and the Kichwa validator/focus marker *-mi* was sometimes added in an approximate location corresponding to EAS *-tan*. However, the low rate of translation of *-tan* as Kichwa *-mi* does not immediately suggest a close correspondence, despite the fact that the instances of *-tan* not corresponding to Kichwa *-pash* appear to embody the distributional properties of *-mi* as well as the basic pragmatic function of signaling new information. One factor that may have contributed to the low rate of *-tan* \cong *-mi* correspondence in comparison with the rate of translation of EAS *-ca* to *-ka* is the fact that *-mi* signals first-hand information and participants in the translation task presumably felt no personal involvement in the utterances they were responding to. This was evident not only in utterances containing *-tan* but throughout the translation task; many utterances which if produced spontaneously might contain the validator *-mi* were translated without any topic-comment marking.¹⁵ It is also the case that in IK *-mi* is not obligatory, although no quantitative data are available. As with other validators the use of *-mi* at least in part “indicates the authority for assertion, the degree of certainty of the speaker, and whether the matter is of importance to him” (Cole, 1982:165). In a translation task based on stimuli presented without a full pragmatic context, such conditions frequently do not obtain. In any event the correspondence between EAS *-tan* and Kichwa *-mi* can at best be described as suggestive and partial rather than definitively demonstrated.

The results of the translation task indicate that Kichwa-Spanish bilinguals are not automatically translating all instances of EAS *-tan* as Kichwa *-pash*, but are sensitive to a wider range of meanings of *-tan* in Kichwa-influenced Spanish interlanguage. Whether all instances of EAS *-tan* can be attributed to convergence with Kichwa has yet to be determined,

8. Discussion: EAS *-ca* and *-tan* and the possibility of an emergent hybrid system

8.1. EAS *-ca*, *-tan* and code-mixing

The intense and sustained contact between Spanish and Quechua languages has led to the incorporation of Spanish affixes in many varieties of Quechua (e.g. Muysken, 2012a, 2012c) and the EAS data presented in the preceding sections appear to document the possibility for incorporation of Kichwa-induced affixes into the Spanish of late bilinguals in northern Ecuador. Given frequent references to code-mixing in the Andean region the possibility that EAS *-ca* and *-tan* represent momentary code-switches bears mention. Fluent intrasentential Kichwa-Spanish code-switching does occur in Ecuador, particularly among individuals whose daily lives straddle the two linguistic domains (e.g. truck and taxi drivers, cf. Floyd, 2007). Such behavior has not been observed in the Imbabura communities where the data for the present study were collected. What is popularly referred to as “Quichuañol” in Ecuador (e.g. Floyd, 2004) and code-mixing in other Quechua-Spanish bilingual communities (e.g. Sánchez, 2012) is neither code-switching nor Kichwa-influenced Spanish, but rather vernacular varieties that maintain most or all of Kichwa morphosyntax with a heavy relexification of Spanish nouns, adjectives, and verbs. When such partially relexified Kichwa coalesces within a speech community it has been

¹² McNemar chi-square on a 2×2 matrix juxtaposing *-pash* vs. other responses and ‘also, even, interrogative’ vs. other meanings of *-tan*: $\chi^2 = 59.30$ ($df = 1$), $p < .0001$.

¹³ Such translations mostly occurred at the end of short utterances, which possibly triggered an automatic translation of EAS *-tan* to Kichwa *-pash* even when the respective meanings would be substantially different.

¹⁴ McNemar chi-square on a 2×2 matrix juxtaposing *-mi* vs. other responses and ‘also, even, interrogative’ vs. other meanings of *-tan*: $\chi^2 = 690.0$ ($df = 1$), $p < .0001$.

¹⁵ Several participants ended every translation with (unstressed low-pitch) *ni-n* ‘they say, it is said,’ the typical Kichwa device for 3rd-person narration; these same speakers almost never inserted the validator *-mi* in response to any stimulus. Others began every response with *ari* ‘yes’ or *shina* ‘thus, like that.’

