Imbabura Quechua (Ecuador)

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1. Background
Imbabura Quichua (henceforth IQ) is a Quechua language spoken in the Northern Andes of Ecuador by approximately 150,000 speakers. The province of Imbabura ranks second among the nine Quichua-speaking provinces of the Ecuadorian Andes as for the number of speakers (Haboud, 1998: 91-92). Imbabura shows also the largest number of bilingual Quichua-Spanish speakers in the country (Büttner, 1993: 48:49). Although there are a small number of IQ monolinguals among elders, the tendency nowadays is towards increasing levels of bilingualism accompanied with the maintenance of the native language. IQ has been in contact with Spanish since the second half of the sixteenth-century in a diglossic relation. The language is vigorously spoken in most Indian settlements of the province at community and family levels. It is taught in schools as part of the Bilingual Intercultural Education Programme implemented by the Ministry of Education since 1986 with the support from international cooperation agencies and the National Indian Organization (CONAIE). In the last decades IQ has entered oral media, and regular radio broadcasting in IQ reaches all the corners of the province. The language has a unified writing system since 1980, but this is used only for textbooks of elementary education.

The fact that IQ shows a strong vitality in the Ecuadorian Andes should not obscure its alochthonous origins. Quechua was brought to Ecuador by the Incas in the second half of the fifteenth century, although another Quechua variety was spoken as a língua franca by autochthonous peoples long before. From archaeological and early historical evidence it appears that one Barbacoan language – Cara – was spoken in the present territory of Imbabura at the time of the Inca invasion. It is likely that IQ speakers were in contact with other languages of the same family – Tsafiqui and Awa Pit – through an extensive trade network at work until the second half of the seventeenth century (Caillavet 2001: 81). The present paper focuses on a one-to-one borrowing situation between IQ and Spanish. Contact phenomena due to substratum influence are mentioned only occasionally.

2. Phonology
The phonological inventory of pre-contact IQ does not include consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, /β/ and /z/, nor medial vowels /e/ and /o/. These sounds entered the language through Spanish loanwords (e.g. kaβažu ‘horse’, didu ‘finger’, pagana ‘to pay’, poste ‘post’) and do not occur phonemically in native items. They show a high degree of integration in IQ phonology, as observed by Cole (1982: 199). A situation that has facilitated the incorporation of these sounds in the native inventory is the fact that, with the exception of /β/, they have native allophonic counterparts: thus, [β] is an allophone of /p/, [d] of /t/, and [ɡ] of /k/, all in nasal environments; similarly [e] is an allophone of /i/ and [o] of /u/. The result is free allophonic variation in some Spanish borrowings. Typically, Spanish medial vowels are raised (/e/>/i/, /o/>/u/) or otherwise pronounced as close as possible to their Quichua equivalents. Partial assimilation is

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1 With no linguistic census available, this is only a reasonable estimate. Ethnologue gives a number of 300,000 speakers in 1977, which is evidently an exaggeration considering that the whole population of Imbabura (i.e. Mestizos and Indians) hardly reached 250,000 people by 1982. (INEC 2001).
more common in words with several medial vowels (e.g. [prizidînte] ~ [prisidînte] < Sp. /presidénte/), although non-assimilated borrowings are not uncommon. Accordingly, there may be various ways to pronounce one and the same word. Different phonetic realizations depend on (i) the environment, (ii) the speaker’s level of bilingualism, and (iii) the frequency of the word. When ambiguities arise, these are solved by several mechanisms: e.g. misa (Sp. mesa ‘table’) and misa (Sp. misa ‘mass’) are disambiguated by the voicing of the intermediate sibilant in the second member. The assimilation of borrowings is not always rule-governed and may be idiosyncratic to a certain degree.

Other contact phenomena in phonology are found at syllabic and suprasegmental levels. According to the native pattern, the main stress falls on the penultimate syllable. The stress pattern in borrowings depends on their degree of assimilation (e.g. kumunidá, Sp. comunidad). The retention of Spanish stress patterns may be a disambiguating strategy in some cases. The native pattern of syllable structure is CVC(V), with a limited number of consonants in coda position (/kl, /sl/). Consonant clusters in onset and coda positions occur only exceptionally, often as a result of other morpho-phonemic processes. Few Spanish loanwords avoid consonants in coda position: e.g. rilújo, Sp. reloj ‘watch’. The most frequent type of clusters in Spanish loanwords involve one of a set of plosives (/p, t, k/) plus a flap /ſ/ like in prioste ‘sponsor of a celebration’, trabajo ‘work’, and crema ‘cream’. Loanwords with clusters in word initial position usually are not assimilated into IQ phonology – but the speaker’s level of bilingualism may be decisive. Occasionally, a vowel is inserted in between the plosive and the flap. This vowel is the same as the one following the cluster: e.g. koronika, Sp. crónica ‘story’.

A final issue is the existence of certain phonetic realizations proper of IQ. These realizations make IQ different from other Ecuadorian Quechua dialects. They are claimed to come from substratum influence. In what follows I focus on the phonological survey conducted by Fauchois (1988).

The main phonetic difference of Imbabura Quechua with respect to other varieties spoken in the Andean Highlands is the fricativization of plosives /p/ and /k/ in all positions except nasal (cf. supra). The resulting [f] and [j] differ in word-initial position from their aspirated counterparts [ph] and [kh] in the rest of Ecuadorian dialects, but also from their non-aspirated equivalents [p] and [k] in word-medial or word-final positions. Illustrative cases are pucuna ‘to blow’, realized as [fukuna] in Imbabura but [phukuna] in the central dialects (e.g. Tungurahua); upiana ‘to drink’, realized as [ufiana] in Imbabura but [upiana] in the Southern varieties (e.g. Saraguro, Azuay); cari ‘male’, [jari] in Imbabura, but [kari] in the central dialects (e.g. Cotopaxi); and reciprocal -naku-, realized as [-naju-] in Imbabura, but [naku] in the rest of the provinces. Voiceless [t] and voiced [d] are distinct phonemes in all Ecuadorian dialects but not in IQ, where [d] occurs mostly in allophonic variation with [t] (Fauchois 1988: 62).

There exist a number of lexical localisms and toponyms with the above-mentioned phonetic features: e.g. muchiju, ‘Indian hat’; Abataj, name of an Indian community. Spanish loanwords are assimilated according to the same pattern: e.g. [juĩ̯sə], from Sp. fuerza ‘strength’, realized as [Φuĩ̯sə] in central and Southern

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2 As a matter of fact, nonce borrowings are much less integrated to IQ phonology and may be considered cases of insertional code switching (cf. Muysken 2000a: 32). Furthermore, it appears that phonetic assimilation into native patterns goes hand in hand with grammatical accommodation, as noted by Fauchois (1988: 92).

3 This is typical of Ecuadorian dialects. Peruvian and Bolivian dialects show divergent patterns.
dialects. These facts tell us that we are before a phenomenon of substratum influence in IQ phonology. Recent research has shown that a distinct cultural and linguistic group lived in the present territory of Imbabura. There being no grammars or dictionaries available of this language, most works have focused on toponomy, anthroponomy and early Colonial documents. A short list of morphemes – both of lexical and grammatical nature – have been identified from the substratum language (Caillavet 2001: 108). Interestingly, some of them show phonetic patterns similar to those described above: [–pixal] ‘sinuosity in the landscape’; and [-tux] ‘characteristic of a burial place’. Further research is required in this field.

3. Typology
Contact with Spanish has not changed the typological profile of IQ. Like other members of the Quechua family, IQ remains a typical agglutinating language. This is true not only of sociolects with minimal lexical influence from Spanish but also of relexified varieties such as Media Lengua (Gómez-Rendón 2005). What makes IQ – and Ecuadorian dialects in general – different from other Quechua dialects is a lower degree of synthesis resulting from the loss of verb-object agreement and possessive nominal suffixes. Consider the following examples from the Peruvian varieties of San Martín and Junín in comparison with Imbabura and Ecuadorian Quechua:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>San Martín Quechua</th>
<th>Imbabura Quechua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S-TOP maka-yki</td>
<td>1S-TOP kan-ta maka-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I hit you.’</td>
<td>‘I hit you.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cole 1982:6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Junin Quechua</th>
<th>Ecuadorian Quechua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maki-yki</td>
<td>kanpak maki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand-2S.POSS</td>
<td>2S.GEN hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your hand’</td>
<td>‘your hand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cerrón-Palomino 1987:200):

The loss of personal reference markers in IQ introduced the obligatory use of pronominal forms to mark the arguments of the predicate where other dialects use pronouns only for emphasis (cf. section 6.2). This particular development cannot be attributed to contact with Spanish or substratum influence. The simplification of verbal morphology in Ecuadorian dialects may be interpreted as a result of koinetization. Cusco Quechua was brought to present Ecuador alongside other dialects from central and Northern Peru. The presence of different dialects contributed to the emergence of a koiné (Cerrón Palomino 1987: 343), a process claimed for other peripheral areas of the Inca Empire such as Salta and Tucumán in Argentina (de Granda 2001: 207ff).

No contact phenomena have been observed in the type of alignment and affixation. Nevertheless, IQ has incorporated a few Spanish morphemes, mainly through the borrowing of Spanish words with such morphemes. These include agentive -dur and diminutive -itu⁴. Consider the following examples from IQ:

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⁴ Another possible candidate is the prefix la-. In Argentinean Quechua (Santiago del Estero) laya occurs before all kinds of nouns and has the meaning “type of”. However, it is neither phonetically reduced nor cliticized. Likewise, IQ speakers use laya with all nouns except kinship terms, in which case the short form la- is used, “indicating a type of kinship following the original” (Cf. CIEI 1983: LVI; my translation). Interestingly, the word laya is obsolete in Ecuadorian Spanish, except in some archaic varieties spoken in rural areas. The case of la- is all the more exceptional because no prefixes
The diminutive ending and the agentive marker occur both with Spanish lexemes (left column) and native lexemes (right column).

