1. Introduction

The variety of Media Lengua (ML, literally "half language" or "halfway language") described here is spoken in Central Ecuador (Muysken 1979, 1981b, 1986). Linguistically speaking, it is essentially Quechua (Q) with the vast majority of its stems replaced by Spanish (Sp) forms. This process of replacement is commonly called relexification. Examples of Media Lengua utterances are given in (1)-(3); in each set, (a) is ML, (b) is the regional Quechua equivalent, and (c) is the regional Spanish equivalent.¹

(1) a. ML: *Unu fabur-ta pidi-nga-bu bini-xu-ni.*
   one favor-ACC ask-NOM-BEN come-PROG-1
   "I come to ask a favor."
   c. Sp: *Vengo para pedir un favor.*

It is clear that (1)a has resulted from putting the phonological shapes of the words in (1)c into the lexical entries in (1)b. Thus *shuk* is replaced by *unu*, *maña-* by *pidi-*, etc. Several things should be noted. First, we get an emphatic form of the indefinite article in Media Lengua, *unu*, rather than Spanish unemphatic *un*. Second, the Spanish irregular verb form *vengo* appears in a regularized stem form, *bini*. Third, the Quechua rule voicing the accusative case marker -*ta* to -*da* after *fabur* has not applied in Media Lengua; Quechua dialectological evidence suggests that this is a recent change. Fourth, what is peculiar about Media Lengua is not so much that it contains Spanish words (many dialects of Quechua do as well), but that all Quechua words, including all core vocabulary, have been replaced. Fifth, the Spanish forms have been
adapted phonologically to Quechua; mid vowels have been replaced by high vowels. Quechua word order and morphology have been retained.

A similar example is given in (2):

(2)  a. ML: Kuyi-buk yirba nuwabi-shka.
     cavia-BEN grass there.is.not-SD
     "There turns out to be no grass for the cavias."

     b. Q: Kuyi-buk k’iwa illa-shka.
     c. Sp: No hay hierba para los cuyes.

Note that the Quechua word kuyi "cavia (guinea pig)" appears in the local Spanish as well. The Media Lengua verb maintains the Quechua-specific "sudden discovery tense" suffix -shka. The Quechua negative existential verb stem illa- has been relexified with a newly formed "frozen" stem nuwabi-, derived from Spanish no "not" and haber "have". The Spanish verb "have" has an impersonal form hay which also has existential meaning.

(3)  a. ML: Yo-ga awa-bi kay-mu-ni.
     I-TOP water-LOC fall-cis-1
     "I come after falling into the water."

     c. Sp: Vengo despues de caer en el agua.

Examples such as (3) show the extent to which Media Lengua utilizes the possibilities of Quechua verbal affixation. Cislocative -mu can be attached to nonmovement verb stems to indicate that the subject comes after some action; this possibility exists in both Media Lengua and Quechua.

What examples (1)-(3) illustrate is that (a) Media Lengua is essentially the product of replacing the phonological shapes of Quechua stems with Spanish forms, maintaining the rest of the Quechua structure; (b) the Spanish forms chosen have undergone regularization and adaptation to Quechua morphophonology; (c) Media Lengua is conservative in sometimes reflecting earlier stages in Quechua pronunciation; (d) Media Lengua is not made up on the spot every time it is spoken; (e) the occurrence of Spanish strong alternants, frozen composites, etc., is an indication that we do not have a simple process of vocabulary replacement here; and (f) the Quechua and Spanish that have contributed to Media Lengua have influenced each other in other ways as well.

In this paper I will try to give an account of both sociolinguistic and structural aspects of Media Lengua. In §2 I sketch the recent linguistic history
of Ecuador and the current sociolinguistic situation. In §3 I try to give a
detailed description of one particular variety of Media Lengua, referred to in
the text simply as “Media Lengua”, and trace properties that are due to
Spanish, properties due to Quechua, and innovative features. Section 4 con­
trasts Media Lengua with other contact varieties spoken in Ecuador, and in §5
I discuss other varieties of Media Lengua and try to place ML in the overall
context of the contact history of Quechua and Spanish in the Andes. Section 6
provides a brief conclusion and a suggestion for further research.

The type of Media Lengua described in §3 below is spoken in semirural
communities near the town of San Miguel de Salcedo, in the Cotopaxi
province of Ecuador, by Indian peasants, weavers, and construction workers.
The area, situated at an altitude of 2,800 meters, is one of the poorest in a poor
country; but it is relatively accessible from the capital, Quito. Salcedo —
transformed from an Indian town and Inca tambo (stopping-off point and inn)
by the Spanish in 1570 — has around 5,000 inhabitants, and is the regional
center and market town for a rural area with another 10,000 inhabitants,
mostly Indians.

Fieldwork on Quechua, rural Spanish, and Media Lengua in the area was
carried out in the period 1974-76 and in 1978 (cf. Muysken 1977, Muysken &
Stark 1978, Muysken 1984). About twenty hours of Quechua and thirty
hours of local Spanish were recorded and analyzed. Three samples of Media
Lengua were gathered, totaling about four hours of conversation of five
speakers.

2. Sociolinguistic history and current status

To understand how Media Lengua emerged it is important to consider the
history of both Quechua and Spanish in Ecuador in some detail. Quechua is a
language family primarily spoken in the central Andean highlands, from
Northern Argentina to Southern Colombia, and in adjacent parts of the
Amazonian lowlands. Its origin probably lies in central Peru, where the
precursors of the two most important varieties of Quechua may have been
spoken around 500 A.D. The spreading of Quechua was largely due to the
Incas, who chose Quechua — a widely-used trade language at the time — as
the language of empire, and brought it from Peru to Bolivia, Argentina, and
Chile.
The introduction of Quechua into Ecuador proceeded differently, according to Torero (1974). Traders had brought a variety that he terms Chinchay Standard to Ecuador in the pre-Inca period. During the Inca period, starting in the late 15th century, another variety was introduced, which Torero calls Chinchay Inca, used by administrators sent from Cuzco (Peru) to Ecuador. Present-day Ecuadorian Quechua has Chinchay Standard as its basis, with some features of Chinchay Inca in addition. Most probably, Quechua does not antedate Spanish by much in Ecuador. While Quechua may have been a lingua franca prior to the Incaic conquest, the majority of the population of Highland Indians did not speak Quechua (but some pre-Inca tribal language) at the time of the Spanish conquest around 1540, and the elites knew some Quechua in addition, according to the colonial documentary sources. It is highly unlikely that any Quechua was spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon basin at that time. The Spanish conquerors did not immediately impose their language upon the Indian serfs and peasants, but rather encouraged the use of Quechua, in the beginning the Indian language of elite intertribal communication, as a general language of the Indian caste. During the colonial period, Quechua became the native language of the conquered populations. This may be due in part to the linguistic policies of the Spanish regime — including the use of Quechua by the Church as the language of evangelization — but it must be explained primarily as a result of de-tribalization, the imposition of a caste system, and the growing identification of the Indian peasantry with a by now mythicized Inca past.

After independence in 1830, the feudal agrarian economy and the caste system were slowly broken down. Some Indian workers started to move to the cities, and bilingualism increased. This brought with it a change in the status of Quechua: it became a low-prestige language, associated with backwardness and ignorance, rather than the language of one of the two clearly identifiable castes. At present Quechua has the status of an oppressed language, used by over a million Highland Indian peasants but held in contempt by most Whites and mestizos. Present-day Ecuadorian Quechua presents a considerable amount of phonological variation, but little syntactic or morphological variation. Sources include the dictionary by Muysken & Stark (1978), a pedagogical grammar by Stark et al. (1972), a comparative syntactic description of the verb phrase by Muysken (1977), and a comprehensive description by Cole (1982). In many ways it resembles the Quechua II dialects of southern and central Peru and of some regions, like Cajamarca, in northern
Media Lengua

Peru, but it differs from all these dialects in its considerably simplified morphology. This simplification could be accounted for by assuming that Ecuadorian Quechua has its roots in the pre-Incaic Coastal trade language, termed Chinchay Standard above, itself a simplified version of a Coastal Quechua II dialect. Map I gives an idea of the present-day distribution of Quechua in Ecuador and of the different varieties of Media Lengua discussed below.

Spanish became the prestige language in the new colonial situation and is the majority language in contemporary Ecuador, spoken by everybody except some of the Indian peasants in the Highlands (many of the peasants are also bilingual) and tribal groups in the Amazonian and Coastal Lowlands. Present-day Ecuadorian Spanish has been described most completely by Toscano Matteus (1953). There are considerable lexical and phonological differences between Coastal and Highland Spanish, on the one hand, and between educated urban Spanish and different rural varieties on the other hand. On the whole Ecuadorian Spanish conforms to the generalization that holds for all varieties of South American Spanish: many archaic Peninsular features have been preserved, and the dominant dialectal influences have been the Andalusian dialects of Southern Spain.

When we consider mutual Quechua-Spanish influence, the picture is quite complex. Lexically, the influence of Quechua on Spanish has been slight, limited to the domains of agriculture, food, flora and fauna, the household and family, and exclamatives. Syntactically and semantically, however, Quechua has had considerable influence on the Highland varieties of rural Spanish, even though specific changes can often be shown to have internal motivation as well. I return to this in §4 below.

The 400-year domination of Spanish over Quechua has left many traces in the subjugated language. These mainly concern the lexicon, which is crucial to understanding the emergence of Media Lengua as well and will be discussed in some detail in §3.3. Only a few aspects of the grammar have been influenced by Spanish. Morphological and syntactic influence of Spanish on Quechua appears to have been rather slight, although it has not been adequately studied yet. We find Spanish diminutives in Quechua (4), and Spanish agentive markers (5):

(4) wasi-ta "little house" (Sp -itu/ita, as in pollito "chick")
    wawki-ku "little brother" (Sp -iculica, as in ratico "moment")
Map of Media Lengua area: The distribution in Ecuador of Quechua and of the various contact varieties discussed, PID = attestation of Pidgin Spanish.
The last example is from the Quechua of Saraguro, Loja. It is possible, of course, that -lun is not derived from Spanish but from a pre-Incaic Indian language. The suffix -ku could also be connected with an Aymara polite address suffix. These borrowed suffixes are in no way regular and are rarely productive. Only -itulita is marked for gender in Quechua, in as yet little understood ways. Quechua -ku is invariant for gender and occurs only with names for humans. Saraguro Quechua -lun does not function as an agentive in Spanish, but rather marks a characteristic of a person.

Syntactically, there are several ways in which Spanish has influenced Ecuadorian Quechua. First, we encounter in the speech of most Quechua speakers, bi- or monolingual, the use of Spanish conjunctions such as i “and”, and piru “but”, in addition to Quechua conjunction suffixes. Second, we find occasional subordinating markers such as porke “because” and prepositions such as sin “without”, but only in the speech of bilinguals. Third, we encounter instances of SVO or VSO order instead of SOV order for some speakers, although Ecuadorian Quechua as a whole seems to be stricter in maintaining SOV order than most Peruvian Quechua dialects. This is probably because verbal marking for person is less extensive in Ecuadorian Quechua, especially in subordinate clauses.