referred to as “Media Lengua” [half-language]. The Media Lengua spoken in Cotopaxi province to the south of Quito (now reduced to a few speakers; Shappeck, 2011) has been analyzed by Muysken (1981, 1989, 1997, 2012b) as an intertwined language that is not properly analyzed as code-switching. In three of the communities in Imbabura province where the present data were collected Media Lengua (known locally as *chaupi shimi* ‘half-language’ or *chaupi lengua*) is actively used by bilingual speakers ranging from children to elderly adults (Dikker, 2008; Gómez Rendón, 2008; Stewart, 2011, 2013). Although the Media Lengua of Cotopaxi shows considerable Spanish morphosyntactic influence (Gómez Rendón, 2008; Muysken, 1981; Shappeck, 2011), Imbabura Media Lengua is entirely couched in Kichwa morphosyntax and cannot be understood by monolingual Spanish speakers. Even Kichwa speakers from regions where Media Lengua is not used find it difficult to process the very high component of Spanish-derived lexical roots (e.g. Muysken, 1997:375), which go far beyond the established Spanish borrowings in Kichwa.¹⁶

The use of *-ca* and *-tan* in EAS does not appear to be directly related to the contact-induced language mixing that gave rise to Media Lengua: the majority of EAS speakers—including most of those who provided the data for present study—do not speak Media Lengua and when speaking Spanish do not engage in other forms of code-mixing. The Spanish of the Kichwa-dominant speakers who typify the data analyzed here exhibits a broad range of general L2 traits such as erratic subject-verb and noun-adjective agreement as well as Kichwa-induced interference (e.g. OV word order and absence of definite articles), but these speakers do not introduce other Kichwa lexical elements or constituents when speaking Spanish. At the same time Media Lengua, spoken fluently and being essentially a lexically unique variety of Kichwa, employs *-ka* and *-mi* as in Kichwa and does not employ *-tan*.¹⁷ There is no evidence to suggest that the introduction of *-ka* and *-tan* in EAS is the result of more generalized code-mixing.

8.2. The prosodic status of EAS *-ca* and *-tan*

The EAS affixes *-ca* and *-tan* combine prosodic characteristics of both Kichwa and Spanish. Kichwa is a postpositional agglutinative language in which phonetic stress (normally signaled by vowel lengthening sometimes accompanied by increases in intensity and fundamental frequency F0) gravitates to the penultimate syllable:

(18)

wási						‘house’
wasi	-kúna					‘houses’
house	PL					
wasi	-kuná	-pi				‘in the houses’
house	PL	LOC				
[mana] wasi	-kuna	-pí	-chu			‘not in the houses’
[NEG] house	PL	LOC	NEG			

The particle *-pash* ‘also, even, etc.’ follows this pattern as do the focusing validator/focus marker *-mi* and the topicalizer *-ka* in most cases.¹⁸

In EAS most speakers tend to realize Spanish antepenultimately-stressed words with penultimate stress (e.g. *páramo* > *parámo* ‘mountain highlands,’ *teníamos* > *teniámos* ‘we used to have,’ *rábano* > *rabáno* ‘radish’). In EAS neither *-ca* nor *-tan* affects the placement of stress in the immediately preceding words; they behave like Spanish stressless/stress-neutral clitics. Figs. 1 and 2 exemplify this behavior in EAS utterances (19) and (20), respectively, which contain both *-ca* and *-tan*.

¹⁶ In the Media Lengua texts from Pijal (one of the communities from which the present data were obtained) transcribed by Stewart (2013), the suffixes *-mi*, *-ka*, and *-pash* do not appear to differ in any substantial way from monolingual Kichwa usage. An informal survey of the present author’s extensive recorded corpus of Media Lengua from Pijal, Angla, Gualacata, and Casco Valenzuela similarly yields Kichwa-like patterns.

¹⁷ There are no examples of *-tan* in the Media Lengua stories transcribed by Stewart (2013) or in the examples of Gómez Rendón (2008). The only example of Imbabura Media Lengua *-tan* in the author’s corpus comes from a rendering of a traditional story:

miu ganado-tan riklama- gri -sha
 I cattle-tan demand PROX Fut-1s
 ‘I will (also) demand my cattle’

¹⁸ Cole (1982:208) indicates that *-mi* and *-ka* optionally do not attract stress in Imbabura Kichwa. In the experience of the present author, including the data collected for this project, *-mi* and *-ka* are almost never stress-neutral.

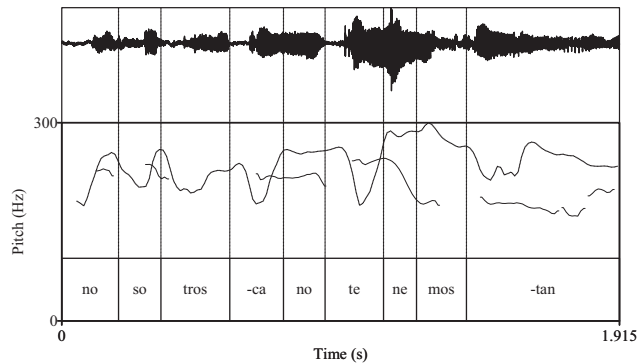


Fig. 1. Ecuadorian Andean Spanish *nosotros-ca no tenemos-tan* 'we don't have'; solid line is pitch (F0); dotted line is relative intensity.