Apart from these grammatical changes, IQ shows a large number of Spanish borrowings are assimilated into native patterns. In the classification of parts of speech elaborated by Hengeveld et al. (2004), IQ is considered a language with two lexical classes, i.e. verbs and non-verbs. The class of non-verbs conflates nominal, verbal and adjectival functions. Spanish borrowings in IQ tend to match this pattern. Spanish nouns used as modifiers of noun phrases and verb phrases are not uncommon. I discussed the results of an investigation into the functional patterns of lexical borrowing elsewhere (Gómez Rendón 2006).

In spite of the considerable influence of Spanish on IQ lexicon and syntax, IQ continues to be a topic prominent language. The drop of the topic marker -ka and its replacement with the focus marker mi is a common feature. However, this new development does not imply any loss of topic prominence (cf. section 7.1).

4. Nominal Structures
Nominal structures influenced by Spanish have to do with case marking and NP structure. Borrowing of linguistic matter is present, though replication of patterns is the most frequent phenomena. In the following sections I discuss these structures in detail.

4.1. Case marking
Contact-induced phenomena in the use and the semantics of case markers include: (i) the loss of distinction between inalienable and alienable possession; (ii) the loss of distinction between comitative ntin and instrumental wan, with the resulting conflation of both in the latter; (iii) the drop of the obligatory accusative marker on direct objects; (iv) the increasing tendency to use the plural marker on nouns after numeral modifiers; (v) the use of Spanish lexical borrowings to express local and spatial relations.

The loss of distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is reflected on the gradual replacement of yuc with pac and on the alternative use of lexical strategies (5). In both cases, the use or non-use of yuc makes a difference from pre-contact IQ varieties.

(5) Ñami warmi-yuc ka-ni     (7b) Ñami kazara-shka ka-ni
already woman-POSS be.1S already married-PTCP be.1S
‘I am married already.’     ‘I am married already.’

IQ has different markers for the comitative (ntin) and the instrumental (wan). Whereas ntin relates elements as if they formed one indivisible unity, wan indicates the contingent bringing together of two elements or the instrumentality of one with respect to the other. For Kaarhus (1989) the comitative-instrumental distinction entails a unique understanding of space-time relations proper of the Quichua culture. As a

exist in IQ, nominal and verbal morphemes being all suffixes. An alternative analysis is that la- is a reduced (grammaticalized) form of the verb illa-c ‘be.missing-AG’.

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matter of fact, heavily Hispanicized sociolects of IQ have lost this distinction in either of two ways: a) both case markers are used interchangeably; b) one marker (\textit{wan}) conflates both meanings. The second case, illustrated in (8) below, is far more frequent and has resulted in the reduction of the case system on the model of Spanish.

(8) \textit{warmi-wan} \textit{tarpu-ngapak ri-rka-ni}
\begin{itemize}
  \item woman-\textit{COM}
  \item sow-\textit{PURP}
  \item go-\textit{PST-1S}
\end{itemize}
‘I went with a woman to sow.’
‘I went with my woman to sow.’

The two meanings of (8) cannot be disambiguated without context. The use of \textit{wan} and \textit{nthin} resolves this ambiguity. By using \textit{nthin} the speaker implies that the woman is his wife and both of them form a couple; the use of a genitive pronominal such as \textit{ñuka}(\textit{pak}) ‘my’ is needless in this case.

Another structure influenced by Spanish is the marking of direct-object arguments. As a rule, pre-contact IQ marks direct objects with \textit{ta}. On the contrary, contact varieties tend to drop this marker. Consider the following sentences lacking the accusative marker:

(9) \textit{churamu-kri-n} \textit{shuc ley}
\begin{itemize}
  \item put-INCH-3
  \item one law
\end{itemize}
‘He/she is going to pass a law.’

(10) \textit{kankuna} \textit{huasi-pi} \textit{kati-nchi} \textit{kay programa}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 2PL.POSS
  \item house-LOC
  \item follow-1PL
  \item this program
\end{itemize}
“At your home we listen to the program”

(11) \textit{chari-nchi} \textit{minimercado} “Charito”
\begin{itemize}
  \item have-1PL
  \item small.market “Charito”
\end{itemize}
“We have the small-market [called] Charito”

(Fauchois 1988: 117; my glosses)

In the foregoing examples the accusative marker is systematically dropped on the direct objects, which contain either Spanish borrowings (9, 10) or code switches (11). Besides, the word order is SVO and \textit{not} SOV as typical of IQ. There seems to be certain connection between dropped accusative markers, deviant word orders and heavy lexical borrowing. Fauchois (1988: 117) claims that the use of Hispanicized SVO word order in IQ makes it unnecessary to mark direct objects because the element following the verb is always the object. What Fauchois fails to notice however is that post-verbal position is not assigned to objects by default and the identification of this position with objects is possible only by contrasting Spanish-like word order and IQ native word order. To this extent SVO is subsidiary to SOV and the latter remains the most frequent word order, even in contact varieties. Notice that Spanish lexical material reinforces the tendency to drop the accusative marker in SVO constructions.

Other tendencies observed in contemporary IQ that may be explained in terms of contact with Spanish concern the expression of number. Plural marking in IQ is obligatory, except if numerals precede the noun heads (Cole 1982: 128). The preference in such cases is the unmarking of number. Nevertheless, marking plurality is increasingly frequent when numerals are involved, as exemplified by (12) in comparison to (13) below:

(12) \textit{ñuka-ka} \textit{ishkai} \textit{churi-kuna} \textit{chari-ni}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1S-TOP
  \item two
  \item son-PL
  \item have-1S
\end{itemize}
‘I have two sons.’

(13) \textit{ñuka-ka} \textit{ishkai} \textit{churi} \textit{chari-ni}
\begin{itemize}
  \item 1S-TOP
  \item two
  \item son
  \item have-1S
\end{itemize}
‘I have two sons.’

Double plural marking is another contact-induced development concerning number. As a matter of fact, several Spanish words have been borrowed into IQ in plural (14). In this case the Spanish plural ending /-s/ and the Quechua plural /-kuna/ co-occur on the same lexeme, which results in apparent double marking. However, not all cases of double marking may be interpreted in this way for several reasons. Firstly, the number of lexemes borrowed in plural is comparatively small. Secondly, some borrowings occur with or without the Spanish plural. Third, cases are found of native lexemes in which the Spanish plural ending occurs along with the native marker (15).

(14) chay kosa-s-kuna-manta mana japi-ni-chu
    that thing-(Sp)PL-(IQ)PL-ABL NEG understand-IS-NEG
    “I don’t understand about those things”

(15) riku-shka-ni kimsa alku-s-kuna Aguchu-pak patiyu-pi
    see-PRF-1S three dog-(Sp)PL-(IQ)PL Aguchu-POSS backyard-LOC
    “I saw three dogs in Aguchu’s backyard”

It may be argued that Spanish kosas in (14) is an instance of code switching rather than borrowing proper. This explanation however fails to explain the occurrence of the native plural. If the code-switch is in Spanish, why does IQ plural occur at all? Accepting two plural markers in one and the same noun phrase implies two competing grammars. On the other hand, if we consider (14) as a frozen borrowing, we have to explain the large number of borrowed lexemes with the Spanish plural, a number that goes far beyond the few examples presented in the literature (Cole 1982: 129). In all, the occurrence of double marking seems to be accountable in terms of borrowing rather than of code switching. The occurrence of lexical and grammatical couplets consisting of native and borrowed items with different functional distributions (cf. Brody 1987; Campbell 1993; Matras 1998) might offer an alternative explanation in which pragmatic and processing factors motivate double marking.

Spanish influence on IQ case marking concerns also the expression of local relations. Two Spanish lexemes occur in local relations: ladu, ‘side’; and frinti, ‘front’. The former lexeme is especially productive in IQ. Consider the following examples:

(16) kuanchi Kasko ladu kidana-ju-nchi pruyektu-wan
    1PL Casco side remain-DUR-1PL project-COM
    ‘We [the people] from Casco kept the project.’

(17) kay Imbabura ladu gente
    DEM Imbabura side people
    ‘People from this side of Imbabura’

(18) kay Topo ladu-kuna-pak-mi siyimpre obligatorio
    DEM Topo side-PL-BEN-EMPH always mandatory
    ‘That was always mandatory for [people] from Topo.’

(19) maijan ladu-man-shi Anglango ka-pa-rka
    which side-ALL-DUB Anglango be-HON-PST
    ‘On which side was Anglango?’

(20) kuanchi-ka ladu-lia kausa-shka-nchi
    1PL side-LIM live-PRT-1PL
    ‘We lived on the side.’

5 An explanation in the frame of the model of “embedded language islands” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 139ff).
The above examples can be classified according to the use of \textit{ladu}: a) those in which \textit{ladu} modifies the head of a noun phrase, be it a pronoun (16) or a noun (17); b) those in which \textit{ladu} stands on its own, being the head of the noun phrase itself and receiving inflectional morphology (18); c) those in which \textit{ladu} is part of a postpositional phrase and accompanies a question word (19); and d) those in which \textit{ladu} modifies the main predication, either alone (20) or in reduplication (21). In addition, \textit{ladu} has an ablative meaning in (16) to (18). In these constructions the Spanish borrowing links the noun head (implicit or explicit) to another noun indicating location. Interestingly, \textit{ladu} take postpositions such as \textit{manta} (ablative), \textit{pi} (locative), \textit{man} (allative), and (\textit{ta}) prolate. From the difference between local relations expressed by locatives such as \textit{ladu} ‘side’, in which the preceding noun does not take the possessive, and local relations expressed by native locatives such as \textit{chaupi} ‘middle’, in which it does, Cole (1982: 124) concludes that expressions such as (16) to (18) are complex postpositions, one of whose components is the locative. In general, \textit{ladu} may be considered a secondary locative morpheme, as it behaves exactly like other members of this class (e.g. \textit{uku} ‘inside’, \textit{washa} ‘behind’ or \textit{jawa} ‘above’). Other non-relational uses of \textit{ladu} include its use as head and modifier of noun phrases, in the latter case with the meaning of “lateral”. Finally, \textit{ladu} can be adverbialized by \textit{lla} or by reduplications as typical of many IQ adverbials.