Spanish lexical influence may have begun at the earliest stage, in which the Chinchay Standard lingua franca was expanded at the expense of native languages of the peasant population, and it may have increased after independence, when bilingualism became more frequent. This becomes clear when we consider earlier word lists and dictionaries. The evidence found in Velasco’s relatively short word list (1780 [1964]) is a case in point. Most of the borrowings mentioned are clearly related to the Catholic faith, such as those in (6); the Quechua forms are on the left, Velasco’s glosses are in the middle column, and English glosses are on the right:

(6) anima  “alma”  “soul”
     bendicishca  “bendito”  “blessed”
     diospac simi  “sermon”  “sermon” (lit. “word of God”)
     christiano runa  “fiel”  “Christian (person)”

It is not clear to what extent these words were used by people other than the missionaries themselves. However, the fact that Quechua anima does not
correspond to the Spanish word *alma* given as a gloss suggests that some words were adopted by the Indians themselves.

In addition, Velasco mentions a few non-religious borrowings, such as the following:

(7)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Spanish Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>azuti</td>
<td>&quot;azote&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;whip&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>azutina</td>
<td>&quot;azotar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to whip&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filana</td>
<td>&quot;afilar&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;to whet&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afilana rumi</td>
<td>&quot;piedra aguzadera&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;whetstone&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words, which can still be found in contemporary varieties, show that borrowings occurred in ordinary vocabulary in the eighteenth century. Notice that the borrowings are not limited to nouns, a point to which I will return below.

Another source of evidence for the history of borrowing is developments that have taken place within Spanish itself. These might be lexical changes, as in the case of *alpargatis* "sandal", a borrowing in Highland Quechua corresponding to an early colonial word derived from Arabic. This word is now no longer used in Spanish outside the Quechua context, suggesting that it was an earlier borrowing.

More systematic evidence comes from sound changes. In colonial Spanish, which had strong Andalusian roots, the *h* in words like *hondo* "deep" and *hacienda* "estate" was pronounced. In contemporary Ecuadorian Spanish it is generally not pronounced, although Toscano Matteus (1953) mentions some attestations of *h* in modern dialects. A sizable number of borrowings of words which were originally pronounced with an *h* are pronounced in Quechua with an initial aspirated or fricative velar, and must have been borrowed before the loss of *h*; examples are given in (8):

(8)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[xamaca]</td>
<td>&lt; <em>hamaca</em></td>
<td>&quot;hammock&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xazinda]</td>
<td>&lt; <em>hacienda</em></td>
<td>&quot;estate&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xacha]</td>
<td>&lt; <em>hacha</em></td>
<td>&quot;axe&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xabas]</td>
<td>&lt; <em>haba(s)</em></td>
<td>&quot;lima bean(s)&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[xundu]</td>
<td>&lt; <em>hondo</em></td>
<td>&quot;deep&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In contrast, the verb *haber* "have" appears in Media Lengua as *abi-* , not *xabi-* . Unfortunately, it has been impossible so far to date the loss of *h* in highland Spanish.

Spanish lexical influence on Quechua has been pervasive in many regions, where we sometimes find up to 40% borrowed Spanish vocabulary.
(types) in spoken (not elicited) Quechua. Domains of borrowing include dress, kinship, tools and machines, social status, commerce, social celebration, religion, time reference, cosmos and topography, measures, and psychological states. Both in Quechua and in Spanish the use of vocabulary from the other language has sociolinguistic and stylistic connotations, but in Quechua it is unavoidable. To get an idea of the extent and the nature of Spanish lexical influence, consider the beginning of a traditional story (which will contain less Spanish influence than many other forms of discourse) in (9). Spanish elements are in boldface:

(9) THE GREEDY SELLER:

\[\text{Nuka parlu-wa-da parla-gri-ni ñuka Collana-munda awilu-guna}\]

I a.story am.going.to.tell my from.Collana grandparents

\[\text{parla-shka-da. Chimborazu-mun-shi primero shuk pobre ri-n}\]

have.told. To.Chimborazo.they.say first a man poor goes

\[\text{k'atu-na-un. Chi-munda-ga ri-n, ri-n, ri-n, k'atu-na-un. Mana with.goods. therefore he goes, goes, goes, with.goods. Not}
\]

\[\text{kay-bi k'atu-y pudi-sha, chay-mun k'atunga-bu ri-n. Chi-munda}
\]

here sell capable there with.goods he.goes. In that

\[\text{shuk amu kaballu monta-shka tupa-sha-ga, ni-shka: way a.lord on.horse mounted meeting, said.to.him:}
\]

\[-May-mun ri-xu-ngi?\]

Where are you going?

\[-Shina k'atu-na-un ri-xu-ri, k'atu-na-un rixu-ni.\]

Thus with.goods I.am.going, with.goods I.am.going.

\[-Haku. Shina-ga ñuka pwebelo-bi k'atu-ngi.\]

Let’s.go. Thus in.my town you.can.sell.

\[\text{Shina paramo-da pusha-n, pusha-n, pusha-n, ri-n-shi.}\]

Hence across.the.plain he takes him, takes him, takes him along.

\[\text{Pay ri-n, ri-n, ri-n, ri-n. De repente paxa uku-mun yayku-n, china-ga.}\]

He goes, goes goes. Suddenly in.straw they enter, like that.

I will now turn to a consideration of the sociolinguistic profile of the Media Lengua-speaking community. The Indians in the region can be subdivided into three groups:

(i) CARGADORES. This group is transient, coming from a monolingual Quechua-speaking mountain region about 80 kilometers away, and arriving in the market town of Salcedo knowing little or no Spanish. The cargadores
establish no local ties, coming and going depending on their earnings, and they generally learn just enough Spanish to be able to do their work. They are culturally and also dialectologically distinguished from the Indians of the surrounding communities. They do not speak Media Lengua, but rather Quechua and some rudimentary Spanish.

(ii) Campesinos. This group lives in the communities surrounding Salcedo but has frequent contacts with, and is dependent on, people from the town. Culturally rather distinct, the campesinos make no attempt to become part of urban mestizo society and culture. Many campesinos speak rather fluent but highly nonstandard Spanish, although they speak Quechua at home.

(iii) Obreros. Since 1909, when Salcedo was linked to the capital Quito by train, but particularly since 1967, the date of the land reform, many younger men from the Indian communities have started to work in Quito, in construction or in industry. They return to their communities with some money, speaking fluent urban Spanish, and they speak Quechua only infrequently. This is the group that primarily speaks Media Lengua.

Media Lengua is spoken both as a native and as a second language by acculturated Indian peasants, craftsmen, and construction workers. It is the native language of the younger adults and most of the children in the communities nearest to Salcedo. Media Lengua-speaking communities contain Media Lengua speakers who do not know Spanish. In 1900 these communities must have been almost totally monolingual in Quechua, with a few young adult male (not necessarily fluent) bilinguals who introduced the Spanish lexical shapes. Nowadays some younger children may have Spanish as their first language, and some older people speak Quechua natively, but the middle generation has Media Lengua as its first language. Everyone speaks Media Lengua, however, though only within the community.

Given that (a) nearby communities are mostly Quechua-speaking; (b) the language is slightly more conservative phonologically than the local Quechua (recall the absence of voicing in the suffix in fabur-ta in ex. 1 above); and (c) old people were mostly Quechua-speaking in 1975, but the middle generation was Media Lengua-speaking, an origin of the language between 1920 and 1940 is indicated.

The villages where Media Lengua is spoken are socially and geographically intermediate between the blanco world of the urban centers in the valleys and the neighboring Indian world of the mountain slopes (see Figure 1).
Figure 1. A cross-section of the Inter-Andean valley. The different zones for Spanish, Media Lengua, and Quechua are schematically indicated; elevations are given in meters.

In the communities, Spanish is the language of contacts with the non-Indian world and of the school, Quechua is the language of tradition and of contacts with the Indian campesinos higher up the slopes, and Media Lengua is the language of daily life within the community.

Why did Quechua speakers relexify their language and create Media Lengua? It may be useful here to compare Media Lengua with pidgins and creoles. Most theories of pidgin (and hence creole) genesis assume that pidgins emerged through the need for communication among people with different language backgrounds, processes of incomplete target-language learning due to quantitatively restricted second language input, and qualitative restrictions on the target-language input through the use of foreigner-talk registers by speakers of dominant groups. I will argue here that none of these processes contributed to the emergence of Media Lengua.

First, Media Lengua is an intragroup language, not known outside the communities where it is spoken. Because its structure is almost entirely Quechua and the vocabulary taken from Spanish has been both relexified and adapted to Quechua phonology, it is no more intelligible to Spanish speakers than Quechua is. In fact few, if any, Spanish speakers understand Media Lengua, while a substantial number of them have some knowledge of Quechua through contacts with Indians from different communities in the region. And when I played tapes of Media Lengua to Quechua speakers from nearby areas, they could recognize it as some sort of strange Quechua — presumably because of the suffixes — but could not understand it.
Second, Media Lengua cannot be considered to represent a stage in learning Spanish as a second language, since many Media Lengua speakers also speak fluent Spanish, and since Media Lengua is very different from Quechua-Spanish interlanguage, as I will show in §4 below. Furthermore, if Media Lengua were the product of an ongoing process of second-language learning, we would expect much more variation in the language than actually occurs.

Finally, Media Lengua and Spanish foreigner talk share almost no features. Spanish foreigner talk is characterized by the use of infinitives, frequent diminutives, and a general reduction of Spanish surface structures. Only coincidentally, as in the absence of articles (which are lacking in Quechua as well), do we find any similarity with Media Lengua.

If these factors typical of pidgin genesis are not responsible for the emergence of Media Lengua, how then can it be explained? I will suggest that Media Lengua came into existence because acculturated Indians could not identify completely with either the traditional rural Quechua culture or the urban Spanish culture. Thus it was not communicative needs that led to its emergence, but rather expressive needs. It appears that ethnic self-identification is of crucial importance in determining the relation between Quechua, Media Lengua and Spanish in the Ecuadorian Highlands. Media Lengua is not the product of an interlanguage arrested and fixed, resulting from an emergency contact situation; but rather it is a departure from Quechua through massive relexification, and not at all along the path of Quechua-Spanish interlanguage (cf. also Le Page & Tabouret-Keller’s 1985 analysis of the multilingual situation of Belize in terms of “acts of identity”).

The Media Lengua-speaking communities studied here are located on the fringe of a Quechua-speaking area, to which these communities historically belonged. Due to their geographical situation and to the necessity for and ability of their inhabitants to make frequent trips to the capital to look for work, the communities have come to be culturally differentiated from neighboring areas, to the extent that their people find it necessary to set themselves apart from their neighbors.

The following comments on Media Lengua illustrate attitudes people hold toward the language; (10), (11) and (13), originally in Spanish, are given only in English translation, while (12) is given in the Media Lengua original.