(19)

nosotros -ca no tenemos -tan
 we -TOP NEG have-1pl -tan
 'we don't have [any]'

(20)

nietos -ca de hija -tan tres tengo
 grandchild-PL -TOP of daughter -tan three have-1s
 'I have three grandchildren from [my] daughter'

8.3. The status of *-ca* in EAS

Although all residents of the communities in which the EAS data were collected acknowledge the frequent presence of *-ca* in EAS discourse, only Kichwa-dominant bilinguals whose Spanish exhibits other indications of L1 interference actually produce this form—and do so with considerable inter-speaker variability. That this variable usage has been attested for several generations suggests that *-ca* in contemporary EAS originates from interference rather than borrowing, which is not unexpected given the linguistic ecology of these communities. There is a body of research indicating that even balanced bilinguals do not completely inhibit the non-target language (Kroll et al., 2008, 2011; van Heuven et al., 2008); in particular there is evidence of cross-language syntactic activation (Benolet et al., 2007, 2012, 2013; Desmet and Declercq, 2006; Hartsuiker et al., 2004; Kantola and van Gompel, 2011; Loebell and Bock, 2003; Schoonbaert et al., 2007; Shin and Christianson, 2009; Weber and Indefrey, 2009). The behavior of *-ca* in EAS is consistent with largely involuntary intrusion of Kichwa into L2 Spanish.

Kichwa topic-marking with *-ka*, while not strictly obligatory, is nonetheless an integral facet of the language and *-ka* appears somewhere in most main clauses. Spanish on the other hand has no morphological element homologous to Kichwa *-ka* and no ready syntactic mechanism for signaling topic or previously known information (except for fronting, which is pragmatically marked, unlike neutral uses of Kichwa *-ka*). The high frequency of occurrence of *-ka* in Kichwa combined with the absence of a suitably generic and invariant Spanish equivalent augments the possibility of automatization of *-ka* insertion (e.g. Antón-Méndez, 2011). Truscott and Sharwood Smith (2004:14) regard L1 morphosyntactic intrusions during L2 production as the result of competition between L2 and L1 configurations, with the latter having a higher "resting level" (i.e. ingrained automatization due to prolonged usage). Hatzidaki et al. (2011:128) observe that activation of features such as agreement from the non-source language may be stronger in contexts where speakers have to use both languages and also when the non-source language is dominant (cf. also Bernardini and Schlyter, 2004; Hermans et al., 1998). Both of these conditions obtain in the case of Kichwa-dominant bilinguals' use of Spanish in the communities under study. The frequent insertion of *-ca* by Kichwa-dominant speakers of EAS may therefore be a consequence of the incomplete inhibition of Kichwa grammar reflective of the high resting level of the topic-marker *-ka*. Parallel activation of Kichwa and Spanish is consistent with the inter-speaker variability of *-ca* in EAS, which although frequent does not show signs of complete grammaticalization. The equally variable O-V word order found in EAS may also reflect incomplete suppression of Kichwa syntax.¹⁹

¹⁹ Based on syntactic criteria such as weak crossover and long-distance movement Muntendam (2013) concludes that O-V word order in EAS is not due to syntactic transfer from Kichwa but only to transfer of pragmatic properties, e.g. the fact that preverbal objects are not necessarily focused. This interpretation is not incompatible with parallel activation and incomplete suppression of Kichwa.

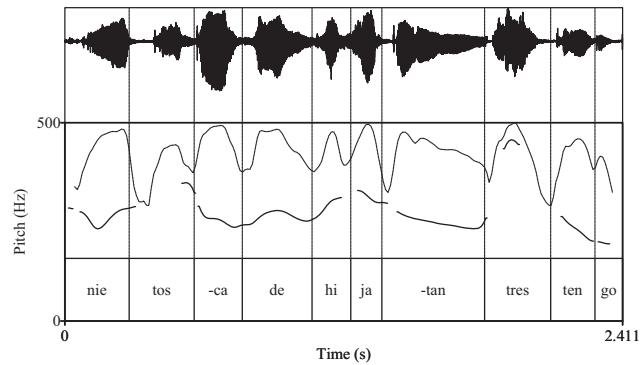


Fig. 2. Ecuadoran Andean Spanish *nietos-ca de hija-tan tres tengo* 'I have three grandchildren from [my] daughter'; solid line is pitch (F0); dotted line is relative intensity.