Though much less frequent when compared to \textit{ladu}, Spanish \textit{frinti} ‘front’ is used in IQ to express anterior location similarly to the native morpheme \textit{chimba} ‘front’. The occurrence of \textit{frinti} is rather idiolectal, however. The following example is one of the few in the corpus:

\begin{enumerate}
\item(22) \textit{chay wambra-ka pungu frinti-pi shaya-ju-n}  
\hspace{1cm} DEM young-TOP gate front-LOC stand-DUR-3
\hspace{1cm} ‘That youngster is standing in front of the door’
\end{enumerate}

### 4.2. NP Structure

Contact with Spanish has influenced NP Structure in the following ways: a) the use of determiners \textit{shuk} ‘one’ and \textit{kay} ‘this’ to replace the native topicalizer \textit{ka}, which is dropped systematically in decontextualized speech events such as radio broadcasting; b) the occurrence of Spanish diminutive and augmentative endings in borrowed and native lexemes; c) the borrowing of the Spanish agent nominalizer. While the first phenomenon may be classified as pattern borrowing, the last two are cases of matter borrowing.

The prolific use of determiners \textit{shuk} and \textit{kay} at expense of topicalizer \textit{ka} was first noticed for IQ in radio broadcasting (Fauchois 1988: 105). Interestingly, this use is found beyond the context of broadcasting. Consider the following examples:

\begin{enumerate}
\item(23) \textit{shuk gallo-mi Katacupamba-pi-ka kanta-na}  
\hspace{1cm} one rooster-EMPH Katacupamba-LOC-TOP crow-HAB
\hspace{1cm} ‘A rooster used to crow at Katacupamba.’
\item(24) \textit{shuk tela tiya-n ni-k ka-ria-n}  
\hspace{1cm} one cloth there.be-3S say-PST.HAB be-DUR-3S
\hspace{1cm} ‘They used to say that there is one cloth.’
\item(25) \textit{kuanchi-ka kai kosecha-pi-ka puri-rka-ria-nchi}  
\hspace{1cm} Note that IQ has no articles to mark definiteness and uses the topicalizer \textit{ka} for definite referents.
\end{enumerate}
“We used to go to the harvest”

(26) primero trata-ngapa kai kubesilla-ta trata-rka-ni
first negotiate-PURP this leader-ACC negotiate-PST-1S

“First, in order to negotiate, I negotiated with the leader”

Originally, kay is a demonstrative while shuk is a numeral. Shuk (indefinite) and kay (definite) are used on the model of the Spanish contrast between indefinite un/una and definite (el/la) articles. This is only half of the explanation, though. Fauchois (1988: 106) identifies three factors leading to the overuse of kay: 1) the influence of Spanish structure on IQ whereby the speaker expresses definiteness or indefiniteness through an element (demonstrative, numeral) preceding the noun head; 2) the speaker’s difficulty to use the topicalizer ka in non-personal speech events; and 3) the need to codify additional information in the absence of extra-linguistic signs. While the first factor is clearly at work, neither the second nor the third are relevant for the examples presented here, because these were gathered in normal communication settings. Notice that the topicalizer does occur in (25). The co-occurrence of the topicalizer with the demonstrative implies that the former does not mark definiteness. Definiteness in IQ is a by-product of topic marking.

Spanish augmentative and diminutive endings are typically used in loanwords though occur on native lexemes as well. The use of Spanish augmentative and diminutive endings has not motivated the disuse of their native counterparts (augmentatives sapa and siqui; diminutive ku). On the contrary, the Spanish ending and the Quechua affix are sometimes used contrastively in couplets. Consider the following examples, each with a lexeme of different origin.

(27) Ñuka-ka shuk wawitu-lla chari-ni
1S-TOP one child: DIM-LIM have-1S
‘I have only one little child.’

(28) Uyanza tiyimpu ñukanchi-ka papasu-wan puri-shka-nchi
Uyanzas time 1PL-TOP father: SUPL go-PLUS-1PL
‘In times of Uyanzas we used to go with our grandfathers.’

In (27) the Spanish diminutive ending occurs on IQ wawa ‘child’. The diminutive emphasizes how young the child is. In (28) the augmentative on Spanish papa ‘father’ does not denote any quality of the speaker’s father. Instead, it refers to the speaker’s grandfather. The low frequency of this compound indicates that grammatical borrowings are used productively even though they do not necessarily follow IQ rules. In order to form kinship terms for generations older than ego’s parents, IQ uses modifiers jatun ‘big’ or rucu ‘old’ and not augmentatives. IQ uses augmentatives on quality nouns only. These differences suggest that borrowing implies a compromise between the morphological strategies of both languages.

The Spanish agentive nominalizer dur often occurs unanalyzed on borrowed lexemes such as bindidur ‘seller’, trabajadur ‘worker’ or mididur ‘meter’. In these cases it forms an indivisible unit with the root. It occurs also on native lexemes:

(29) a. ñaupa-dur b. michi-dur
    front-NMLZ graze-NMLZ
    ‘spokesman’ ‘shepherd’

(30) a. kalpa-dur b. yapu-dur guagra
    run-NMLZ plow-NMLZ cow

Interestingly, example (23) shows emphatic mi occupying the position typically assigned to topic marker ka. As shown in section 7, the fact that emphatic and focus markers usually swap places in modern IQ is a result of the structural reorganization of the language under Spanish influence.
While the productiveness of this Spanish nominalizer is limited in IQ, the use of compounds is attested across generations and levels of bilingualism.

5. Verbal Structures
The influence of Spanish on IQ verbal structures includes matter and pattern borrowing, with predominance of the former given the easy integration of Spanish loan verbs, modals and particles into IQ. At the same time, the occurrence of pattern borrowing in valency changing devices and, most importantly, the gradual replacement of the nominalization strategies with finite-clause subordination are modifying the typological outline of IQ.

5.1. TMA Marking
An inventory of TMA structures influenced by contact with Spanish includes: (i) the replacing of ngapaj with purposive chun in coreferential constructions, on the model of the Spanish subjunctive; (ii) the use of Spanish dizis- ‘say’ in reportatives and quotatives; and (iii) the use of Spanish modal verbs.

In his grammar of Imbabura Quechua, Cole calls our attention to the fact that “clauses employing the verbal suffixes -ngapaj and -chun are used in roughly the same environments in which the present subjunctive is employed in Spanish” (Cole 1982, 157). The statement can be interpreted simply as a comparison to help the reader grasp the nature of these suffixes but the implications go beyond that. In order to understand this new development in IQ morphosyntax, it is necessary to remind the reader of two structural properties of IQ. All Quechua dialects use a marker of purpose in subjunctive noun clauses. Imbabura Quechua has two different markers: ngapaj, for coreferential subjects in the main clause and the subordinate clause; chun, for subjects with different referents. The following examples extracted from Cole (1982: 37f) are illustrative:

(31) muna-y-man ñuka mama-ta riku-ngapaj
want-1S-COND 1S.POSS mother-ACC see-PURP
“I want that I see my mother; I want to see my mother”

(32) muna-ni Juzi pay-paj mama-ta riku-chun
want-1S Juzi 3-POSS mother-ACC see-PURP
‘I want José to see his mother’

Although purposive constructions occur mainly as complements of volition verbs like muna ‘want’, the same restrictions of coreferentiality apply for other verbs. Purposive constructions in contemporary IQ do not follow this pattern. Nowadays chun tends to replace ngapak in coreferential environments. Consider the following example in which such replacement takes place in such environment:

(33) atribi-k turo-kuna tiya-shpa-ka paykuna toria-chun
brave-NMLZ bullfighter-PL be-GER-TOP 3PL fight-PURP
‘If there were brave bullfighters to fight’

Concurrently, the use of ngapaj becomes restricted to exclusively purposive functions. Considering the frequent use of the Spanish subjunctive and the lack of distinction between coreferential subjects in this language, it may be hypothesized that long-term contact with Spanish led to the specialization of native morphosyntactic structures. The possibility of an internal development should not be

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8 Cole gives the label “subjunctive” for ngapaj and chun alike. I prefer to call them ‘purposives’ because of their original meaning in IQ.
entirely discarded, but the duration and intensity of contact along with high rates of bilingualism in the speech community make a contact-induced change more likely.

Of several Spanish utterance modifiers in IQ, two are used as particles with modal nuances. Consider first the following examples of Spanish tálbis ‘perhaps’:

(34) chayka manchari-shpa tálbis uyria-nga tayta-kuna-ka
then fear-GER perhaps hear-DUR-FUT parent-PL-TOP
‘If the parents fear [the penalties], they might listen [to the teachers].’

(35) chay-pash-chari tálbis asha-gu
that-ADIT-perhaps perhaps few-DIM
pay-kuna-pak-pash falta-k riku-ri-n
3-PL-DAT-ADIT be.missing-NMLZ see-REFL-3
‘They may see that quite a few things are still missing.’

Tálbis in (34) and (35) is a phonetic assimilation of Spanish tal vez ‘perhaps’. This particle marks probability from an epistemic (34) or alethic modality (35). Notice that tálbis co-occurs with its native counterpart chari in (35). The particle may occur freely in the clause (e.g. 35).