(10) “That way the people living [i.e. right after the Spanish conquest] got confused, that’s why that Media Lengua has come out, because they understood neither Quechua nor Spanish very well.”
This comment illustrates the sense of cultural indeterminacy (although it misses the point that the creators of Media Lengua must have been bilingual to some extent); the other two stress the private communal character of Media Lengua:

(11) “We just speak it among ourselves, among people we know; the others always speak Spanish. Only in this province of Cotopaxi we talk like this. The other provinces don’t speak it, only Quechua.”

(12) Media Lengua-ga asi Ingichu-munda Castallanu-da abla-na Media Lengua-TOP thus Quechua-from Spanish-ACC talk-NOM kiri-xu-sha, no abla-naku-ndu-mi asi, chaupi-ga Castellanu want-PROG-SUB, not talk-pl-SUB-AFF thus, half-TOP Spanish laya, i chaupi-ga Ingichu laya abla-ri-na ga-n. Isi-ga asi like, and half-TOP Quechua like talk-REFL-NOM be-3. This-TOP thus nustru barrio-ga asi kostumbri-n abla-na. our community-TOP thus accustomed-3 talk-NOM “Media Lengua is thus if you want to talk Spanish from Quechua, but you can’t, then you talk half like Spanish, and half like Quechua. In our community we are accustomed to talking this way.”

The position of Media Lengua halfway between Quechua and Spanish is stressed in (12) and (13). Notice the colloquial name given to Media Lengua: quichua chico or utilla ingiru, both meaning “little Quechua”.

(13) “Yolanda knows some Quechua, right?”
“Big Quechua [i.e. Quechua] she doesn’t know, but little Quechua [i.e. Media Lengua] she has learned from her grandmother.”

If we assume that Media Lengua provides communities and individuals with a way of articulating their sense of cultural identity — an identity which cannot be fitted into the traditional strict equations Quechua = Indian and Spanish = White, which the caste society of the Ecuadorian Andes has provided — then the conservatism apparent in Media Lengua becomes more understandable.

A final issue to be considered here is the retention of Quechua stems in Media Lengua. In my Media Lengua data a number of Quechua stems have been retained; these are listed in Appendix 2. Some Quechua items in Media Lengua refer to specific culture items. An example is Quechua shutichiy “baptism”; here it is not semantic complexity that has prevented relexifica-
tion, since Spanish *bautismo*, the term the priest would use anyway, is perfectly equivalent. Another category consists of Quechua words which are also used in regional Spanish, such as *wawa* “child”. For the remaining elements it is difficult to determine a specific reason why they were retained. It may be that (for instance) *warmi* “wife, woman” was retained because the Spanish alternative *mujer* both ends in a consonant and has final stress, two features that are alien to Quechua (cf. §3.1. below).

In any case, Appendix 1, presenting Swadesh’s 200-word core vocabulary list, shows how different Media Lengua is from the local Quechua. Discounting suffixes, which are all Quechua, we find the following distribution: in the Quechua list 181 out of 208 items (= 87%) are native Quechua, while in the Media Lengua list 106 of the 118 items that occur in my corpus (= 90%) are from Spanish. The latter percentage matches that for the overall vocabulary of Spanish origin in the Media Lengua corpus: out of a total of 1798 verb tokens, 1597 (= 89%) are of Spanish origin. Consequently, the main difference between Quechua and Media Lengua is not a gradual one; there is a quantitative leap, involving most of the core vocabulary. By contrast, in Ecuadorian Quechua dialects the percentage of Spanish borrowings varies between 11% and 40% (types). There is no variety attested in between the most hispanicized Quechua (40% Spanish types) and Media Lengua (90% Spanish types). This makes a scenario for Media Lengua in terms of heavy borrowing even less plausible.

3. Structure

Basically, as noted above, Media Lengua is Quechua with Spanish stems. To see what this means, consider Table 1, in which a schematic structural comparison between the two languages is presented. I will refer to aspects of this table in the following discussion.

However, Media Lengua does have structural features that are not found in Quechua. Some of these are due to Spanish and some to independent developments. These will be discussed as part of my detailed survey of Media Lengua structure: I focus in §3.1 on phonological adaptations of Spanish elements, and in §3.2 on morphological properties. Section 3.3 deals with semantic changes in lexically related words, and §3.4 concerns syntactic features of Media Lengua.
Table 1. Principal Structural Features of Quechua and Spanish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUECHUA</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Word order:</td>
<td>a. Word order:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV dominant</td>
<td>VX dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective/noun</td>
<td>Noun/adjective dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessor/possessed</td>
<td>Possessed/possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postpositions/case suffixes</td>
<td>prepositions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Argument marking:</td>
<td>b. Argument marking:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP-CASE</td>
<td>(P) NP / word order</td>
</tr>
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<td>c. Verb marking:</td>
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<td>2. Nominalization</td>
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Before turning to these different aspects, it is perhaps useful to make my use of the term relexification more precise. Generally relexification is used to refer to a process of lexical borrowing which involves (a) a large part of the vocabulary and (b) the replacement of native items, rather than the mere addition of vocabulary. The way I use the term goes one step further: I assume that in fact the Spanish forms do not enter as full lexical entries, but as phonological shapes which are grafted onto Quechua lexical entries. Thus the original entry is not replaced, but merely altered in outer shape. Below I will adduce evidence for this view of the process.

3.1. Phonology

Pending a more detailed analysis of the phonology of Media Lengua and of Central Ecuadorian Quechua dialects, the following remarks give a prelimi-
nary sketch of how Media Lengua phonology relates to that of Quechua and Spanish. Table 2 gives the phoneme inventories of Central Ecuadorian Quechua and Spanish. Because we are concerned here with the fate of Spanish words when they are incorporated into the predominantly Quechua phonology of Media Lengua, the most important differences involve elements or combinations of elements present in Spanish but not in Quechua.

The voiced stops [b], [d], and [g] occur in Quechua primarily in loans from Spanish and from unidentified American Indian substrate languages. In addition, they can result from rules that voice initial consonants of suffixes. Unlike Peruvian and Bolivian Quechua, where [e] and [o] often occur as the result of the (sometimes lexicalized) lowering of /i/ and /u/ in the context of the postvelar stop /q/, Ecuadorian Quechua, lacking /q/, only has [i] and [u].

Table 2. Phoneme inventories of Quechua and Spanish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua Consonants:</th>
<th>Spanish Consonants:</th>
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<td>unaspirated</td>
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<td>Quechua Vowels:</td>
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Table 2. Phoneme inventories of Quechua and Spanish.
We find that e and o are often, but not always, pronounced as i and u, respectively (with some variation that also occurs in the Quechua pronunciation of Spanish loans). The Spanish vowels [e] and [o] are often retained in names and interjections. In stressed position [e] and [o] are more frequently retained than in unstressed position. High-frequency verbs such as dizi- “say”, azi- “do, make”, bini- “come”, and pudi- “can, be able” are always pronounced with high vowels. By contrast, the negator no and the singular pronouns yo “I”, bos “you”, and el “(s)he” very rarely are. Note that these last elements do not fit the Quechua bisyllabic template for separate words.

The Spanish cluster ue [we] is sometimes pronounced [u], sometimes [wi], sometimes [i]:

(14) llubi- “rain” (Sp llueve [llwébe])
    nustru “we, our” (Sp nuestro [nwéstro])
    afwira “outside” (Sp afuera [afwéra])
    pwirta “door” (Sp puerta [pwértal])
    manil “Manuel” (Sp [manwél])

The cluster ui is pronounced [u], as in sanduchi “sandwich” (Sp sanduiche [sandwiche]). The Spanish cluster ie [ye] is pronounced [i]:

(15) risin “recently, just” (Sp recién [resyén])
    bin “well” (Sp bien [byen])
    siti “seven” (Sp siete [syéte])
    nadis “nobody” (Sp nadie(s) [nádye])
    birnis “Friday” (Sp viernes [byérnes])

In the name Rafael the vowel sequence is pronounced [i], but the word for maiz “corn” is [mais], and Sp traer is [trai-]. The sequence [ai] occurs in native Quechua words as well.

With consonants and consonant clusters, a few complications arise. While Spanish f is adapted to aspirated [ph], Spanish b, d, and g are retained (as they are in Spanish loans in Quechua itself). Spanish intervocalic s is pronounced as a voiced [z]:

(16) azi- “do” (Sp hacer [aser])
    dizi- “say” (Sp decir [desir])
    kizu “cheese” (Sp queso [keso])
    kaza “house” (Sp casa [kasa])
    konozi- “know” (Sp conocer [konoser])
It should be noted that this voicing does not apply to Quechua intervocalic [s]: Q wasi “house”, Q kasa “frost”.

Spanish s is palatalized before t, as in ML phishta “feast” (Sp fiesta [fyesta]) and ML prishta- “loan” (Sp prestar). Some consonant clusters are retained:

(17) \( \begin{align*} 
\text{br:} & \quad \text{ambri- “be hungry”} \\
\text{tr:} & \quad \text{trai- “bring”} \\
\text{pr:} & \quad \text{prishta- “loan”} \\
\text{kw:} & \quad \text{kwantu “how much”, kwatru “four”} 
\end{align*} \)

The cluster str is sometimes pronounced [rzh], as in ML nurzhu “we, our” (Sp nuestro [nwestro]). As in many non-bilingual varieties of rural Spanish, Spanish initial /w/ is pronounced [xw]: ML xwirti (Sp fuerte [fwerte], [xwerte]).

3.2. Morphology

A number of the morphological features of Media Lengua merit special discussion. To begin with, it is important to consider the typological characteristics of Quechua with respect to borrowing.

One of the ways in which languages differ is with respect to the borrowability of different categories. Earlier studies on lexical borrowing show that nouns are more frequently borrowed than verbs. Nouns are syntactically inert, that is to say, they do not influence the syntactic make-up of the clause in the same way as verbs. In my study of Spanish borrowings in the Quechua of Ecuador I have been able to establish that, in this case too, nouns constitute the largest group of borrowings. But when we look at verbs we see that Quechua — in contrast to other languages — has borrowed relatively large numbers of verbs from Spanish. In comparison with e.g. English borrowing in Canadian French (Poplack et al. 1988), the distribution of Spanish-to-Quechua borrowings over the different syntactic categories is more nearly even. How can we explain these high percentages of borrowed verbs?

The agglutinating structure of Quechua may provide an answer. The morphology in an agglutinating language is characterized by the fact that suffixes can be attached to word stems without specific morphophonemic restrictions or alternations:
(18) wasi ukhu-bi
    house inside-LOC
    “inside the house”

(19) wasi-da-mi riku-rka xwan-cha-ga
    house-ACC-AFF see-PAST Juan-DIM-TOP
    “It’s a house that he, Juan, saw.”

In this way Spanish verbs can easily be turned into Quechua verbs:

(20) travaaja(r) → trabaxa(nda)
    entende(r) → intindi(nda)

This is a productive process and can be applied to each Spanish verb. The verb behaves completely like a native Quechua verb. The morphology of Quechua thus makes it possible to adopt any Spanish verb. The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are collapsed with the high vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively, and the stem-vowel is maintained as part of the new root.