Additional factors that may have favored the transfer of Kichwa *-ka* to EAS include the quasi-grammaticalized attachment of *-ka* to Kichwa temporal and locative adverbials in phrase-initial position and the fortuitous similarity between the Kichwa subject pronoun *ñuka* 'I' and the Spanish equivalent *yo (-ca)*. For example [Granda \(2001:115\)](#) notes similar expressions in the Quechua-influenced Spanish of northwestern Argentina, e.g. *yoka eso no he visto* 'I haven't seen that' and attributes the combination *yo ka* to the similar-sounding Quechua first-person singular subject pronoun *ñuka*.²⁰

8.4. On the status of EAS *-tan*

Unlike *-ca*, EAS *-tan* is a syncretic element in both form and function, and cannot be attributed to a simple failure to suppress Kichwa when speaking Spanish. Almost certainly originating in Spanish *también* 'also,' *-tan* has evolved to a stress-less clitic prosodically similar to the Kichwa affix *-pash* 'also' as well as the focus marker/validator *-mi*. Given other phonetic reductions in EAS (e.g. *pasqui* < Sp. *parece que* 'it seems that') it is possible that the initial truncation of *también* to *-tan* was a spontaneous rapid-speech phenomenon without direct influence from Kichwa, only later reinforced by both prosodic and positional similarity to Kichwa *-pash*. Although the correspondence *-pash* \cong *-tan* is straightforward in many instances, approximately half of the tokens of *-tan* in the EAS corpus cannot be correlated with the semantic range of either Spanish *también* 'also' or Kichwa *-pash*. These tokens exhibit distributional and discourse properties similar to those of Kichwa *-mi*, which if substantiated would suggest that EAS is deploying the rudiments of a Kichwa-like topic-comment system of discourse markers. That such a transparent solution is not adequate is indicated by the fact that in the EAS-to-Kichwa translation task only 13% of the potential *-tan* candidates were rendered by *-mi* while 77% received no direct translation at all. EAS *-tan* retains the Spanish-derived value of 'also' as well as the interrogative value of Kichwa *-pash* for all speakers/listeners in the speech community while variably exhibiting emergent evidential or focus marking characteristics.

8.5. Factors influencing the presence of *-ca* and *-tan* in EAS

Of all possible Kichwa affixes only *-ka* has made its way repeatedly into EAS. At the same time *-tan* has expanded its semantic/pragmatic range among Kichwa-dominant bilinguals, which suggests some sort of ongoing Kichwa contribution to its behavior. Although it is not feasible to trace the diachronic evolution of these insertions, some possibilities bear

²⁰ The particle *-ca* has also made its way into the monolingual Spanish dialect spoken in the Afro-Ecuadoran communities of the highland Chota/Mira and Salinas Valleys, in the provinces of Imbabura and Carchi ([Chalá Cruz, 2006](#); [Lipski, 2008](#); [Sessarego, 2013](#); [Ulloa Enríquez, 1995:146](#)). These communities derive from Jesuit haciendas that transferred to private ownership by the end of the 18th century. Afro-Choteños are monolingual speakers of Spanish, but their ethnic dialect does include evidence of prior contact with Kichwa. As in Kichwa *-ca* occurs principally in clause-initial position, with subjects and fronted temporal adverbials. Some examples (from the present author's corpus) include:

yo *ca* no voy a ir 'I'm not going'
 él *ca* queriendo pegar a mí 'he wants to hit me'
 ella *ca* no sabe 'she doesn't know'
 ahora ya no se ve eso 'that isn't seen any more'

mentioning. Lexical exchanges between Quechua and Spanish are frequent and apparently unconstrained, but morphological crossover is at least partially determined by the properties of each language's functional categories (e.g. Muysken, 2012a, 2012c; Sánchez, 2003, 2010, 2012). For example although Imbabura Media Lengua freely incorporates any and all Spanish nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs²¹ into Kichwa morphosyntax, Spanish prepositions are never converted into Kichwa post-positions (Dikker, 2008). In Media Lengua and Quechua-Spanish code-mixing in other countries (e.g. Sánchez, 2010, 2012) Spanish prepositions may occur with or without Kichwa post-positions on the accompanying objects. According to Sánchez (2012) this situation can be accounted for by analyzing not only the accusative marker *-ta* but all other Quechua post-positions (e.g. locative *-pi*, directional *-man*, benefactive *-manda*, ablative *-wan*, etc.) not as functional heads corresponding to Spanish prepositions but as spell-outs of agreement between a null prepositional head and a DP. This interpretation may partially explain the absence of Kichwa post-positions (and the Kichwa plural marker *-kuna*) in EAS, since transfer of an entire agreement system to a language lacking such a system is indicative of a much higher degree of convergence and stability than found in EAS.