Another particle derived from Spanish is gulpi. On the one hand, the widespread use of this form across idiolects suggests it is an older borrowing. On the other hand, the difference in the meanings of gulpi in Spanish and IQ suggests a process of grammaticalization. In fact, the meaning of this particle in contemporary IQ has no semantic relation to Spanish golpe ‘blow’, even if the phonetic shape is basically the same. Consider the following examples from our corpus:

(36) na llukchi-shka-nchik tukuy-lla-tak gulpi-ta trabaja-ngapak
NEG leave-PRF-1PL all-LIM-AFF blow-ADVR work-PURP
‘Not all of us leave at once for work.’

(37) shinallatak gulpi-lla tukuy-ta ayuda-shpa
however blow-LIM all-ACC help-GER
trabaja-chun muna-y-manta-pash
work-PURP want-INF-ABL-ADIT
‘But we help all to work just because we want it.’

In the foregoing examples gulpi is used to stress the inclusivity of the first person plural. This interpretation is further confirmed by the co-occurrence of gulpi with native tukuy ‘all’ in both examples. Given that IQ has lost the clusivity distinction characteristic of other Quechua languages, gulpi serves in part to fill this gap in IQ. Notice that gulpi is adverbialized in (36) and qualified for degree in (37). In the following example gulpi co-occurs with tukuy and functions as an adverbial (intensifier) without any additional morphology.

(38) gulpi tukuy tandanaju-shpa llanka-na ka-n yani
blow all unite-GER work-INF be-3 think:1S
‘It is necessary that all of us work together.’

Another phenomenon with bearing on TMA marking involves the borrowing of Spanish-derived verbs minishti ‘need’, kiri ‘want’ and pudi ‘be able to’ as shown in the examples below:

(39) komuna-kuna-wan-na ashtawan trabaja-na minishti-nchik
village-PL-COM-AFF more work-INF need-1PL
‘We need to work more with the villages.’

(40) na inkipash problema-kuna-ta tini-ngapa kiri-ni
NEG whatever problem-PL-ACC have-PURP want-1S
‘I do not want to have any problems whatsoever’

(41) utru iskuila-kuna-pi-pash problema-ta tiya-shka-manda
‘They cannot learn because they had problems in other schools as well’

“Our pickaxe is needed for work”

Examples (39), (40) and (41) are modal verb constructions in which Spanish-derived minishti ‘need’, kiri ‘want’ and pudi ‘can’ are used as auxiliaries of necessity, volition and ability, respectively. On the contrary, sentence (41) shows the same verb minishti ‘need’ used as a non-modal verb reflexivized with the suffix ri, hence its intransitive interpretation. The phonological shape and etymological origin of minishti make it a loan verb of older import in IQ. The verb form comes from archaic Spanish menester ‘need’ as occurring in constructions like haber menester ‘to be needed’. These constructions are not used anymore in local Spanish but were used until the late eighteenth-century. Pudi and kiri are of much later import. The above examples also show that Spanish-derived verbs take IQ inflectional morphology like any native verb.

A final issue to be dealt with in this section concerns evidentiality. IQ and other Ecuadorian Quechua dialects show a system of evidential values that include one type of first-hand information and three types of second-hand information including reportativity, quotativity and inference. Although Spanish has not influenced the structure of evidential values in IQ (but see 7.1), one case of matter borrowing is attested which consists in the replacement of the native reportative/quotative form ni ‘say’ with the Spanish verb root dizi ‘say’. This replacement is reported only for the speech of younger bilinguals. The following examples illustrate evidential and non-evidential uses of dizi:

(43) Quotative evidential:

chayka kutichi-n “estoy buscando mi yunta de bueyes” dizin
then answer-3 [I am looking for my yoke of oxen] QUOT
‘Then he/she answers: ‘I am looking for my yoke of oxen’.’

(44) Reportative evidential:

patrun da-shca rumi-ka kuri ka-shka dizin
landlord give-PTCP stone-TOP gold be-PRT REP
‘It is said that the rock the landlord gave [to him] was gold.’

The above examples illustrate the use of Spanish-derived dizi in a variety of contexts. The semantic equivalence between the root of the loan verb and the native root ni allows for the replacement of dizin in (43) and (44) with IQ ni without change of meaning. As typical of IQ evidentials, dizin occurs at the end of the quote in (43) and the clause (44). Moreover, both instances of dizin carry the same tense marker of the main clause. All of these features show that ni and dizi are semantically and morphosyntactically equivalent.

5.2. Integration of Spanish loan verbs

The integration of Spanish loan verbs in IQ occurs through direct insertion, i.e. without extra marking. Spanish verbs are borrowed as verb roots without infinitive endings. The resulting roots are often assimilated to IQ phonology. Example (45) below illustrates this strategy. Several roots are subject to further morphophonological

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9 For a study of evidentiality in Ecuadorian Quechua in the frame of Functional Discourse Grammar, see Gómez Rendón (2006b).
changes such as elision (46) or epenthesis (47) of syllables in order to conform to IQ phonotactics. Loanwords dating back to the first century of contact with Spanish are particularly interesting. On the one hand, their Spanish origin often goes unnoticed by IQ speakers due to their degree of assimilation (cf. *uya* below). On the other hand, old loan verbs have fallen into disuse in local Spanish (cf. *parla* below). Accordingly, the loan verbs in (45) and (46) are invariably identified as Spanish borrowings by the speakers while the loan verbs in (45) and (46) are considered part of IQ vocabulary.

(45) \text{valora-r: value-INF > balora-}
\text{ñuka-manta ishka-ndi cultura-ta balura-ni}
\begin{align*}
1S-ABL & \quad \text{two-COM culture-ACC value-1S} \\
\end{align*}
\text{‘As for me, I value both cultures.’}

(46) \text{acompaña-r accompany-INF > compaña-}
\text{compaña-shunchi yamta minga-i-ta}
\begin{align*}
\text{accompany-1PL.FUT & \quad \text{firewood community.work-INF-ACC}} \\
\end{align*}
\text{‘Let’s go together to collect firewood.’}

(47) \text{casa-r(se): marry-INF(+REFL) > kaza+ra-}
\text{wambra-kuna ka-shpa-ka}
\begin{align*}
\text{youngster-PL & \quad \text{be-GER-TOP}} \\
\text{shuk paya paya warmi-ta kazara-ri nga} \\
\text{one old old woman-ACC marry-REFL.3.FUT} \\
\text{‘Though he is young, he will marry a very old woman.’}
\end{align*}

(48) \text{parla-r talk-INF > parla-}
\text{oi-r hear-INF > uya-}
\text{chay-manta parla-shka-ta uya-pa-shka-ngi-chu}
\begin{align*}
\text{that-ABL & \quad \text{speak-PTCP-ACC hear-HON-PRF-2S-INT}} \\
\end{align*}
\text{‘Have you heard [people] talking about that?’}

The integration of loanwords involves the re-semantization of source-language meanings, because loan verbs are not always borrowed with the same meaning they have in Spanish. This is particularly true for the early stages of contact, where bilingualism among IQ speakers was incipient. In later stages Spanish-derived verbs usually match the source-language semantics. Thus, Spanish *botar* ‘throw’ was interpreted in the sense of ‘to give away’. Other examples include Spanish *desbaratar* ‘to mess up’ used in the sense of ‘to hurt’, or *tratar* ‘to treat’ in the sense of ‘negotiate’.

An interesting phenomenon is the verbal use of loan nouns and adjectives as verbs in IQ. This tendency is rooted in the lexical flexibility of IQ. In the following example a Spanish noun is used verbally.

(49) \text{na kai llacta shina-ka flauta-k ka-shca-n-chu nin}
\text{NEG this village like-TOP flute-HAB.PST be-PLUS-3-NEG REP}
\begin{align*}
\text{medio Camuendo-ta flauta-k kashka nin} \\
\text{similar Camuendo-ACC flute-HAB.PST be-PLUS-3 REP} \\
\end{align*}
\text{‘It is said that they did not use to play the flute as it is proper of this village
[but] in the style of Camuendo village.’}

(50) \text{primero jatun flauta tiya-na cutin uchilla-gu, Castilla flauta-gu}
\begin{align*}
\text{first big flute be.INF & \quad \text{then small-DIM Castilla flute-DIM}} \\
\end{align*}
\text{‘First it was the big flute, then the small Spanish-like flute.’}

In the above example the verbal marker of habitual past is added to the Spanish lexeme *flauta* ‘flute’. The same lexeme is used as a noun in (50). Notice that no derivation mechanism is involved in the verbal use of *flauta* in (49).
The trans-categorization of Spanish borrowings is not uncommon in IQ, where one often finds Spanish nouns used as adjectives and adverbs, or adjectives used as nouns and adverbs. A detailed discussion of Spanish lexical borrowings in IQ is presented elsewhere (Gómez-Rendón 2006a).

5.3. Contact-induced valency changes

Certain developments in IQ verbal morphology may be attributed to contact with Spanish. These include a) the use of reciprocal *naku* as a plural marker for intransitive verbs; b) the extension of reflexive *ri* to cover reciprocal meanings; and c) the use of reflexive *ri* on the model of Spanish impersonal *se*. In what follows I discuss these developments and their possible motivation by Spanish contact.