Spanish irregular verbs are regularized in Media Lengua. As shown in (21), they derive from inflected third-person singular or infinitive Spanish forms:

(21) Media Lengua | SP infinitive | SP 1sg | SP 3sg
     i-            | ir          | voy    | va    | “go”
     (but: bamu-chi (= Sp vámonos “let’s go”)  
     da-ldali-     | dar         | doy    | da (dale) | “give”
     bi-           | ver         | veo    | ve    | “see”
     azi-          | hacer       | hago   | hace  | “do”
     ri-           | reirse       | -      | rie   | “laugh”
     sabi-         | saber       | sé     | sabe  | “know”

These verbs receive the normal Quechua affixes:

(22) a. ML: no sabi-ni-chu.
    not know-1-NEG
    Q: mana yacha-ni-chu.
    Sp: no sé.
    “I don’t know”

b. ML: ya i-gri-ni.
    already go-INC-1
    Q: ṇa ri-gri-ni.
Sp: ya me voy.
   "I’m already going."

c. ML: bos-mu da-ni-mi.
   you-to give-1-AFF
Q: kan-mu ku-ni-mi.
Sp: te (lo) doy a til vos.
   "I give (it) to you."

In addition to verb regularization, we encounter several other processes of lexical adaptation of Spanish vocabulary in Media Lengua, such as "freezing" (the combination of separate Sp words in a single ML word), reduplication, the selection of emphatic, strong forms, morphological regularization to fit the Quechua CVCV pattern, and reduction of bisyllabic verbs to monosyllabic forms:

(23) "Freezing":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>MEDIA LENGUA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no ha habido</td>
<td>nuwabishta nuwábi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no hay</td>
<td>núway</td>
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<tr>
<td>aún no</td>
<td>aínu</td>
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<tr>
<td>a mí</td>
<td>ami</td>
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<tr>
<td>en qué</td>
<td>inki</td>
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(24) Reduplication:

a. ML: yo-ga bin-bin tixi-y-da pudi-ni.
   I-TOP well-well weave-INF-ACC can-1
   Sp: yo puedo tejer muy bien.
   "I can weave very well."

b. ML: anda-y brebe-brebe kuzina-ngi.
   walk-IMP quick-quick cook-2
   Sp: anda a cocinar breve.
   "go cook quickly."

In neither case would we encounter reduplication in Quechua. The examples in (25) achieve an effect similar to "freezing":

(25) Selection of morphologically strong forms:

miu (Spanish mio "mine") "my, I"

tuyu (Spanish tuyoy "yours") "your"
Media Lengua has several instances of optional reduction of lexical items, e.g. the alternations yuya-ni ~ ya-ni “I think” (< Q yuya- “think”) and dizi- ~ zi- “say, want” (< Sp decir “say”). When “I think” is affixed to a statement as a parenthetical, the result is ya-ni; otherwise, it is yuya-ni. Interestingly enough, the alternation is absent in Quechua (even though the verb yuya- occurs in Quechua), and with yuya- it is limited to the first person. The choice between zi- (73 occurrences) and dizi- (50 occurrences) seems to be determined by considerations of emphasis and allegro vs. lento style.

The existence of this type of variation in Media Lengua attests to its established character and to its stylistic range, characteristic of a language that serves as the principal language of its speech community. If Media Lengua were a recent development without native speakers, this type of variation would not be present.

A further issue to be discussed here concerns Spanish morphology. I said above that only stems were relexified, and that all affixes are Quechua. This is not entirely true. We encounter the Spanish subordinating gerundive affix -ndu (originally -ndo) in Media Lengua, in places where Quechua would have the “same subject” subordinator -sha or the “different subject” subordinator -kpi. Media Lengua shows all three forms. Exx. (27) and (28) illustrate same subject subordination with -ndu and -sha, respectively:

(27) alla-bi-ga entonces-ga artu terreno propio tini-ndu-ga
    there-LOC-TOP then-TOP much land own have-SUB-TOP
    riku-ya-na, no?
    rich-become-NOM no
    “There one could become rich then, having one’s own land, no?”

(28) Isi-munda-ga asta kolera muri-sha bini-xu-ka-ni.
    this-from-TOP even anger die-SUB come-PROG-PAST-1
    “From this I was coming even dying from anger.”

In (29) and (30) different-subject subordination with -ndu and -kpi are illustrated:
In Muysken (1981b) I showed that cases such as (29) are quite rare, but that sentences like (27) are frequent in the samples.

It is not clear, however, that -ndu is a counterexample to the claim that no affixes are relexified in Media Lengua. There is some evidence for an earlier Indian-Spanish contact language spoken throughout Ecuador, the most striking feature of which was the use of -ndo or -ndu as a generalized verb marker (see Muysken 1980, and §4 below). It may well be that Media Lengua was influenced by this contact vernacular and adopted -ndu from it in certain adverbial contexts, rather than relexifying directly from Quechua in these cases.

Two other Spanish affixes also occur in Media Lengua: diminutive -itu/-ita and past participle -do. The first occurs in Quechua as well, and can be seen as a borrowing. The second occurs only with Spanish adjectives that were probably taken over as a whole. Therefore we can maintain the generalization that no affixes were relexified.

One might argue that the absence of relexified affixes is not due to structural properties of roots and affixes, but rather to the fact that there are no direct semantic equivalents of Quechua affixes in Spanish. Thus the fact that (for instance) the Quechua causative suffix -chi occurs in Media Lengua would be due to the absence of a similar causative suffix in Spanish.

This argument is very plausible at first sight, but it has several deficits. First, not all Quechua affixes lack a Spanish equivalent. So, for instance, Quechua 2sg. -nki could have been replaced by Spanish -s, and Quechua 1pl. -nchi by Spanish -mos. In a dialect of Quechua spoken elsewhere (northern Chimborazo) the Quechua agentive suffix -k is often replaced by Spanish-derived -dur (from -dor), but no such thing happens in Media Lengua. We could extend this list for other suffixes as well. The point is that semantic considerations may have led to the relexification of some affixes, but not others. They cannot account for the fact that NO affixes were relexified.
Second, relexification has sometimes involved very considerable semantic adjustments. Consider the Quechua impersonal verb *yarixa-n* “it hungers (someone)”. In Spanish you say *yo tengo hambre* “I have hunger”. Now, it would appear to be impossible to relexify here; but there is a Media Lengua impersonal verb *ambri-naya-n* “I feel like hunger”, containing the Quechua suffix *-naya* “having a physical inclination”. Similar cases abound. They demonstrate that semantic factors did not prevent relexification of lexical items, even in complicated cases.

Analogous arguments will be discussed in the next section, where I analyze the relexification of function words. There is no general semantic correspondence between Quechua and Spanish function words, but they are all relexified. Here there is one exception, however — the Quechua verb *ka-* “be” — and this may well be due in part to semantic factors: Spanish has two verbs, *ser* and *estar*, with a semantically complex distribution, and this may account in part for the fact that Media Lengua has consistently maintained *ka-*.. The possible other reason is morphological: *estar* is somewhat irregular and *ser* is suppletive, like English *be*.

On the whole, we can safely conclude that semantic reasons do not explain why Quechua affixes were not relexified. So far I have established that no affixes have been relexified and that this cannot be for semantic reasons. The same holds for clitics. Quechua has a class of phonologically dependent elements which are syntactically independent and have clausal scope, but which do not have affix properties (Muysken 1981a, Lefebvre & Muysken 1988). Affixes are sensitive to the category of the word to which they are attached, they determine the category of the resulting word, and they can only be attached to major lexical categories, such as nouns and verbs — not to particles, negation markers, etc. Clitics do not have these properties: they can be attached to any constituent or lexical element and do not change the categorial status of their base. This class includes the elements in (31):

(31) a. *-mi* AFFIRMATIVE
    *-shi* HEARSAY
    *-cha* DUBITATIVE
b. *-chu* NEGATION, QUESTION
c. *-pish* too, INDEFINITE
    *-tik* EMPHATIC
    *-ri* EMPHATIC
    *-ma* EMPHATIC
    *-ga* TOPIC
Even though these elements cannot appear as independent words, they have all the syntactic properties of elements separately introduced by the phrase structure rules.

In Media Lengua they are not relexified:

   this know-3FUT-EMP-too
   “He will certainly know.”

b. *kital-mi uyari-xu-n
   how-AFF hear-REFL-3
   “how it sounds”

c. *nustru-ga alla-wa-bi-mi sinta-nchi.
   we-TOP there-DIM-LOC-AFF live-1pl
   “We live there.”

It is hard to establish that this is not for semantic reasons. There is evidence that bilingual rural Spanish has an equivalent for -pish “too, INDEFINITE”: we sometimes encounter an enclitic -tan (from Spanish también “too”) that is used in the same way as Quechua and Media Lengua -pish:

(33) Sp: onde-tan ha ido?
   where-too has gone
   “Where then has he/she gone?”

(34) Sp: yo-tan quiero.
   I-too want
   “I want it too.”

Examples (33) and (34) suggest that there must be another reason why this form was not adopted in Media Lengua. In the next section we will see that lexical meaning is not what sets stems apart from the rest: a number of relexified stems do not have a lexical meaning.

3.3. Lexicon

If we accept the characterization of Media Lengua as a form of Quechua with Spanish phonological shapes, then Media Lengua must be seen as a compromise between the Quechua lexical system and the Spanish one. We have already seen several instances of this compromise. Here the processes operating in it and the consequences it has for the grammar of the language will be examined more systematically.
One of the differences between Quechua and Spanish is that the latter has more separate verbal roots, while the former has fewer roots and tends to form new verbs through a complex system of verbal derivational suffixes. Thus we have examples like the following:

\[(35) \quad \text{QUECHUA} \quad \text{SPANISH} \quad \text{“take”} \quad \text{“bring”}\]

\[\text{apa-} \quad \text{llevar} \]
\[\text{apa-mu-} \quad \text{traer} \]

Here the cislocative suffix \(-mu\) is added to the original root to create a cislocative verb with a meaning that is expressed with a separate verb in Spanish (and English).

Sometimes the derived meaning is simply compositionally determined, and often the root + affix combination has undergone semantic specialization or drift. We may hypothesize that the lexicalized forms are replaced in Media Lengua by Spanish simplex roots, and the compositional forms by forms either directly patterned on the complex Quechua original or including both a Spanish root with the complex meaning and the Quechua derivational suffix. Muysken (1981b) presents data that illustrate this pattern for the Quechua verb \(\text{riku-} “\text{see”} \) and derived forms. The examples in (36)-(38) are directly related to the forms in (35). Sentences (36) and (37) illustrate the use of the Spanish-derived forms \(\text{trayi-} \) and \(\text{lleba-}\), respectively:

\[(36) \quad \text{intonsi lindu radiyu-da trayi-shka.} \quad \text{“Then it turned out they’d brought a nice radio.”} \]
\[(37) \quad \text{awa-da ahi-munda lleba-nga zin Ambatu-mun.} \quad \text{“From there they will take the water to Ambato, they say.”} \]

In (38) we see an example of a redundant form:

\[(38) \quad \text{grabadora-da trayi-mu-ngi.} \quad \text{“Bring the tape recorder.”} \]

The interaction between relexification and derivational morphology needs to be studied in much more detail, for different groups of verbs.