Sánchez (2003:15) has proposed the Functional Convergence Hypothesis for bilingual contact, according to which "Convergence [...] takes place when a set of features that is not activated in language A is frequently activated by input in language B in the bilingual mind [...] in certain cases it may be the result of the emergence of a new functional category in one of the languages that is not present in the syntactic representation of monolingual speakers of that language." Muysken (2012a:204) expands this definition by adding that convergence "takes place in a contact situation when a set of features is unstable or a new functional category emerges due to input in one of the languages that is compatible with input from the other language."

Unlike the case of Kichwa post-positions, it is generally assumed that the topicalizer *-ka* and the evidential/focus marker *-mi* are heads of functional projections (e.g. Muysken, 1995:386; Sánchez, 2003:31f.) It has been argued that Spanish phrase structure also allows for both a Topic Phrase (TopP) and a Focus Phrase (FocP), both with lexically null heads (e.g. Camacho, 2006; Méndez Vallejo, 2009; Ordóñez and Treviño, 1999; Toribio, 2002). Therefore the addition of lexically overt heads to one or both configurations would not fundamentally alter Spanish sentence structure,²² and partial convergence would result from the "unstable" features available to the L2 Spanish speaker. Muysken (2012a:204) has proposed a four-way typology of interference ~ code-mixing × phonetic realization as either matrix or embedded language. In this scheme the transfer to EAS of Kichwa *-ka* and its accompanying functional projection constitute an example of "code-mixing involving functional elements and restructuring." In this situation code-mixing must be construed not as a deliberate or conscious act carried out by fluent bilinguals but only as the carryover of a strongly activated and high-frequency Kichwa configuration.

Whereas the artificial nature of the Spanish-to-Kichwa translation task (utterances devoid of discourse/pragmatic context) is not conducive to the production of evidential validators, the lack of transfer of the Kichwa topicalizer *-mi* to EAS cannot be accounted for by the Functional Convergence Hypothesis since this element shares the same basic syntactic and pragmatic status as *-ka*. Direct transfer of *-mi* may be impeded by the potentially confusing presence of the homophonous Spanish elements *mí* 'me' and *mi* 'my' as well as the first-person singular object clitic *me* (given the effective neutralization of Spanish mid and high vowels in EAS); there is no patrimonial Spanish word "ca" (except for the name of the non-Spanish letter of the alphabet "k"). The analysis of EAS *-tan* has suggested that some tokens may be instantiating the validating/focus role played by Kichwa *-mi* albeit in attenuated form. Such cases of phonetic realization in the matrix language with functional features from the embedded language have been classified as "syntactic interference" by Muysken (2012a), but in the case of EAS *-tan* any such interference is probably only a contributing rather than a catalytic factor, with the correspondence Spanish *también* > *tan* ≅ Kichwa *-pash* providing the principal scaffolding for convergence. Ultimately the reason(s) for a less robust representation of the Kichwa FocP in EAS must await future research.

9. Conclusions

An analysis of Kichwa-influenced Spanish interlanguage in northern Ecuador has revealed complexity as well as some emergent discourse-marking phenomena in speech communities whose approximations to Spanish have more often been regarded as a travesty of "proper" usage. The use of *-ca* and *-tan* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish provides a

²¹ The Spanish copular verbs *ser* and *estar* are never taken into Media Lengua; according to Muysken (2010) this is because the Imbabura Kichwa copula *ka-na* does not function as a root but as a clitic.