As Muysken (2000b: 984) notes, reciprocal *naku* is used with intransitive verbs denoting actions performed together with someone else. He gives the following example:

(51)  
*puri-*[^10]-n
`walk-RECP-3`

‘they walk together’

Notice that *puri-* is marked for person but not for number so it may refer to singular and plural subjects alike. In (51) *puri-naku-n* unambiguously refers to several persons walking together. The question is whether this particular development of IQ is induced by contact with Spanish. To explain this innovative use of the reciprocal in terms of contact-induced change we need to demonstrate that a) Spanish reciprocals can be used also as plural markers, and b) this use serves as a model for the IQ reciprocal[^11]. While the reciprocal-plural relation is demonstrated by the trivial fact that every reciprocal form implies several individuals and reciprocal morphemes in fusional languages like Spanish (*se, nos, os*) also show number, the particular use of the reciprocal in IQ does not necessarily follow from its contact with Spanish. Other Quechua languages with a similar history of contact (e.g. Argentinean Quechua) use *naku* as a reciprocal only (Alderetes 2002: 5).[^12] Accordingly, it may be hypothesized that Spanish triggered the innovative use of the reciprocal as a verbal plural marker on the basis of the common semantics of reciprocity and plurality. From this point of view the influence of Spanish would consist in expressing both in one morpheme *naku* instead of two, i.e. a case of pattern borrowing.

The taking over by *naku* of an additional (plural) meaning seems to have caused the reflexive *ri* to include reciprocity. That such extension is a gradual process is demonstrated by the fact that it is not uncommon that both markers occur in one and the same verb (52):

(52)  
*paykuna-ka*  *yanka-manta*  *maka-ri-naku-nkuna*

3.PL-TOP firewood-ABL fight-REF-RCPL-PL

[^10]: This morpheme has at least five different realizations in Ecuadorian dialects (CIEI 1983: XLI): [naku], [naju], [nau], [na], [nu]. The example given by Muysken comes from Lowland Ecuadorian Quechua, a group of dialects spoken in the provinces of Napo and Pastaza where the same behaviour of *naku* as verbal plural marker is observed.

[^11]: My analysis here differs from the one provided by Cole (1982) who claims that “-*naku* does not express reciprocity but rather joint action of some kind [and] this action may be, but is not necessarily, reciprocal” (1982: 92f). Coles accepts, however, that this marker can be used as an emphatic verbal pluralizer.


[^13]: According to CIEI (1983), “the reason for the use of this morpheme may be an assimilation to the verbal plural marker in a process of metathesis, i.e. the inversion of syllables” (CIEI 1983: XLI; my translation).
“They are fighting with each other because of the firewood”

A step towards the replacement of the reciprocal is illustrated in (53) below, where the reflexive occurs instead of the reciprocal but requires a comitative marker to signal the common action of the verb ‘coordinate’:

(53) na kunbeniu tiyanchu,
NEG agreement there.be-NEG
purki ŋukanchi kurdina-ri-chi uspital-wan
because 1PL coordinate-REF-1PL hospital-COM

“There is no agreement, because we cooperate with the hospital.

Arguably Spanish served as a model on account of the existence of one paradigm of verbal morphemes expressing reflexivity and reciprocity. However, like one must be cautious in formulating a hypothesis that links this development to contact only, as there may be other, internal changes at work. Contact with Spanish is therefore one of several influencing factors and should be understood as a trigger of change.

Reflexive ri shows another innovative use in IQ and other varieties of Ecuador. Notice the use of ri in the following example:

(54) ŋaupak Sanjuan-ka siempre-mari obligatorio ka-na
front Sanjuan-TOP always-AFF obligatory be-HAB
ishkai pañuelo-ta binda-ri-shka
two handkerchief-ACC bandage-REF-PLUS

‘In former San Juan [festivals] it was obligatory to blindfold [the horse] with two handkerchiefs.’

Consider the argument structure of binda ‘bandage’ (Sp. vendar) in (54). Originally, binda is a transitive verb with agent and patient arguments. The agent and patient of binda are implicit in (54). In the context of the story it is clear that the official sponsor of the festivals used to harness a horse, and that part of the animal’s apparel consisted of two handkerchiefs. From the participants in the story, we assume that the sponsor is the agent, the horse is the patient and the handkerchiefs are the instruments. However, this distribution of arguments does not correspond to nominal and verbal morphology in (54). For one thing, the accusative marker ta indicates that “two handkerchiefs” is the patient. This interpretation does not contradict the structure of participants in the event. Rather, the use of ri is unexpected in this context, where it cannot be interpreted as reflexive or reciprocal. What function does ri perform? In my view the Spanish impersonal se give us some clues. In this language the impersonal pronoun se is homophonous with the reflexive-reciprocal pronoun se. Furthermore, both forms are often criticized to the verb root. In this context, the second clause in (54) seems to be a calque from the Spanish impersonal construction in (55):

(55) se vendaba dos pañuelo-s
IMPR bandage:PST two handkerchief-PL

‘They bandage two handkerchiefs.’

If we exclude the opposite word orders (Spanish VO versus Quechua OV), both clauses show a one-to-one equivalence. From this point of view, ri is neither a reflexive nor a reciprocal but expresses an impersonal agent just like Spanish se.

The replacement of otherwise different morphemes for reflexive, reciprocal and impersonal with one and the same morpheme (ri) could be explained, satisfactorily in my opinion, by contact with Spanish, in which language one and the same paradigm serves the three purposes.

5.4. Clause linking: nominalization versus subordination
One of the most important contact-induced changes in contemporary IQ is the increasing replacement of embedded nominalized constructions with hierarchical, Spanish-modelled subordinated clauses. The subordination strategy in IQ makes use of Spanish subordinators including: a) rel ativizer que ‘that’ after verba dicendi; b) relative pronoun lo-que ‘that (which)’; and c) several conjunctions like purki ‘because’ or si ‘if’. In this section I focus on the subordination of complement clauses as objects of transitive verbs and leave the discussion of the other types for Section 7.

The replacement of nominalization with subordination can be understood best if we compare example (56) with the corresponding embedded construction in (57):

(56) paykuna-lla chayashpa paykunaapa-shka-n lo-que muna-shka-n
     3PL-LIM arrive-GER 3PL want-PTCP-3PL that-which

(57) paikuna-lla chaya-shpa paikuna munashka-ta apa-shka-n
     3PL-LIM arrive-GER 3PL want-PTCP-3 take-PRF-3

“Upon their arrival, they took what they wanted”

The use of the compound pronoun lo-que ‘that which’ as a clause linker has a number of effects on the morphosyntax of the IQ clause: a) while the clause munashkata in (57) is embedded in the main clause, munashkan in (56) is postponed to the main clause and linked to it by the pronoun; b) the embedded construction in (57) is marked by accusative -ta and falls within the scope of apa- ‘take’; c) whereas the verb in (56) is finite, the verb in (57) is non-finite; d) Quechua OV word order in (57) is replaced by Spanish-like VO in (56).

The foregoing use of lo-que shows that lexical borrowing of function words may have important effects on the morphosyntax of the recipient language. Other studies have shown a similar impact of Spanish conjunctions and adverbials on the matrix of Meso-American languages such as Pipil (Campbell 1987) and Nahuatl (Hill & Hill 1986). I show further effects of Spanish function words on IQ in section 7.

6. Other parts of speech

Even if loan nouns and verbs make the bulk of Spanish borrowings in IQ, the contribution of other parts of speech is not trivial and has considerable effects on the structure of the language. This section analyzes loanwords from different parts of speech and discusses the extent of their influence on other levels of IQ structure.

6.1. Numerals and quantifiers

While many IQ grammars and dictionaries boast a full set of native numerals from one to hundred, their use in spontaneous everyday conversation is limited to ten in the best of cases. Above ten, speakers use Spanish numerals even though it is not uncommon to use Spanish numerals also for five to ten. Ordinal numbers come from Spanish without exception. The following example illustrates cardinal and ordinal numbers from Spanish:

(58) iskuila-manda-ka llukshi-wa-rka ña trese aňu-mi
     school-ABL-TOP leave-1S-PST already thirteen year-VAL
     llukshi-rka-ni, kay  kuartu gradu-manda ſuka-ka
     leave-PST-1 DEM fourth grade-ABL 1S-TOP

‘I quit school when I was thirteen, I was there since the fourth grade.’

Apart from Spanish numerals, which are ubiquitous in any type of speech genre, IQ has borrowed several Spanish quantifiers. Unlike numerals, loan quantifiers have not replaced their native counterparts and may co-occur with them in couplets for emphasis. The most frequent Spanish-derived quantifiers are tuditu ‘all’ and alkunu ‘some’. The following examples illustrate their use:
(59) **alkunus** chicha maltaca chaypi-mi wardaria-na
some:(Sp)PL chicha beer-TOP there-LOC-VAL keep-HAB.PST

‘Some people used to keep chicha beer in there.’

(60) **chaimanda-mi** ńuka prisidente tukushpa
therefore-VAL 1S president become-GER

**alkunas** kusas-kuna-ta allichi-shka-nchi
some:(Sp)PL things-PL-ACC improve-PRF-1PL

‘Therefore, when I became president, we improved several things.’

(61) **tuditu-mi** tukuy-la-mari tiya-naku-rka-nchi,
all-VAL all-LIM-AFF be.sitting-RCP-PST-1PL
mikuna-gu-ta miku-shpa tiya-ura-mari
food-DIM-ACC eat-GER there.be-WHEN-AFF

‘At lunch time every one of us was sitting together.’

(62) ńakutin impresa tuku-rka-nchi
then business begin-PST-1PL
**chaymanda** kumpra-rka-nchi **tuditu** asinda
therefore buy-PST-1PL all estate

‘Then we started the business and bought all [the lands of] the hacienda.’

Spanish quantifiers may be used either as noun modifiers or pronouns. Notice that **alkunu** in (59) is a plural masculine pronoun while **alkunas** is a plural feminine pronoun in (60). Both forms have been borrowed along with the Spanish markers of number and gender. One might interpret **alkunas** in (60) as a code switch to the extent it is accompanied by another Spanish borrowing, i.e. **kusas** ‘things’. Both borrowings would thus form a noun phrase inserted in the morphosyntactic frame of Spanish. But this is not the case because IQ markers occur in the same phrase.