An interesting and complicated case involves the Media Lengua verbs \(\text{kiri- “wish”} \) and \(\text{dizi- \sim zi- “want, say”} \). Quechua has two verbs that express wishing and wanting:
(39) Q: \textit{muna-} "wish" \hspace{1cm} \textit{ni-} "want, say"

These verbs occur in constructions such as the following:

(40) a. \textit{papa-da muna-ni.} "I want potatoes"
    \hspace{1cm} \textit{potato-ACC wish-1}

b. \textit{papa-da ni-ni.} "I want potatoes"

c. \textit{miku-na muna-ni.} "I want to eat"
    \hspace{1cm} \textit{eat-NOM wish-1}

d. \textit{miku-sha ni-ni.} "I say I’ll eat", "I want to eat"
    \hspace{1cm} \textit{eat-1FUT say-1}

In Quechua both verbs, \textit{ni-} and \textit{muna-}, can take NP complements and infinitival complements. In the latter case, \textit{ni-} selects -\textit{sha} on the infinitive verb, and \textit{muna-} selects -\textit{na} or another marker. In Media Lengua we find that (a) Quechua \textit{muna-} has been relexified as Media Lengua \textit{kiri-} "want" (Spanish \textit{querer}), and Quechua \textit{ni-} has been relexified as Media Lengua (\textit{di})\textit{zi-} "wish, say" (Spanish \textit{decir}); (b) with NP complements only Media Lengua \textit{kiri-} occurs; and (c) with infinitival complements \textit{kiri-} often gets -\textit{na} or another nominalizer, and (\textit{di})\textit{zi-} often, but not always, gets -\textit{sha} complements.

Note that the relexification process has been only partial here. Whereas in Quechua the verb \textit{ni-} can take NP complements, the corresponding Media Lengua item (\textit{di})\textit{zi-} cannot. More details, including quantitative data, are given in Muysken (1981b).

Relexification must necessarily take place on the basis of meaning correspondences. A Spanish stem, as close as possible in meaning to the Quechua original, is used to replace it. The question now is how closeness in meaning is determined. It turns out that we have to distinguish here between lexical meaning and grammatical meaning. The former can be determined by reference to some extralinguistic entity, the latter only by reference to the language systems themselves. Relexification is feasible, with all the complications mentioned, for lexical items, but it operates in a very incomplete manner for grammatical items.

In order to study the differences between the restructuring of lexical meaning and the restructuring of grammatical meaning, we need to consider Quechua grammatical elements in more detail. As is shown in Figure 2, Quechua grammatical morphemes fall into three groups — lexical, suffixal, and clitic.
We encounter reflexes of all Quechua grammatical morpheme classes in Media Lengua. As we saw above, the Quechua clitics are all present, as are the Quechua inflectional suffixes. The Quechua lexical elements have all been relexified, in a way that I will discuss below. In addition, we encounter elements in Media Lengua which are absent in Quechua, such as prepositions and lexical conjunctions. They will be discussed in §3.4.

Disregarding these last cases for the moment, it is possible to maintain the generalization that the inventory of Media Lengua categories of grammatical items directly reflects that of Quechua. As it turns out, however, the internal semantic organization of the categories does not; in fact, it is a system which has been restructured under the influence of Spanish.

In Muysken (1988) I illustrated this for demonstratives, and in Muysken (1989) I tried to argue the same point for question words. Here I will briefly summarize these results. The semantic organizations of the systems of deictic (demonstrative and locative) pronouns in Quechua and Spanish diverge. In Figure 3, a much simplified version of the systems involved, the feature $[\pm \text{LOC}]$ refers to the possibility that the element will be used as a locative
deictic (*here* versus *this*). The feature \([± \text{PROX}]\) refers to the distance from the speaker indicated by the deictic (*this*/*here* versus *that*/*there*). In short, the Quechua system does not distinguish the locative forms from the non-locative deictics lexically; instead, the distinction is made through case suffixes.

The Media Lengua forms, morphologically based on Spanish deictic elements, do not derive directly from Quechua semantic equivalents. Nor do they immediately correspond to the Spanish system. The Quechua form *kay* “this, here” has been split into Media Lengua *isti* “this” \((← \text{Sp} \text{este} \text{ “this”})\) and *aki* “here” \((← \text{Sp} \text{aquí “here”})\), along the lines of the Spanish system, in which demonstratives and locatives are kept apart. The Media Lengua attributive use of *aki* “this ... here”, as in *aki kaza* “this house (here)”, is impossible in Spanish, however, though it is possible with Quechua *kay*. The form *isti* “this” does not occur with locative case -*bi*, while *aki* frequently does. Only *aki* has locative use. Both *isti* and *aki* can be marked for case. Of course the adding of

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**Figure 3. The demonstrative systems of Quechua and Spanish.**
a case marker to *aki corresponds to the Quechua system, not to Spanish, where locative pronouns are used without prepositions and case markers do not exist. The fact that *aki is used independently without a case marker corresponds to Spanish, not to Quechua usage. A few instances of Quechua *kay are maintained in Media Lengua. The schematic examples in (41) and (42) illustrate the options in the Media Lengua system:

(41) a. ML: *isti kaza "this house"
    Sp: *esta casa
b. ML: *aki kaza "this house (here)"
    Sp: *aqui casa

(42) a. ML: *aki-bi sinta-ni "I live here"
    here-LOC live-1
    Q: *kay-bi kawsa-ni
b. ML: *aki sinta-ni "I live here"
    here live-1
    Q: *kay kawsa-ni

A similar pattern of compromise restructuring is found with the [-PROX] forms in Media Lengua, where there is an even greater departure from Quechua semantics in that the distinction between the Spanish locative deictics *allí, *allá, and *ahi (indicating roughly different distances between the location referred to and the speaker) is introduced into Media Lengua. Media Lengua isi "that" does not co-occur with locative -bi, which is the most frequent affix with the forms *allá, *allí, and *ahi. All three forms are also used attributively and optionally occur without case marking, unlike Quechua but like Spanish. This is most striking for *ahi.

Both the proximate and the non-proximate deictic elements reflect a system that is best interpreted as the result of restructuring the Quechua system under the influence of Spanish. The resulting system matches neither completely. I should also stress that it shows internal variation: almost one third of the independently used deictic locative elements occur without supporting case-marking.

Consider now the question words. In (43) the relevant forms are given for Quechua, Spanish and Media Lengua:
These examples show that Media Lengua forms, with the exception of the form for “where”, are modeled on Spanish rather than Quechua patterns. If it had been the reverse, we would have found forms such as *(in)ki-munda “what from” for “why” and *(in)ki-shna “what like” for “how”, which do not occur at all. The form purki-munda, which follows both Quechua and Spanish, occurs only once.

A third complex case of relexification of grammatical elements involves the Media Lengua personal pronoun system. Here relexification is much stricter. Consider the paradigms in the three languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(44) Quechua</th>
<th>Media Lengua</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñuka</td>
<td>yolami+case</td>
<td>1sg: yol/mé/mi “I”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>bos</td>
<td>2sg: tú/tel/tí “you (intimate)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>vós/vete “you (familiar)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>usted/le “you (polite)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>3sg: él/le “he”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ell/alle “she”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñukunchi</td>
<td>nustru</td>
<td>1pl: nosotros/nos “we”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan-guna</td>
<td>bos-kuna</td>
<td>2pl: ustedes/les “you (pl.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay-guna</td>
<td>el-kuna</td>
<td>3pl: ellos/les “they (masc.)”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ellas/les “they (fem.)”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Spanish column includes not only the nominative form but also the object clitic form and the non-nominative form where this differs from the nominative. When we compare the three paradigms, we see that the Media Lengua and Quechua systems are very similar, and that bos-kuna “you (pl.)” is a
direct relexification of Quechua *kan-guna* (where the Spanish familiar second-person pronoun *vos* is taken as the equivalent of Quechua *kan*). Similarly, Media Lengua *el-kuna* and Quechua *pay-guna*. The Media Lengua pronouns *bos* and *el* are a little more complicated, since either relexification of the Quechua model or target simplification — loss of distinctions existing in Spanish — could be involved here.

The only case of non-relexification is the non-nominative Media Lengua personal pronoun *ami*, which was discussed above as a case of freezing, resulting from Spanish *a mí* "(to) me". This pronoun occurs with the Quechua case markers *-da* "accusative" and *-mu* "dative", as in (45):

(45) ML: *ami-mu da-ngi*
   me-to give-2

Q: *ñuka-mu ku-ngi*

Sp: *le darás a mí*
   "give it to me"

In the corpus there are some small deviations from the Media Lengua paradigm given in (44), such as a few Quechua forms and the occasional use of *miu* (← Sp *mío* "mine") for the 1sg and *tuyu* (← Sp tuyo "yours") for the 2sg.

3.4. Syntax

What consequences did relexification have for the syntax of Quechua, leading to Media Lengua syntax? Remarkably, relexification had relatively few consequences, and most of them can be related to lexical innovation or restructuring. In this section I will discuss four sets of cases: word order (§3.4.1), comparatives (§3.4.2), reflexives (§3.4.3), and embedded WH-questions, complementizers, and conjunctions (§3.4.4).

3.4.1. Word order

In some cases the subcategorization features of relexified items were not entirely retained from Quechua, but adopted from Spanish as well, which led to word-order changes in Media Lengua. (This is under the assumption that the position of adjectives, adpositions, and verbs is part of the lexical — subcategorization — features of the items themselves.) A case in point is borrowed prepositions. Prepositions are not very frequent in the sample — there are about 50, as against hundreds and hundreds of Quechua case-markers. All preposi-
tions in Media Lengua are regular Spanish-derived prepositions except for the postposition *despasesitu* "after", which is relexified from the Quechua lexical postposition *k’ipa*, with the same meaning. The instances of *entre* in Media Lengua could be regarded as relexification of the Quechua postnominal element *-pura*, as in (46):

(46) ML: *entre seys-mi ga-nchi.*
  Q: *sukta-pura-mi ga-nchi.*
    six-among-AFF be-1pl
  Sp: *somos seis.*
    "There are six of us."

In some ways, Quechua *-pura* is distinct from the postposed elements which mark case in Quechua and which can best be analyzed as case-markers, not as elements of the category P. It may be one of the rare instances of a true postposition (P) in Quechua; if it is, relexification as *entre* would be expected. All other occurrences of Spanish prepositions, with the exception of *despasesitu* "after", will have to be considered as cases of code-switching, in exclamations such as *por dyos* "please", or as true borrowings, which do not correspond to existing Quechua lexical entries.

Another instance of direct relexification is given in (47):

(47) *sikyera karga-bu-lla-ish, perokomi-nga-bu-lla-ish da-chun,*
    perhaps load-BEN-DIM-IND, but eat-NOM-BEN-DIM-IND give-SUB
    *sikyira para komir,*
    perhaps for eat
    "Let them then give the food for a load, to eat, perhaps to eat."