²² As an example for vernacular Dominican Spanish Toribio (2002) has analyzed the second *no* of double negation (e.g. *yo no tengo no* 'I don't have') and emphatic *sí* 'yes' (*yo tengo problema sí* 'I really have problems') as the lexically overt heads of TopP.

common thread linking speakers with widely varying degrees of proficiency in Spanish. It has been tentatively suggested that the presence of *-ca* in EAS is a function of the incomplete suppression of the strongly activated Kichwa topicalizer *-ka*. On the other hand the use of *-tan* in EAS draws at least as much from Spanish (*también*) as from Kichwa sources, and part of its variability is due precisely to this syncretism. Apparently entering EAS from different sources and co-existing at first only by chance, *-ca* and *-tan* sometimes embody a topic-comment-marking strategy while on other occasions their co-occurrence remains coincidental. To the extent that *-ca* and *-tan* act in tandem this is an emergent trait that cannot be attributed exclusively to either Kichwa or Spanish, but is reflective of the unique sociolinguistic dynamic found in these rural bilingual communities.

The conditions under which the speakers under study learned Spanish—in late adolescence or early adulthood and with little subsequent reinforcement or correction by native speaker models—have contributed to properties that cannot be derived solely from the contact of two languages. The participants in the present study represent a generation and a sociolinguistic environment of the past, one that included effectively mandatory agricultural labor and no access to formal education. Younger bilinguals, including children now attending school, have greater exposure to Spanish and do not exhibit most of the interlanguage traits found among Kichwa-dominant speakers. This study has utilized data from the partially fossilized speech of older late bilinguals in order to search for common denominators and possible emergent traits, and also because it is this sociolinguistic profile that forms the basis for popular stereotypes. The results are by their very nature preliminary and tentative, given the dearth of research into community-wide usage of Kichwa-influenced Andean Spanish and the absence of antecedent studies involving EAS speakers as participants in interactive tasks. Future investigation is urgently needed in these and similar speech communities in which the fruits of prolonged language contact have been ignored or dismissed due to neocolonial prejudice.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Gabriel Cachimuel, José María Casco, Rafael Cacuango, Marisol Calapaqui, Francisco Otavalo, and their families for assistance and friendship during the data collection and experimental procedures. Jorge Gómez Rendón helped me establish my first contacts in the communities in which the data were collected. Thanks are also due to the dozens of Imbabureños who have graciously shared their homes and their languages with me. *Dios les pague / Yupaychani*. I am also indebted to the anonymous reviewers' many suggestions and challenges, which resulted in significant improvements. Any residual incoherencies are mine alone.

Appendix 1. Examples of *-ca* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish (* = used in translation task)

sí vindimus vender-*ca*
 yes sell-1pl sell-TOP
 '[as for] selling, we sell'
 ay sabemos andar, lavar ropita-*ca*
 there know-1pl walk wash clothes-DIM-TOP
 'there we used to walk, wash clothes'
 *antes recién nacido-*ca* bautizamos ahora-*ca* ya maltoncito bautiza
 before recent born-TOP baptize-1pl now-TOP already adolescent baptize-3s
 'In the past we baptized newly born [babies], now we baptize adolescents'
 ahora-*ca* no hacemos compadre-*ca*
 now-TOP NEG make-1pl compadre-TOP
 'Nowadays we don't have *compadres* (co-godfathers)'
 harto-*ca* no tene poquito nomás tene
 full-TOP NEG have-3s little-DIM only have-3s
 '[he] doesn't have a lot, [he] only has a little'
 hijos-*ca* castellano quechua todo habla
 child-PL-TOP Spanish Kichwa all speak-3s
 '[my] children speak Spanish and Kichwa and everything'
 gavilán viniendo-*ca* se muere
 hawk come-GER-TOP die-REFL
 '[when] the hawk comes [the chicken] dies'