In (61) and (62) **tuditu** occurs without Spanish or IQ morphology. In (61) **tuditu** co-occurs in a couplet with IQ **tukuy** ‘all’, with validator **mi** and affirmative **mari** emphasizing the idea of inclusivity in the noun phrase. Whereas examples (59) to (61) follow OV word order, the second clause in (62) has VO word order. Notice that no accusative marker occurs on the direct object **tuditu jazinda** in (62). Arguably, the co-occurrence of lexical borrowings eventually influences IQ morphosyntax.

### 6.2. Pronouns

In the last section I showed that Spanish-derived quantifiers are used as pronouns in IQ. In this section I show that the influence of Spanish on the pronominal paradigm of IQ goes beyond. A well-documented change involving pronouns in IQ concerns the use of native adjective **kikin** ‘proper’ as a polite second-person pronoun. Politeness in IQ is marked on the verb by means of the honorific affix **-pa-**, as shown in (63) below.

Consider the following exchange extracted from an interview:

(63) a: maïjan iskuila-pi-tak ka-pa-rka-ngi
which school-LOC-AFF be-HON-PST-2S
‘Which school did you go to?’

b: ńuka-ka iskuila T.H. kay kumunidad
1S-TOP school T.H. DEM community
**Uksha Ilakta-pi-mi** ńuka-ka yachaju-pa-rka-ni
Uksha village-LOC-VAL 1S-TOP study-HON-PST-1S

‘I went to school T.H. in this village of Uksha.’

Compare this strategy with the use of pronoun **kikin** in (64), where it co-occurs with the honorific affix. **Kikin** can be used in plural and receive any of a set of nominal markers. **Kikin** is also the base form of the possessive pronoun **kikinpa**.
This development is typical of IQ and other highland varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua (CIEI 1982: 107). Arguably, kikin developed in the early stages of contact with Spanish, when social relations between Spaniards and Indians were modelled on a hierarchy of castes. Nowadays kikin is falling into disuse, being preserved only in conservative sociolects. The reason to hypothesize a contact-induced change in this case is the existence of a pronominal paradigm based on politeness distinctions in local Spanish. The intensity of contact and the higher levels of bilingualism among IQ speakers are two influencing factors. Why a similar development is not attested in other varieties of Quechua remains an open question.

The presence of Spanish in the pronominal paradigm includes the subset of interrogative pronouns. Spanish-derived ura(s) ‘hour(s)’ is suffixed to the interrogative lexeme ima ‘what’ to form the loan blend imauras ‘when’, ‘at what time’. The same form is used in indirect questions, as illustrated in (65):

(65) paykuna-ka yacha-n imauras-mi yaku-ka chiri chiri
    3PL-TOP know-3 when-VAL water-TOP cold cold
ka-shka-ta-pash imauras-mi yaku-ka kunuc-lla ka-n
    be-PRF-ACC-ADIT when-VAL water-TOP warm-LIM be-3

‘They know when the water is very cold and when it is warm’

The use of imauras is widespread across generations and levels of bilingualism, which leads us to assume a comparatively earlier introduction of this form. On the contrary, the use of a pronominal duplet involving first-person pronoun ñuka and cross-reference marker wa is a late result of contact. Consider the following example:

(66) wambra kashpa makanaju-ria-ni
    youngster be-GER fight-DUR-1S
wambra-pura-kuna y chay ñuka-ta kashtiga-wa-ria-n
    youngster-COM-PL and that 1S-ACC punish-1S.OBJ-HAB-1

‘When I was young, I used to fight with other boys and they [his parents] punished me.’

Duplicated structures involving person reference serve contrastive purposes. However, the double marking of person in (66) suggests no emphatic or contrastive readings. We cannot ascribe this type of double marking to contact with full certainty. The loss of verb-object agreement markers in Ecuadorian Quechua was internally motivated, for which reason it is safer to view Spanish as a trigger, not as a cause.

6.3. Discourse markers and adverbial particles

The number of Spanish particles and discourse markers in contemporary IQ deserves special attention. A broad inventory includes the following categories: connectors, adverbial clause markers, time deictics and discourse markers. Examples of several of these function words were presented in different parts of this paper. The discussion in this section focuses on connectors, time deictics and discourse markers. Spanish adverbial clause markers are addressed in section 8.

The borrowing of Spanish connectors includes additive y ‘and’, contrastives o ‘or’ and dino (from Spanish de no ‘if not’) and disjunctive pero ‘but’. These connectors are used to coordinate sentences and smaller constituents. IQ has an
additive of its own but lacks a function word to express contrast and disjunction. Spanish y is ubiquitous in IQ discourse while additive *pash* continues to be used in a variety of contexts. Unlike the Spanish conjunction, *pash* cannot occur in the first conjunct. The following example from Cole (1982: 79) illustrates the difference:

\[(67) \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{(*y)} \quad \text{ñuka}(-\text{pash}) \quad \text{kamlla-ta} \quad \text{gushta-ni}; \\
\text{and} \quad 1\text{S(-ADIT)} \quad \text{toasted-corn-ACC} \quad \text{like-1S} \\
(y) \quad \text{ñuka} \quad \text{pani(-pash)} \quad \text{kamlla-ta} \quad \text{gushta-n}; \\
\text{and} \quad 1\text{S} \quad \text{sister(-ADIT)} \quad \text{toasted-corn-ACC} \quad \text{like-3} \\
y \quad \text{ñuka} \quad \text{wawki(-pash)} \quad \text{kamlla-ta} \quad \text{gushta-n} \quad \text{like-3} \\
\text{and} \quad 1\text{S} \quad \text{brother(-ADIT)} \quad \text{toasted-corn-ACC} \\
\end{array} \]

‘I like toasted corn, my sister likes toasted corn, and my brother likes it too.’

Examples of contrastive *o* and *dino* are given in Cole (1982: 80). This author considers both connectors equivalent. However, the following example from our corpus shows that this is not necessarily the case and very often both occur as a single conjunctive similar in meaning to the Spanish expression *o si no* ‘unless/instead’. This is illustrated in (68), where marker *ka* marks the topic of the previous sentence.

\[(68) \quad \begin{array}{c}
kulki-gu-ta \quad \text{paykuna} \quad \text{apamu-n} \\
\text{money-DIM-ACC} \quad 3\text{PL} \quad \text{bring-3 or else} \\
o \quad \text{dino-ka} \quad \text{kuinta-man} \quad \text{dipusita-mu-n} \\
or \quad \text{if.not-TOP} \quad \text{account-DAT} \quad \text{deposit-CTRP-3} \\
\end{array} \]

‘They bring the money home or deposit it in the account instead.’

The Spanish disjunctive *pero* ‘but’ is another connector of frequent occurrence in IQ. It differs from additive and contrastive connectors in that it links sentences only:

\[(69) \quad \begin{array}{c}
ashta \quad \text{yarijay} \quad \text{yarijay} \quad \text{ka-shkan-ka} \quad \text{nin} \\
much \quad \text{famine} \quad \text{famine} \quad \text{be-PRF-TOP} \quad \text{REP} \\
\text{pero} \quad \text{paika} \quad \text{ali} \quad \text{jatu-k} \quad \text{kashkanga} \quad \text{nin} \\
\text{but} \quad 3\text{S-TOP} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{sell-NMLZ} \quad \text{be-PRF-TOP} \quad \text{REP} \\
\end{array} \]

‘It is said that there was a lot of famine, but it is said that he still sold well.’

The disjunctive often co-occurs with Spanish time adverbs such as *intonses* ‘then’, *siympre* ‘always’, *nunca* ‘never’ or *antes* ‘before’. It remains to investigate whether we are dealing here with borrowings or code-switches. Some Spanish connectors have been incorporated to IQ discourse without assimilation. The lack of phonetic assimilation cannot be attributed to a recent history of borrowing but to the fact that these loan words must be perceptually salient in native discourse.

Spanish time adverbs in IQ include all the days of the week. Times of the day show a mixture of native and borrowed lexicon, as shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish-derived</th>
<th>Quechua native</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mañana</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarde</td>
<td>chishi</td>
<td>afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noche</td>
<td>tuta</td>
<td>Evening/night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other time adverbs from Spanish are *aura* ‘nowadays’ (< Sp. ahora), *intonses* ‘then’ (< Sp. entonces), and *siympre* ‘always’ (< Sp. siempre). These examples show Spanish adverbs used as time deictics in IQ:

\[(70) \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{chayka} \quad \text{chay} \quad \text{ladu-kuna-man-lla-mi} \\
\text{thus} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{side-PL-ALL-LIM-VAL} \\
ashtaka \quad \text{siympre} \quad \text{chiri chiri} \quad \text{ka-na-ta} \quad \text{yacha-n} \\
\text{much} \quad \text{always} \quad \text{cold} \quad \text{cold} \quad \text{be-INF-ACC} \quad \text{know-3} \\
\end{array} \]

‘So it is always very cold around those places.’
(71) intones chay tanda-kuna-ta kara-k ka-rka
then that bread-PL-ACC give-HAB.PST be-PST
genti-man, gañan genti-man, chai jatun tanda
people-DAT hacienda.worker people-DAT DIST big bread
‘At that time they used to give those big pieces of bread to hacienda workers.’

(72) aura-pi-mari nachu fishta-kuna-pi-ka nachu
today-LOC-AFF NEG.INT festival-PL-LOC-TOP NEG.INT
chay kuitis-shina-lla rucu-ta ninanta reventa-chi-n
that rocket:PL-like-LIM old-ACC much explode-CAUS-3
‘Nowadays, in the festivals, they have lots of those old fireworks’

Aura is different from other adverbs in that it occurs with further markers including locative pi (cf. 77), topicalizer ka and affirmative mari. Notice that the original Spanish lexeme ahora means ‘now’, ‘today’ and ‘nowadays’. Only the third meaning has been preserved in IQ. The other two are covered by the native lexeme kunan.