Here *komi-nga-bu*, which contains the Quechua nominalizer *-nga* and the Quechua case marker *-bu*, is juxtaposed to *para komir*, which contains the Spanish preposition *para* and the Spanish infinitive marker *-r*.

In (48) we see a formal representation of the relexification of the Spanish preposition *entre*:

(48) + P  + P
    N __ __ N
    *sukta-pura-mi entre seys-mi*
    six among-AFF among six-AFF

Ex. (49) shows how a prenominal adjective in Quechua is relexified as a postnominal adjective in Media Lengua:
On the whole, Media Lengua has maintained the predominantly SOV word-order characteristics of Quechua. It is true that 21% of the sentences in the sample which contain both a verb and a complement in the VP (object, adverbial complement) show VX word order, but this result parallels that for local varieties of Quechua.

3.4.2. Comparatives
In Quechua, comparatives are formed with the uninflected verb yalli “surpass”, which functions as a serial verb (Muysken 1977). The object with which something is compared receives -da “accusative case”:

(50) Q: kan Huzi-da yalli puri-ngi.
    you José-ACC pass walk-2
    “You walk faster than José.”

In Media Lengua yalli is relexified as gana- (< Sp ganar “win”), but it cannot appear uninflected:

(51) ML: *bos Huzi-da gana anda-ngi.
    you José-ACC win walk-2

Instead, gana- must appear either in adverbial subordination with the -sha marker or in a coördinated clause:

(52) ML: Xwan-mi Pedro-da gana-sha grande ga-n.
    John-AFF Peter-ACC win-SUB tall be-3
    “John is taller than Peter.”

(53) ML: Takunga-mi riko ga-n Salsedo-da gana-n.
    Latac.-AFF rich be-3 Salcedo-ACC win-3
    “Latacunga is richer than Salcedo.”

The impossibility of using uninflected gana- in Media Lengua comparatives suggests that in some cases relexification can involve the simplification of a lexical entry. In Quechua yalli must be marked to indicate that person mark-
ing on it is optional (in contrast with all other Quechua verbs). The Media Lengua verb is not marked in this way.

3.4.3. Reflexives
Quechua reflexives do not involve a reflexive pronoun, unlike Spanish reflexives. Instead, the affix combination -lla-di “just, precisely” (lit. “delimitative-emphatic”) is added to the subject NP:

(54) Q: ñuka-lla-di riku-ni.
   I-just see-1
   “I see myself.”

When, in the 3rd person, -lla-di is added to the adverb shina “thus”, the resulting meaning is reflexive:

(55) Q: pay shina-lla-di riku-n.
   he thus-just see-3
   “He sees himself.”

In Media Lengua, 3rd-person reflexives are formed as in Quechua, with shina being relexified as asi “thus” (from Spanish así), but 1st-person reflexives involve a double-pronoun construction:

(56) ML: Huzi asi-lla-di-mi mata-ka.
   José thus-just-AFF kill-PAST
   “José killed himself.”

(57) ML: yo-lla-di bi-xu-ni ami-lla-da-di.
   I-just see-PROG-1 me-just-ACC
   “I see myself.”

This construction is limited to the 1st person because only the 1st person has a separate non-nominative pronoun, ami.

While the resulting Media Lengua double-pronoun construction could of course be interpreted as an adaptation to Spanish syntax (cf. 58 below), this is by no means the necessary conclusion. In Spanish the reflexive pronoun is an unstressed clitic in preverbal position. The Media Lengua reflexive element is a strong form which also occurs in nonreflexive contexts, as in (45). Of course we do encounter stressed postverbal pronouns in Spanish emphatic reflexives:
In any case, the difference between Quechua and Media Lengua is caused by a lexical element, *ami*, which is present in Media Lengua but absent in its source language.

3.4.4. Embedded wh-questions, complementizers, and conjunctions
In Quechua, embedded wh-questions are formed by fronting a wh-pronoun, as are nonembedded ones; but in addition they are nominalized, as are other embedded clauses. Compare (59)a with (59)b and (60)a with (60)b:

(59) a. Q: *mana yacha-ni-chu [Xwan shamu-shka-da].
   not know-1-NEG [John come-NOM-ACC]
   “I don’t know that John has come.”

   b. Q: *mana yacha-ni-chu [pi shamu-shka-da].
   not know-1-NEG [who come-NOM-ACC]
   “I don’t know who has come.”

(60) a. Q: *mana yacha-ni-chu [Xwan shamu-na-da].
   not know-1-NEG [John come-NOM-ACC]
   “I don’t know that John will come.”

   b. Q: *mana yacha-ni-chu [pi shamu-na-da].
   not know-1-NEG [who come-NOM-ACC]
   “I don’t know who will come.”

Whereas the nominalizers in (59) and (60) are part of the verb morphology, they are generally assumed to function as complementizers and are subcategorized by the matrix verb. The wh-pronoun *pi* “who”, in (59)b and (60)b, is fronted, but it does not appear as the complementizer.

In Media Lengua the situation is different. We encounter the -*na* and -*shka* nominalizers in sentential complements, but in embedded wh-questions there is ordinary verb inflection:

(61) a. ML: *no sabi-ni-chu [Xwan bini-shka-da].
   not know-1-NEG [John come-NOM-ACC]

   b. ML: *no sabi-ni-chu [kin bini-rka].
   not know-1-NEG [who come-PAST]

   c. ML: *no sabi-ni-chu [kin bini-shka-da].
   not know-1-NEG [who come-NOM-ACC]
The contrast between (61) and (59) suggests that in Media Lengua (where embedded wh-questions have the ordinary past-tense marker -rka instead of the nominalizer -shka) the wh-element does function as the complementizer. Similarly, the Media Lengua equivalent of (60)b will be (62)a and not (62)b:

(62) a. ML: no sabi-ni-chu [kin bini-nga].
   not know-1-NEG [who come-3FUT]
   “I don’t know who will come.”

   b. ML: *no sabi-ni-chu [kin bini-na-da].
      not know-1-NEG [who come-NOM-ACC]

It is tempting to interpret this development as the beginning of a typological shift from a comp-final system (like Quechua) to a comp-initial one (like Spanish). The problem is that few or no other cases of clause-initial complementizers occur in Media Lengua. Admittedly, there are some occurrences of clause-initial ki “that”, porke “because”, and aunke “although”. These three cases are somewhat different and need to be analyzed separately.

The “that” complementizer ki occurs as an alternative to /-shka/- and /-na/- complementation. Consider (63):

(63) ML: no be ki no i-sha-chu dizi-n?
   not see that not go-1FUT-NEG say-3
   Sp: no ve que dice que no irá?
   “Don’t you see he does not want to go?”

Here ki is part of the fixed expression no be ki, directly borrowed from Spanish. Note that be “you see” does not receive Quechua person marking, whereas dizi-n, the verb in the domain of ki, receives main-clause person marking. The next example, (64), contains an example of a nominalized -shka complement:

(64) pega-shka dizi-n dizi-ndu ke bos-kuna-ga ke
    hit-NOM say-3 say-SUB that you-PL-TOP that
    bos-kuna-lla-cha komi-ngichi.
    you-PL-DIM-DUB eat-2pl
   “They say he hit them, saying that you, that you just eat.”

Here again komi-ngichi “you (pl.) eat”, the verb in the domain of ke (=ki), receives ordinary main-clause person marking. The same utterance contains an example of -shka complementation. The compound P+COMP porke “be-
cause" occurs both with main-clause person-marked verbs, as in (65), and with clauses marked with an adverbial subordinator, as in (66):

(65) **todabia no byen aprendi-naku-n porke eskwela-bi anda-naku-n.**

still not well learn-pl-3 because school-LOC go-pl-3

“They don’t learn well yet because they go to school.”

(66) **porke no awa abi-kpi no kosecha-nchi.**

because not water be-SUB not harvest-1pl

“Because there is no water we don’t harvest.”

In my Media Lengua sample, **aunke** only occurs with subordinate verbs, as in (67):

(67) **aunke duru llubi-xu-kpi-sh sali-gi-xu-ni-mi.**

though hard rain-PROG-SUB-IND go-INC-PROG-1-AFF

“Although it is raining hard I am going to go out.”

Regarding the introduction into Media Lengua of the clause-initial complementizer **ki** and its compound forms, we can conclude that they are relatively infrequent; that they sometimes introduce main-clause person-marked verbs, sometimes subordinate verbs; and that they sometimes appear to be direct borrowings from Spanish, rather than replacements of Quechua categories. On the whole, the Quechua system of nominal and adverbial marking on verbs to indicate subordination is the predominant type of complementation in Media Lengua. Possibly at a later stage the language will develop a regular clause-initial COMP position.

With embedded WH-questions and complementizers a large-scale syntactic change may be going on, triggered by the adoption of the Spanish question system as a complementizer system. The other instances of syntactic differences between Quechua and Media Lengua are lexically induced as well. The claim that Media Lengua is a form of Quechua with Spanish vocabulary can be maintained as far as these items are concerned, but the sporadic adoption of certain sets of items has triggered changes.

The case of coordinating conjunctions is more problematic for the relexification analysis. Media Lengua has productively adopted both the Spanish and the Quechua system of conjunctions (more details in Muysken 1981b). In Quechua, conjunctions such as **-pish** “also” and **-ti(t)** “emphatic” are always
cliticized to the element on their left; they are arguably generated as a separate phrase-structure category (unlike case-markers). In Spanish we find conjunctions such as y "and" and o "or" as a separate lexical category. Are the Spanish conjunctions that we find in Media Lengua cases of reflexification of Quechua categories, or cases of direct borrowing from Spanish? In Media Lengua the conjunctions are used as in Spanish and coexist with the Quechua cliticized conjunctions; furthermore, in Quechua itself there is frequent borrowing of Spanish conjunctions. Thus, the introduction of Spanish conjunctions into Media Lengua is the one exception to the generalization that Media Lengua lexical categories, arising through reflexification, correspond strictly to Quechua categories. This exception may be explained by the fact that coordinating clausal conjunctions, which occur at the discourse level, are less closely integrated into the grammar of the language and can be borrowed more easily. The category of complementizers, for instance, is a much more crucial part of sentence grammar.

3.5. Summary

To summarize the analysis in this section, we can draw the following conclusions from the case of Media Lengua:

(a) The different components of a lexical entry function so independently of each other that (apparently) a phonological representation can be substituted in an entry without affecting the other sets of features (syntactic, subcategorization, semantic, selectional).

(b) For reflexification to occur, the only requirement is that source- and target-language lexical entries share some semantic features; other shared features are not required, although they will often be present.

(c) A language which emerged through reflexification has the same lexical categories as its source. The morphosyntactic and syntactic categories, which are expressed in Quechua through affixation, have been maintained in Media Lengua.

(d) There is a considerable difference between the reflexification of content words and the reflexification of function words. In the former we saw straightforward reflexification, generally maintaining the Quechua semantic distinctions. In the latter case there was drastic restructuring of the system.