- *nieto-*ca* en escuela de Quito ha de ser
grandchild-TOP in school of Quito have-3s of be
'[my] grandson is in school probably in Quito'
- *mi papá decía para vos para mujeres-*ca* no hay escuela
my father said for you for women-TOP NEG exist school
'My father said for you, for women there is no school'
- *cuando estaba nosotros recién huahuita-*ca* no pusieron escuela
when be-IMP-3s we recent child-DIM-TOP NEG put-PRET-3p school
'When we were little kids they didn't send us to school'
- *hasta ahora clase-*ca* parece hay
until now clase-TOP seems exist
'It seems that now there are classes'
- para tener bastante-*ca* toca ir al molino
for have-INF enough-TOP touch-3s go to the mill
'to have enough [grain] it's necessary to go to the mill'
- indo-*ca* en cantina sabía buscar
go-GER-TOP in bar know-IMP-3s search
'I would look [for him] by going to bar[s]'
- borrego-*ca* lobo sabe comer
sheep-TOP coyote know-3s eat
'Coyotes eat sheep'
- *lobo-*ca* sí come borrego
coyote-TOP AFFIRM eat-3s sheep
'Coyotes do eat sheep'
- ese tiempo-*ca* no eramos mucho-*ca*
that time-TOP NEG be-IMP-1pl much-TOP
'[at] that time there weren't many of us'
- no muy mayor-*ca* murió
NEG very older-TOP die-PRET-3s
'[She] died when she wasn't very old'
- busti-*ca* ha de saber
you-TOP have-3s of know
'you must know'
- agua para tomar-*ca* puyyu había
water for drink-TOP spring exist-IMP
'For drinking water there was [a] spring'
- *Topo Alto-*ca* por arriba es por aquí *ca* vuelta Topo Chiquito es
Topo Alto-TOP for up is for here-TOP turn Topo Chiquito is
'Upper Topo is higher up, this on the other hand is Little Topo'
- ese es que enseñan poniendo escuela-*ca*
that is what teach-3pl put-GER school-TOP
'that's what they teaching putting [the children] in school'
- ay acabó papa-*ca*
there finish-PRET-3s potato-TOP
'potatoes are all finished there'
- antes-*ca* no sabía haber carro-*ca*
before-TOP NEG know-IMP-3s exist car-TOP
'before there were no buses'
- *solito-*ca* ya no avanzo
alone-DIM-TOP now NEG advance-1s
'I can't get on by myself anymore'
- *animalitos teniendo-*ca* no hay tiempo para ir a trabajar
animals-DIM-pl have-GER-TOP NEG exist-es time for go to work
'When you have animals there is no time to go to work'
- *gente ajena-*ca* cinco dólar se cobra
people alien-TOP five dollar REFL charge

'People from elsewhere get charged five dollars'
 *diciembre cosecha es papas-*ca*
 December harvest is potato-pl-TOP
 'Potatoes are harvested in December'
 *nosotros por aquí-*ca* San Pablo nomás vamos
 we for here-TOP San Pablo only go-1pl
 'We around here only go to San Pablo'
 tulpita, cocina-*ca* no tiene
 hearth-DIM kitchen-TOP NEG have-3s
 'We] don't have a fireplace or a stove'
 A veces alcanzando-*ca* vamos
 Sometimes reach-GER-TOP go-1pl
 'Sometimes if we catch [the bus] we go'
 En escuela-*ca* medio primer grado salí
 In school-TOP half first grade leave-PRET-1s
 'I left school halfway through the first grade'
 se manda que venga breve-*ca*
 REFL order COMP come-SUBJ-3s fast-TOP
 '[you] are ordered to come quickly'
 *algunos si tiene pero nosotros-*ca* no tenemos
 some-pl yes have-3s but we-CA NEG have-1pl
 'Some have [cows] but we do not have [any]'
 *borreguito-*ca*- ya acaba, puerco-*tan* ya no hay
 sheep-DIM-CA now finish pig-*tan* now NEG exist
 'There are no more sheep or pigs'
 *tocaba a mi marido-*ca* con tractor trabajaba
 touch-IMP-3s to my husband-TOP with tractor work-IMP-3s
 'It was my husband's job to work with a tractor'

Appendix 2. Examples of *-tan* in Ecuadoran Andean Spanish (* = used in translation task)

CORRESPONDING TO 'ALSO, EVEN'

*mi mamita-*tan* todavía joven murió papá-*tan* joven murió
 my mother-*tan* still young die-PRET-3s father-*tan* young die-PRET-3s
 'My mother died [when she was] still young, my father also died young'
 *borreguito-*ca*- ya acaba, puerco-*tan* ya no hay
 sheep-DIM-CA now finish pig-TAN now NEG exist
 'There are no more sheep or pigs'
 *antes conejo-*tan* teníamos ahora ya no tiene
 before rabbit-*tan* have-1pl-IMP now already NEG have-3s
 'In the past we also had rabbits now [we] no longer have'
 mi padrino-*ca* se murió madrina-*tan* se murió
 my godfather-TOP REFL die-PRET-3s godmother-*tan* REFL die-PRET-3s
 'My godfather died and my godmother also died'
 *de papá mamá-*tan* no ponen escuela
 of father mother-*tan* NEG put-PRET-3pl school
 '[my] mother and father didn't put [me] in school'
 *yo-*tan* a mi marido-*tan* trabajando vivíamos
 I-*tan* to my husband-*tan* work-GER live-IMP-1pl
 'My husband and I lived working'
 antes-*ca* no bailaba ni orquesta no ponía-*tan*
 before-TOP NEG dance-IMP-3s nor band NEG put-IMP-3s-*tan*
 'Before [people] didn't dance and there were no dance bands'
 vinindo así cogimos bautismo-*tan* matrimonio-*tan*