Intones can be used also as a discourse marker in sentence boundaries. In fact, the latter use is more frequent in IQ. When used as discourse marker, intones does not refer to a specific point in time but signals a succession of events as shown in the following example:

(73) intones chaymantaka kunan banda Santa Marianita nishkami, chay patronpa
asinda korredorpi, intones chaypi tokanajuna hashta kolonpamba, intones
chayta ŋa karashka jipaka, hashta hashtami bailak kana, jari, huarmi,
intones karashka jipaka amozeras mote yanushcamantaima carana.

“And then the band ‘Santa Marianita’ stayed in the front yard of the hacienda, and then they played very hard, and then men and women danced all together, and then the servants gave toasted corn to the people’

Compared to other function words borrowed from Spanish, discourse markers show a modest rank in terms of frequency. The following list includes some Spanish discourse markers in IQ from the most frequent to the least frequent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish-derived</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>osea</td>
<td>that is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intones</td>
<td>Then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buino</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>este</td>
<td>This</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diai</td>
<td>And then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klaro</td>
<td>of course</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occasionally discourse markers are followed by the Spanish conjunctive que. Examples of this are o sea que ‘which means that’ and claro que ‘of course (that)’. Given that the foregoing markers are prolific in local Spanish discourse, their frequency in this language explains partly their frequency in IQ. Nonetheless, the primary motivation of their prolific borrowing is the pragmatic dominance of the donor language with respect to the recipient language (Matras 1998: 285). This dominance is clear for the contact situation between Spanish and Quechua in the Andes, where both languages are in a diglossic relation in respect to each other, with Spanish as the dominant language and vehicle of literacy.

6.4. Adjectives and adverbs
In this section I discuss adjectival and adverbial expressions of comparison to the extent of their influence by Spanish. Other issues concerning adjectives and adverbs such as the incorporation of loan adjectives along with number and gender markers or the borrowing of manner adverbs have been addressed in previous sections. Given that the system of parts of speech in IQ makes no distinction between adjectives and adverbs (Schachter 1985: 17; Gómez-Rendón 2006), the following discussion is valid also for adverbial comparison, even if examples are not provided for lack of space.

In his description of Imbabura Quechua, Cole (1982: 93) gives the following example to show the way in which adjectival and adverbial expressions of comparison is made in IQ:

(74) Tumas-ka [Marya-ta yali-j] ali trabaja-n
   Tomás-TOP [María-ACC surpass-NMLZ] good work-3
   ‘Tomás works better than María.’

In (74) the standard of comparison is an embedded clause nominalized by the agentive nominalizer -j while the subject of the main clause is the compared element. The basis of comparison is expressed by the main predicate. The connection between both elements is made by the verb yali ‘surpass’. However, the comparative construction in (74) is not the only one available in IQ, where it is associated with the most conservative speakers. Other constructions attested are illustrated below:

(75) chay jipa-ka Gonzalo rura-shpa saqui-na [pero más claro]cs-Sp
    that after-TOP Gonzalo leave-HAB [but clearer]cs-Sp
   Galo ashtawan\textsuperscript{14} yali-shpa rura-k ka-shka ni-n
   Galo more surpass-GER do-NMLZ be-PRF REP
   ‘Afterwards Gonzalo stopped making [the festival] but they say that Galo used to make better [festivals than Gonzalo].’

(76) siempre runa-kuna rikunaju-shka-nchi maijan hospital-mi
    always Indian-PL visit-PRF-1PL which hospital-VAL
   ashtawan mas maltratoka, Otavalo hospitalmi
   more more mistreatment-TOP Otavalo hospital-VAL
   ashtawan-ga yali maltrato tiya-shka
   more-TOP surpass mistreatment there.be-PRF
   ‘We Indian people have always visited hospitals that mistreat patients, the hospital of Otavalo mistreat patients more [than others].’

(77) Pidro uchilla ka-n, tuditu wawa-kuna-ta gana -n
    Pidro little be-3 all child-PL-ACC win-3
   ‘Pidro is smaller than all the other children.’
   \textit{(lit. Pedro is small, he wins all the children)}

The alternative constructions of comparison differ from the traditional strategy in several ways. Compare first (75) above. This construction differs from (74) in that the standard of comparison in (75) precedes the compared element without participating in the yali predicate. In addition, yali in (75) is not nominalized but subordinated by means of the gerund marker. The comparison between both elements is made explicit by a code-switched connective phrase pero más claro ‘but clearer’. In example (76) the standard of comparison is implicit or inferred from the preceding discourse. Although ashtawan and yali occur in the second clause, the latter appears without extra marking. Finally, (77) shows an innovative construction where the clause containing the compared element and the clause containing the standard of

\textsuperscript{14} The IQ adverb ashtawan ‘more’ may occur in the embedded clause as in (75) or co-occur with Spanish más ‘more’ as in (76).
comparison occur one after the other without a coordinator in between. In this construction the loan verb *gana* ‘win’ has replaced native *yali* ‘surpass’.

In this gamut of alternative constructions it is possible to trace a continuum from the traditional IQ construction in (74) to the most hispanicized structure in (77). Construction (77) has been reported also for Imbabura Media Lengua (Gómez-Rendón 2001: 197) and other mixed varieties in Ecuador (Muysken 1997: 397).

7. Constituent order and syntax

The affluence of Spanish loanwords in IQ goes hand in hand with less visible changes at the levels of the clause (constituent order) and the sentence (syntax). Although syntactic developments are not necessarily explained by lexical borrowing, the co-occurrence of Spanish lexical borrowing and syntactic calquing on the model of Spanish suggests a close relation between these phenomena.

In syntax pattern borrowing prevails over matter borrowing, even though the former often implies the latter. Thus, for example, subordinated constructions (instead of nominalized embedded clauses) imply the borrowing of Spanish conjunctions. Several issues related to word order have been addressed in previous sections and will be not discussed here. An inventory of syntactic contact-induced changes in IQ includes: a) Spanish SVO word order in declarative sentences and the replacement of topicalizer *ka* with focus particle *mi*; b) Spanish SVO word order in non-verbal predicative constructions with copulas; c) an ongoing shift from relative clause-head to head-relative clause order mediated by interrogative pronouns used as relative markers; d) question formation on the basis of unmarked declarative sentences with Spanish-like interrogative intonation contours; and e) the borrowing of Spanish subordinators and the replacement of nominalized clauses with adverbial subordinated clauses. Apart from these undisputed contact-induced changes, there are other minor developments in IQ not included here on account of their limited frequency.

7.1. Word order in declarative sentences and non-verbal predications

In IQ the verb always occurs in sentence-final position, being immediately preceded either by the subject in intransitive constructions or the object in transitive constructions. There exists a clear tendency nowadays to Spanish-like SVO word order associated with the drop of topicalizer *ka* and/or the replacement thereof with the focus particle *mi*. Consider the following examples from Fauchois (1988: 117):

(78) **kallari-naku-nchik** **shuk** mushuk *semana-ta*
    ‘We all start a new week.’

(79) **churamu-kri-n** **shuk** ley
    ‘They are going to pass a law.’

(80) **kankuna** **huasipi** kati-nchi **kay** programa
    3PL house-LOC follow-1PL this programme
    ‘We watch this programme at their place.’

Example (78) shows SVO word order but marks the direct object with accusative *ta*. On the contrary, examples (79) and (80) not only have Spanish-like SVO word order but also lack the accusative marker on the direct object. According to Fauchois “[the new SVO word order is almost systematic if the object is a nonce borrowing” (1988: 117; my translation). A further syntax-related change induced by contact is the drop of the topicalizer and the eventual replacement thereof with the focus particle *mi*. This
change is visible in non-verbal predicative constructions involving a copula in SV word order. Consider the following example from an interview:

(81) **bueno ñuka shuti-mi kapan Roberto**
    well 1S.POSS name-VAL be-HON-3 Roberto

ñuka-mi ka-pa-ni Chaupi Inti Caluquí llacta-manta
1S-VAL be-HON-1S Chaupi Inti Caluquí community-ABL

‘Well, my name is Roberto Tocagón and I come from Chaupi Inti Caluquí’

In (81) the interviewee uses SV word order and drops the topicalizer *ka* on the subject of both sentences, instead of which he uses the focus marker (*ñuka shuti-mi; ñuka-mi*). The replacement of the topicalizer is common in non-verbal predicative constructions involving copulas. According to Fauchois, the drop of the topicalizer and its replacement with the focus marker is due to the fact that Quechua lacks pre-established models to present the information in long-distance communication and makes use of Spanish models (1988: 119). However, the replacement in (81) occurs in contextualized face-to-face speech. Spanish influence is obvious but the effects go beyond syntactic calquing. Therefore, this change may be associated with a new structure of the evidential system. Given that *mi* marks focus and first-hand information, the use of this marker as a topicalizer results in the loss of evidential marking. This explanation should be supported with additional data to be conclusive.

7.2. Head-relative clause order and relative pronouns

IQ lacks relative pronouns. Relative clauses are embedded nominalized constructions preceding their heads as illustrated in the following example:

(82) **llaki-yuk-kuna-ta kulki-ta tapu-shpa yanapa-k runa**
    problem-POSS-PL-ACC money-ACC ask-GER help-NMLZ man

‘Man who helps people with problems by asking them for money.’

The loss of nominalization strategies discussed in section 5.4 has resulted in the creation of relative clauses following heads. Relative clauses and heads are linked by interrogative pronouns used as relative pronouns. Consider these examples:

(83) **tukui llakta-kuna-pí may kay ratu puñu-ku-n**
    all village-PL-LOC where this time rest-DUR-3

‘In all the village where people are sleeping now.’