How can we explain this difference? Reflexification can only take place under conditions of semantic resemblance. When the Quechua verb *rikü-
“see” is relexified as bi- (from Spanish ver), this is possible because there is a large shared element of meaning, established through reference to some extralinguistic mental representation.

Now consider the sets of function words discussed in §3.3. These do not have a meaning outside the linguistic system that they are part of, since their meanings are paradigmatically defined within that linguistic system. So when you relexify a system of paradigmatically organized function words, the semantic organization of the target language automatically comes in, and the result is at best a compromise between source- and target-language systems.

4. The status of Media Lengua as a contact variety

The status of Media Lengua will be approached from two perspectives. First, to what extent is it different from other linguistic results of contact between the Spanish and Quechua cultures in the Andes? And second, to what extent is Media Lengua really a separate and coherent language system in its own right, a discrete system with its own rules and patterns? I will discuss each of these perspectives in turn.

It is at least conceivable that Media Lengua evolved from an earlier contact vernacular that was used between the highlanders and the colonizers, at a time when the highland groups themselves were not completely Quechua-speaking. We have no record of such a contact vernacular, much less of its linguistic features. What we do have is evidence that there were and are Spanish-based pidgins spoken in the Western Amazon basin and also by the Cayapa on the Pacific coast in Northern Ecuador. Simson (1886), in a travel account, and Gnerre (1975) have provided some data on varieties of this pidgin. Sample sentences are given in (68):

(68) Amazon Pidgin:
   a. ese canoa andando Consacunti cuando será llegando
      that canoe going Consacunti when will.be arriving
      ese Tonantins tiene?
      that Tonantins has.got
   b. así luna será tiene.
      thus moon will.be has.got
   c. ese Consacunti, Carapaná llegando, más lejos será
      that Consacunti Carapaná arriving farther will.be
tiene ese Carapaná, Tonantins llegando?
has.got that Carapaná Tonantins arriving

d. sí, más lejos tiene.
yes farther has.got

e. ese Consacunti saliendo luna asi tiene, Carapaná
that Consacunti leaving moon thus has.got Carapaná
llegando luna donde será tiene.
arriving moon where will.be has.got

f. no será así tiene?
not will.be thus has.got

g. tuyo no sabiendo leña cortando.
yours not knowing wood cutting

h. tuyo chacra cortando no sabiendo tiene, mujer no
yours land cutting not knowing has.got woman not
será cojiendo.
will.be taking

i. tuyo tabaco fumando no queriendo tiene.
you tobacco smoking not wanting has.got"

Features that can be identified on the basis of Gnerre’s and Simson’s pidgin data are that the verb consists of the gerundive and está “to be, to be characterized by”. In Simson’s data it is not the verb estar that is over-generalized in its use, but rather the future of the verb ser, i.e. será lit. “he will be”. There is SOV word order, with the main-sentence verb following the subordinate-sentence verb (consistent with SOV basic order). Prepositions tend to be absent. We find the generalized use of Spanish tiene “has got”, probably as an emphatic marker. The Spanish demonstrative pronoun ese “that” is used as definite marker. While in Gnerre’s data the second person pronoun is vos “you (informal)”, Simson has tuyo “yours (intimate)”.

Media Lengua shares both the word-order patterns and the use of vos and tuyo for the second person with this Amazon pidgin. In addition, there are some occurrences of Spanish gerunds in Media Lengua. There, however, they occur only in adverbial subordinates, while in the Amazon pidgin they are characteristic of main clauses. For the rest, of course, Media Lengua is characterized by abundant Quechua morphology, which is absent in the Amazon pidgin. We can only conclude that, whatever the connection may be between Media Lengua and a possible earlier highland pidgin (assuming that the latter resembled modern Amazon pidgin), linguistically Media Lengua did not derive its features from the earlier pidgin.
A second possibility is that Media Lengua is the result of the process of acquisition of Spanish by Quechua speakers, a type of fossilized interlanguage. This possibility can be ruled out, I think. Consider second-language acquisition data from a young cargador (load bearer) who came to Salcedo from a nearby monolingual Quechua area higher up in the mountains and only recently started learning Spanish:

(69) QUECHUA–SPANISH INTERLANGUAGE:
   a. Fragment 1. Yo no, aún no sabemos castellas tan
      I not not yet we know Spanish also
      ahí-ca barrio chiquito. Así trabajando me voy,
      there-TOP small village thus working I go
      no podiendo trabajar, mano todito dentró no
      not able to work hand wholly entered just
      más espino, [de goto] también dentra no más.
      thorn ... also enters just
      Por eso tan no aguantamos mi soplido no más
      therefore also not we stand my advance just
      cogiendo me voy no más mi cobrado mi pago también.
      taking I go just my income my pay also
      Ahí mismo está pago.
      right there is pay
   b. Fragment 2. Aquí-ca buscando carga no más es. Nada más
      here-TOP seeking load just is nothing
      tan. Buscando carga, encontramos, cargando, ir, no
      else seeking load we find carrying go not
      encontramos, no ir. Sentamos. Así no más es.
      we find not go we sit like that just is
      Según lo que cuadra indo, caminando. Cuatro cuadra
      according to block going walking four block
      juindo, cuatro sucres mismo. Cinco cuadra jué, cinco
      going four sucres exactly five block went five
      sucres mismo. Así, así cojo. Así ca día lunis saco
      sucres exactly thus thus I get thus-TOP Monday I get
      veinte sucres. Día martes saco quince sucres.
      twenty sucres Tuesday I get fifteen sucres
   c. Fragment 3. Todo indo a Machachi yo solo quedando
      all going to Machachi I only staying
Pieter Muysken

A detailed analysis of the speech of this and other beginning second-language learners yields a number of characteristic interlanguage features. Of the relevant sentences, 68% have SXV word order (as in Quechua), and 100% of the few adjective-noun combinations have noun-adjective order (as in Spanish); we encounter 26 cases of possessed NP de possessor NP, as in vecino de Francisco “neighbor of Francisco”. In addition, there is one case of possessor/possessed order (preferred in Quechua): Francisco casa “Francisco house”.

Thirty-six percent (39 out of 109 cases) of the prepositions obligatory in Spanish have been deleted. Most instances concern locative en “in” (16 out of 33 cases) and directional a “to” (17 out of 22 cases). This tendency diminishes quickly for more proficient bilinguals; for one slightly more advanced speaker they are deleted only in 4 out of 60 cases, and for a relatively fluent speaker from the same group of cargadores a preposition is deleted only once out of 123 cases.

Plurals are only infrequently marked; note that in Quechua, in contrast to Spanish, plural marking is optional. Definite and indefinite articles are frequently not present where they would be expected in regional standard Spanish contexts. This feature, while needing much more study, appears to be a general characteristic of vernacular Spanish in the area.

We encounter very frequent use of gerunds. Verb marking is highly irregular: of clear 1sg contexts, there are 49 cases of -o (the target marker), 22 cases of -al-e (third person in the target), 28 cases of -mos (1pl in the target), and 9 irregular forms. Of all the verbs, 31% have a correct present-tense form,
20% have an incorrect present-tense form, 16% occur in the gerund form, and 12% occur in the infinitive. While other speakers also show some irregular verb marking, this is not a feature of nonstandard Spanish, and it disappears rapidly with more advanced speakers.

No Quechua morphology or lexicon is directly evident, with the exception of the Quechua topic marker -ca or -ga, as in ahí-ca barrio chiquito “there-TOP village little” and in quedamos-ca lo que da la gana come hago “we.stay whatever comes to mind he.eats I.make”. An enclitic tan (from Spanish también “also”) occurs as an emphatic negative marker or as an indefinite marker; as in nada más-tan “nothing else”. As with the topic marker -ca, this phenomenon is not limited to bilinguals, but it certainly is stigmatized as if it were.

Generally there is clause juxtaposition (so that the relations between the propositional contents of the different clauses must be inferred) instead of clause subordination.

Memorized chunks — fixed expressions from Spanish — are used, which sometimes creates the false impression of syntactic complexity: según lo que cuadra indo “according to that block going”.

There is overgeneralized use of familiar vos as a 2sg pronoun. We also find a highly irregular use of clitics, and particularly the absence of third-person object clitics such as le.

Clearly, Media Lengua is very different from this type of Quechua-Spanish interlanguage. The interlanguage lacks the Quechua morphology and elaborate syntax characteristic of Media Lengua, and it is characterized by a paratactic system of phrase formation and a very rudimentary form of Spanish morphology. Moreover, most Media Lengua speakers are bilingual in Media Lengua and some form of fossilized Quechua-Spanish interlanguage (generally more advanced than that of the young cargador illustrated above).

We can only conclude that Media Lengua is unlike both the contact pidgin of the Amazon and Quechua-Spanish interlanguage.

Regarding the “languageness” of Media Lengua, we must next ask to what extent Media Lengua is a coherent system. As I stressed before, it is an intracommunity language and is not used with outsiders, and therefore it (and other varieties of Media Lengua spoken elsewhere, discussed below in §5) could have escaped notice. Nonetheless, the language itself is clearly perceived by its speakers as a separate system, related to Quechua. In one recording, a (trilingual) speaker started giving the following equivalences:
This type of metalinguistic commentary, which other speakers were also capable of, suggests that Media Lengua is perceived as a clearly separate and discrete system.

A final relevant question concerns the amount of variation in the language. I elicited material on Media Lengua with one family in 1975, and then I recorded material with that family and with another household in 1978, for a total of three samples. The sample CF represents data elicited from a 30-year-old couple, both native speakers of Media Lengua; sample CI is conversational data from these same speakers and their children, recorded two years later; and sample MI is conversational data from a female 37-year-old native speaker of Media Lengua and two nonnative speakers of Media Lengua. Sample CF clearly represents a conservative norm for Media Lengua, while samples CI and MI show cases of Media Lengua-Sp code-switching, as well as innovations within Media Lengua. Still, the three samples show a remarkable degree of uniformity in essential respects, such as the amount of Spanish vocabulary present. Some of the relevant figures are given in Table 3. Most features have been discussed above. The percentage of instances where -chu is absent has to do with the fact that in Quechua and Media Lengua negation is roughly like the French ne pas construction: in addition to mana "not" the
clause contains a negative particle. In Quechua it is sometimes omitted, and in Media Lengua it is omitted more frequently. Particularly the CI and the MI samples show rather similar patterns. The CF sample was elicited, and shows less influence from Spanish (e.g. in the occurrence of -ndu and in the form of the locative deictics), more careful speech (e.g. in the presence of -chu), and more complex morphosyntax (e.g. in the number of derived verb forms). Thus Media Lengua is not only perceived as a separate system, it has its own regularities as well.