coming thus take-PRET-1pl baptism-*tan* wedding-*tan*
 '[with the priest] coming like that we had baptisms and weddings'
 hablan en quichua-*tan* en castellano-*tan* dos lengua
 speak-3pl in Kichwa-*tan* in Spanish-*tan* two language
 'They speak in Kichwa and also in Spanish, two languages'
 *gente casados sendo mujer sendo hombre-*tan* no vale
 people married being woman being man-*tan* NEG worth
 'married people, whether men or women, it's no use'
 *cuando mamá muriendo-*tan* papá nomás quedando-*tan*
 when mother die-GER-*tan* father only remain-GER-*tan*
 'When my mother died only my father was left'

INTERROGATIVES

cómo-*tan* hablarán en quichua-k
 how-*tan* speak-FUT-3pl in Kichwa-TOP
 'I wonder how they say it in Kichwa'
 *Casco Valenzuela cómo-*tan* sería
 Casco Valenzuela how-*tan* be-COND-3s
 'I wonder what Casco Valenzuela is like'

OTHER EXAMPLES

madrina-*tan* de blanco es, de San Pablo
 godmother-*tan* of white is from San Pablo
 'The godmother is a white woman from San Pablo'
 *sí tiene leñita por monte-*tan*
 yes have-3s firewood-DIM for woods-*tan*
 'There is firewood in the woods'
 *bestias-*tan* queremos trillar pero maquinero no viene
 horses-*tan* want-1pl thrash but driver NEG come-3s
 'We want to thrash with horses but the driver doesn't come'
 *ella-*tan* solita ha de quedar
 she-*tan* alone-DIM have of remain
 'She will remain alone'
 *este huambra-*tan* este año acabando
 this child-*tan* this year finish-GER
 'This kid will be finishing [school] this year'
 *tiempo cambiado ya no tiene-*tan* caballos así
 time changed now NEG have-*tan* horses thus
 'Times have changed, there aren't horses like that any more'
 *ahora-*tan* amarrando la vaquita vengo cansado
 now-*tan* tie-GER ART cow-DIM come-1s tired
 'Now I arrive tired after tying up the cow[s]'
 *me sufrí con diez hijos hijos-*tan* como animalitos son
 REFL suffer-PRET-1s with ten children children-*tan* like animals-DIM be-3pl
 'I suffered with ten children, children are like little animals'
 *ay cenigo-*tan* ya todo secado
 there wetland-*tan* now all dried
 'Everything is now all dried up in the wetland'
 *los naturales-*tan* ya no entienden en quichua
 ART indigenous-PL-*tan* now NEG understand-3pl in Kichwa
 'The indigenous people no longer understand Kichwa'
 ahora paramo-*tan* sólo pinos está
 now tundra-*tan* only pine-PL be-3s
 'Now on the high mountain slopes there are only pines'
 *sabíamos tener en paramo ganadito-*tan* así
 know-IMP-1pl have in tundra cattle-DIM-*tan* thus
 'We used to have such cattle on the mountain slopes'

el ojeado-*tan* escapa de morir
 ART bewitched-*tan* escape-3s from die
 ‘The child who has been given the evil eye escapes death’
 *antes-ca yunta trabajaba ahora-ca ni yunta-*tan*
 before-TOP yoke work-IMP-3s now-TOP nor yoke-*tan*
 ‘Before [we] worked with a team of oxen, now [we don’t have] even a team’
 *ellos-*tan* sólo entienden lo que otros hablan
 they-*tan* only understand-3pl ART COMP others speak-3pl
 ‘They only understand what other people say’
 *ya no tenemos animal-*tan* bastante
 now NEG have-1pl animal-*tan* enough
 ‘Now we don’t have enough animal[s]’
 *una arroba de papa-*tan* cargado así sabemos subir
 ART sack of potato-*tan* carried thus know-IMP-1pl climb
 ‘We used to climb carrying a sack of potatoes’
 *nietos-ca de hija-*tan* tres tengo
 grandchildren-PL-TOP from daughter-*tan* three have-1s
 ‘I have three grandchildren by my daughter’

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