(84) **tauka mamita-kuna pi-kuna-mi kay mineros-pak warmi-kuna ka-n**
    several mother-PL who-PL-VAL this miner:PL-POSS women-PL be-3

‘Several mothers who are the wives of these miners.’

(85) **tandanakui ima-ta rurashka kay kabildu**
    meeting what-ACC make-PRF this council

‘The meeting (that) this council celebrated.’

Different from adverbial clauses with Spanish conjunctions, the foregoing clauses use IQ pronouns in the function of subjects (83-84) and objects (85). These pronouns may be pluralized (84) or receive case marking (85). The verb in the relative clause is finite and receives TMA marking. The resulting clause is closely similar to a Spanish relative clause (Fauchois 1988: 113). Whereas these constructions are typical of the speech of bilinguals, they are not uncommon in conservative idiolects.

In section 5.1 we discuss the use of Spanish *verba dicendi* in quotative constructions. A parallel development in contemporary IQ is the use of Spanish relativizer *que* ‘that’ after the IQ verb *ni- ‘say’*, as illustrated below:

(86) **shinallatak ni-n que gallu-ta yali-shpa-ka osea yanapa-n nin**
    however say-3 that cock:ACC pass-GER-TOP that.is help-3 EVD

‘However they say that people help you organize the rooster festival.’
In (86) the Spanish relativizer *que* heads the complement clause of the finite verb form *nin*, not to be confused with the evidential form *nin* in sentence-final position. The fact that the finite verb *nin* co-occurs with the Spanish relativizer suggests that it is not an evidential but a *verbum dicendum* whose main function is to reinforce the reportative meaning of the evidential.

7.3. Question formation: dropped markers and Spanish intonation

Yes-no questions in IQ are formed by the suffixation of interrogative *-chu* to the focalized constituent of the sentence, without any particular word order or intonation contour marking the interrogation. This strategy is in the following examples:

(87)

a. *kaya-ka pay shamu-nka-chu*  
tomorrow-TOP 3S come-3.FUT-INT  
‘Will he/she come tomorrow?’

b. *kaya-ka pay-chu shamu-nka*  
tomorrow-TOP 3S-INT come-3.FUT  
‘Will he/she come tomorrow?’

d. *kaya-chu pay-ka shamu-nka*  
tomorrow-INT 3S-TOP come-3.FUT  
‘Will he/she come tomorrow?’

Yes-no questions in Spanish are formed by moving the main verb to sentence-initial position and/or giving an interrogative intonation to the questioned element. These strategies have been adopted by IQ speakers. In more conservative sociolects Spanish intonation co-occurs with interrogative marker *chu*; in more Hispanicized ones, the interrogative marker is dropped, and declarative sentences are distinguished from their interrogative counterparts either by inverted verb-subject order with interrogative intonation (88a) or by intonation only (88b-c).

(88)

a. *shamu-nka pay kaya-ka*  
tomorrow-TOP 3S come-3.FUT-INT  
‘Will he/she come tomorrow?’

b. *kaya-ka PAY shamu-nka*  
tomorrow-TOP 3S-INT come-3.FUT  
‘Will he/she come tomorrow?’

c. *kaya-ka pay shamu-nka*  
tomorrow-INT 3S come-3.FUT  
‘Will he/she come tomorrow?’

Spanish also influences the formation of wh-questions in IQ. The typical order of wh-questions in IQ is WH + SOV, as shown in (89) below. This implies that interrogative and declarative sentences share the same word order:

(89) *ima-ta-tak paykuna-ka rura-n*  
what-ACC-INT 3PL-TOP make-3  
‘What do they make?’

This order is often inverted in wh-questions in contemporary IQ, with the main verb following the wh-word and followed in turn by the subject as in (90) and (91):

(90) *tandanakuy parti-manta rima-shpa,*  
meeting part-ABL speak-GER  
kikinkuna-ka imashina-ta winachi-shka-ngichi chay organisasion-ta-ka  

---

15 This is probably due to the semantic bleaching of the evidential in the context of a new information structure, where less emphasis is placed on evidential values, following the model of Spanish discourse.
2.PL-TOP how-INT create-PRF-2PL that organization-ACC-TOP

‘Concerning meetings, how did you create the organization?’

(91) kikinkuna yuyay-pi ima-shí ka-n shuk grupo ni-shka
2.PL.POSS thought-LOC what-DUB be-3 one group say-PTCP

‘In your opinion, what might this so-called group be?’

As shown in (91), the inverted word order occurs also in non-verbal predicative wh-questions involving a copula. The use of the copula itself is a calque from Spanish, because IQ requires no copulative verb in such cases. From the frequency of constructions like those illustrated above we conclude that IQ has calqued the syntactic pattern of Spanish, in which the verb follows the wh-word.

7.3. Adverbial clauses: Spanish subordinators and the loss of nominalization

In section 5.4 I showed that IQ nominalized constructions are being gradually replaced by subordinated clauses on the Spanish model. A related development is the use of Spanish subordinators including lo-que (cf. 5.4), relativizer que (cf. 7.2.) and conjunctions of causal relation (porque), condition (si) and concession (mas que). In this section I discuss the use of Spanish conjunctions in adverbial subordinated clauses. Consider the following example:

(92) nūkanchik ishka-n din yachachik-kuna-ka rimanchik-yarin,
1PL two-COM treacher-PL-TOP speak-1PL-AFF
pero si tapu-nchik nūkanchik shuk-lla shimi-pi yachakuk-kuna-ta
but if ask-1PL IPL.POSS one-LIM language-LOC student-PL-ACC
mana intindi-nga-chu porque paykuna-pa nima mana ka-n-chu
NEG understand-3-NEG because 3.PL-DAT nothing NEG be-3-NEG

‘We as teachers speak [IQ] indeed, but if you ask students in our language, they do not understand, because it means nothing to them.’

In (92) the Spanish conditional si ‘if’ is used instead of the verbal suffix -kpi for non-coreferential subjects. Notice the adversative conjunction pero in the same example. The word order in the conditional sentence is SVO instead of SOV. The last clause indicates a causal relation. It is marked by Spanish porque ‘because’ and not by the IQ suffixes -manta or -rayku. The Spanish subordinator porque never co-occurs with its IQ counterpart (the suffix -manta). On the contrary, conditional como16 does co-occur with native suffixes -kpi or -shpa. Example (93) illustrates this case of doubling.

(93) chayka como yapa alpa-ta charishpaka,
then because too land-ACC have-GER-TOP
kay-kaman-mi ka-shka kan chay shuk hacienda
this-ALL-VAL be-PRF be-3 that one hacienda

‘As the hacienda had a lot of land, it reached up to this area.’

Another loan subordinator, for concessive adverbial clauses, is maske ‘although’, from Spanish mas que, as illustrated below:

(94) maske ŋuka ashta yapatalla wasi-pi rima-kpi-pash,
though 1S too much-ACC-LIM house-LOC speak-GER-ADIT
ŋuka mama wasi-pi solo kichwa rima-n
1S.POSS mother house-LOC only Quecuha speak-3

‘Even though I speak too much [Spanish] at home, at my mother’s home they speak only Quechua.’

This compound conjunctive co-occurs with additive -pash on the main verb. In (94) the verb of the concessive clause carries the suffix -kpi, but this is rather uncommon.

16 Porque and como have a causal meaning but only como clauses may be accompanied by IQ markers.
Spanish subordinating conjunctions are frequent in contemporary IQ and their use is widespread across generations and levels of bilingualism. However, their co-occurrence with native suffixes is more frequent in conservative dialects. In innovative varieties, finite verbs occur without native suffixes more often than not. The fact that subordinated conditional clauses without suffixes of coreferentiality makes innovative varieties closer to Spanish. In general, the loss of nominalization and other morphosyntactic changes associated with it is a gradual process, the stages of which can be found in different idiolects within the same speech community.

8. The Lexicon
The influence of Spanish on the lexicon of IQ involves all semantic fields, from kinship and household to education and administration. According to the results from a corpus of spontaneous speech collected in Imbabura, the presence of Spanish borrowings in IQ amounts to nearly one fifth of the total number of lexemes (21%). However, the contribution of Spanish borrowings to the native lexicon is not the same across idiolects, with those of older generations showing less influence than those of younger, more bilingual speakers. As for the type of Spanish borrowings, all lexical classes except pronouns and adpositions are borrowed, though in different numbers. Nouns are by far the largest lexical class (55%), followed by verbs (16%), adjectives (8%) and adverbs (2%). The contribution of function words is not unimportant, with a total of 17% of tokens including mainly conjunctions, discourse markers, interjections, numerals and frozen borrowings. In general, frozen borrowings are distinguished from code-switches on the basis of their phonological assimilation and their integration into IQ morphosyntax. A large number of these borrowings are idioms and situation-bound formulaic expressions for greeting, thanking, requesting and the like. A thorough analysis of Spanish lexical borrowing in IQ and the ways of integration of Spanish loanwords into the native system of parts of speech has been carried out elsewhere (Gómez-Rendón 2006a).

9. Conclusion
Quechua and Spanish have a history of four hundred years of contact in the Andes. The intensity of contact has substantially increased in the last century as a result of the expanding power of the nation-state and the diffusion of media in rural areas. The existence of higher levels of bilingualism in Imbabura has strengthened the influence of the dominant language on the lexicon and the grammar of IQ. The outcome is a strongly hispanicized variety of Quechua. Such variety appears to be very adaptive to the new communicative settings imposed by modern society. In fact, contemporary IQ is a living language after four centuries of contact because it succeeded in making a compromise between the communicative needs imposed by the official language and the speakers’ cultural need to preserve their linguistic identity.
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