Table 3. Comparison of three samples of Media Lengua for a number of variable features. CF = elicitations with family A; CI = informal recordings with family A; MI = informal recordings with family B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>CF</th>
<th>CI</th>
<th>MI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of Quechua verb tokens (the number of Quechua retentions)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of derived verbal forms (amount of Quechua derivational morphology present)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of -ndu compared to total of adverbial subordinated forms (replacement of the Quechua subordinators -kpi and -sha; cf. §3.3.)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of locative deictics without case-marking (adaptation to Spanish lexical semantics; cf. §3.3.)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of negative main clauses without the negative particle -chu (characteristic of unmonitored speech, and possibly also of Spanish influence)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of VX orders in clauses with an object (possibly Spanish influence)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Other varieties of Media Lengua

It is very difficult to determine how many communities have developed forms of Media Lengua, and whether the phenomenon is limited to Ecuador. In fact, the only published material on varieties of Media Lengua is my own work. Why isn’t more known about this very interesting phenomenon? First of all, very little empirical research of any kind on day-to-day speech in Indian communities has been carried out in Ecuador. Most linguists have gathered traditional folk narratives, or they have elicited judgments, or they have trained informants in Bible translation. Consequently, what they elicited was hatun ingichu, big Quechua.

Second, Media Lengua is very much an in-group language; it sounds like Quechua when you hear people speak but don’t quite hear what they are saying. I discovered it only by accident, even though I had been gathering Quechua data in the Cotopaxi area for months.

Third, most linguistic work has focused on Indian groups with strongly developed tribal identities, such as the Otavalo and the Salasaca Indians. It is less likely that these groups would relexify their Quechua, and as far as I know they have not done so.

Nonetheless, I discovered two other varieties similar to the type of Media Lengua described above in §3: Saraguro (Loja) and Catalangu, spoken outside of Cañar. I stumbled on both of these while doing dialectological survey work. By that time, of course, I knew what to look for. For both varieties I have only elicited data. I will discuss them separately and then turn to a comparison of all three varieties and to the issue of whether they all emerged separately.

5.1. Saraguro Media Lengua

The Saraguro Media Lengua data were gathered from a group of young adolescents, not from a community near the Spanish-speaking regional center, but fairly high in the mountains. This difference from the Salcedo area may reflect the greater degree of hispanization of the Saraguro communities. Apparently the line between the Spanish-speaking and the Quechua-speaking worlds, where Media Lengua flourishes, lies farther away from the urban center. Examples are given in (71):
We find a number of ways in which the grammar and lexicon of Saraguro Media Lengua differ from those of Quechua. The differences include word-order features, possessive marking, conditionals, obligation marking, wh-words, and personal pronouns.

In Saraguro Media Lengua a sizable number of sentences show SVX order, while this is less frequent in Quechua. Without detailed quantitative study of both varieties in the Saraguro area, however, it is difficult to say how different they are in word-order patterns.
All Quechua possessors, with the exception of 1sg and 1pl, must be marked with genitive -\textit{pa}. In Saraguro Media Lengua, by contrast, it is always possible to delete -\textit{pa}, except with the 3sg and the plural pronouns.

\begin{equation}
\text{(72) ML: } \text{Manuel-pa kasa} \quad \text{“Manuel’s house”} \\
\text{Manuel kasa} \\
\text{el-pa kasa} \quad \text{“his house”} \\
* \text{el kasa}
\end{equation}

In Quechua conditional clauses are not distinguished from temporal clauses; both are formed with -\textit{shpa} “proximate subordinator” or -\textit{kpi} “obviative subordinator”. In Saraguro Media Lengua the optional Spanish conditional \textit{si} “if” may be added in addition to the Quechua suffix:

\begin{equation}
\text{(73) ML: } \text{si masiado llubi-kpi no anda-sha-chu.} \\
\text{if too.much rain-SUB not go-FUT-NEG} \\
\text{“If it rains too much, I won’t go.”}
\end{equation}

Quechua has an obligation construction in which the main verb appears with the nominalizing suffix -\textit{na}, followed by the copula:

\begin{equation}
\text{(74) Q: } \text{ri-na ga-ni.} \\
\text{go-NOM be-1} \\
\text{“I have to go.” (lit. “I am to go.”)}
\end{equation}

In Saraguro Media Lengua, instead of the copula the verb \textit{tini}- “have” appears in an otherwise similar construction:

\begin{equation}
\text{(75) ML: } \text{miu anda-na tini-ni.} \\
\text{I go-NOM have-1} \\
\text{“I have to go.”}
\end{equation}

It is quite possible that this construction emerged in Saraguro Media Lengua under the influence of the Spanish construction \textit{tener que} “have to”.

In Quechua there is a difference between human and nonhuman, and between independent and attributive, in the inventory of the \textit{wh}-words. In Saraguro Media Lengua, by contrast, there is only one generalized nonlocative wh-word, \textit{kin}, derived from Spanish \textit{quién} “who”:

\begin{equation}
\text{(76) a. kin-ta asi-ku-ngi?} \\
\text{what-ACC do-PROG-2} \\
\text{“What are you doing?”}
\end{equation}
b. *kin kebra-rka bentana-ta?*
   who break-PAST window-ACC
   “Who broke the window?”

c. *kin kuchillu-wan uste pan-ta korta-rka-ngi?*
   which knife-with you bread-ACC cut-PAST-2s
   “With which knife did you cut the bread?”

In Quechua, nonemphatic pronouns are often deleted. This does not appear to be the case in Saraguro Media Lengua. Again, a more detailed study is needed, with recorded conversational data.

Other features of Saraguro Media Lengua will be discussed in §4.3 below.

5.2. Catalangu

Catalangu is in many ways both formally and sociolinguistically similar to Saraguro Media Lengua. It is spoken in the Cañar province by the Indians who live close to the provincial urban centers. The present study, which can be considered as no more than exploratory, was conducted through elicitation from two families and a group of adolescents outside the town of Cañar. The two most likely derivations of the name “Catalangu” are given in (77).

(77) *castellano* → catalangu
    castilla lengua (Quechua: castilla shimi) → catalangu

Both these derivations suggest that Catalangu is a kind of Spanish. It is much closer to Spanish than the two documented varieties of Media Lengua are.

Some sample Catalangu sentences are given in (78):

(78) a. *a-kin-ta-pi buska-ri-ndu?*
    ACC-who-ACC-EMP seek-INC-GER
    “Who are you looking for?”

b. *ami-ta xwin ambri-naya-ndu.*
    me-ACC very hungry-DES-GER
    “I am very hungry.”

c. *yu tuyu amigu-ruku.*
    I your friend-EMP
    “I am your friend.”
I will discuss the process of verb regularization and the pronominal system in the next section. Here I will briefly mention a few other characteristics of Catalangu.

Verb marking is highly variable. Twenty-eight percent of the verbs in my sample received the -ndo gerundive ending, 49% received more or less regular Spanish endings, and 22% had newly-formed endings. The last category is the most interesting. We find four cases of a 1sg ending -gu:

(79) a. yu-ka Pedro llama-gu.
    I-TOP Peter call-1
    “I am called Peter.”

b. yu-ka nu kiri-gu.
    I-TOP not want-1
    “I don’t want it.”

This ending probably derives from the Spanish irregular ending -go in tengo “I have” (inf. tener), traigo “I bring” (inf. traer), caigo “I fall” (inf. caer), and vengo “I come” (inf. venir), but it is used with verbs that have other endings in Spanish.

There is some evidence that Catalangu has developed an aspect system with four distinctions:

(80) V-ndu unmarked present
    ista V-ndu progressive aspect
    V-du perfective aspect
    tara V-ndu potential aspect
The progressive aspect appears in sentences such as those in (81):

(81) a. ML: ki ista-s asi-ri-ndu?
   what be-2 do-INC-GER
   “What are you doing?”

b. ML: ki asi-n-ta-s-pi?
   what do-ASP-2-EMP
   “What are you doing?”

The variant in (81)b is more similar to the Quechua equivalent:

(82) Q: ima-ta rura-ku-ngi?
   what-ACC do-ASP-2
   “What are you doing?”

The perfective aspect is illustrated in (83) and the potential in (84):

(83) ML: Manuel kurta-du-pis la manu.
   Manuel cut-ASP-EMP the hand
   “Manuel has cut his hand.”

(84) ML: kin tara bini-ndu?
   who POT come-GER
   “Who might be coming?”

Almost half of the nonsubject NPs in my sample have no case marking. The Quechua accusative case suffix -ta is deleted most often, followed by locative case suffix -pi. Only two examples of the use of Spanish prepositions occur in my data, both involving a “to” (ACC):

(85) a. Juan-ka parisi-O a su papa-pi.
   John-TOP resemble-3 to his father-EMP
   “John looks like his father.”

b. miu-pa tiyu isu-pi mata-r a-l wagra.
   I-GEN uncle had-EMP kill-INF ACC-DET bull
   “My uncle had the bull killed.”

In most nonaccusative contexts, Quechua case marking appears. The Quechua plural marker -kuna is also found.

Besides -ka, a topic marker which also occurs in Quechua and in rural Spanish, Catalangu has two other enclitic clausal markers, -pi(s) and -ruku. The suffix -ruku is derived from Quechua, where it occurs both as an adjective suffix meaning “old (of men)” and as an augmentative nominal suffix:
(86) Q: *allku-ruku*
   dog-big
   "big dog"

In Catalangu it occurs as a degree marker and as an emphatic affirmative marker, in both cases translatable as "indeed":

(87) a. *llubindu-ruku ista.*
   raining-indeed is
   "It is really raining."

b. *yu-ka tuyu amigu-ruku.*
   I-TOP your friend-indeed
   "I am really your friend."

The suffix *-pi* resembles Quechua locative *-pi*, but it is probably derived instead from Spanish *pues* "well, then". Its use and placement need to be investigated further; examples are given in (88):

(88) a. *yu-ka awa-pi kai-pis.*
   I-TOP water-LOC fell.1-EMP
   "I fell into the water."

b. *kasa-pi-ka nuway nadin-pis.*
   house-LOC-TOP there.is.not nobody-EMP
   "There is nobody at home."

c. *Luchu-ka asi-pi enseñar-pi bin.*
   Lucho-TOP make-EMP teach-EMP well
   "Lucho teaches well."

We can conclude our discussion of Catalangu by noting its partial resemblance both to Quechua-Spanish interlanguage (e.g. in the reduction of Spanish verbal morphology) and to the varieties of Media Lengua (e.g. in the use of some Quechua particles and suffixes), in addition to its many original features.

5.3. A comparison

Did the Media Lengua varieties all emerge separately, or are they the reflexes of a single earlier linguistic system that was once spoken throughout the Ecuadorian Andes and is now fragmented? The three varieties discussed above are many hundreds of kilometers apart. The way they have regularized
Spanish verbs, presented in Table 4, could be evidence for or against a common origin. This regularization, due either to the fact that all verbs are regular in Quechua or to a process of formal simplification accompanying the relexification, has produced some interesting differences among the three varieties. Particularly striking is the substitution of *anda-* (Sp. "walk") for *ir* in two varieties.

Like Quechua, Media Lengua has a number of impersonal verbs with animate objects. While they are based on Spanish vocabulary, they have no direct Spanish equivalent. Table 5 gives these verbs in the three varieties. This type of modelling on Quechua lexico-syntactic frames, using Spanish vocabulary, is the dominant process in the formation of all varieties of Media Lengua. However, the way the modelling has been achieved differs in the three cases.

Another test case is the pronominal system. For reasons of brevity, I will discuss only the personal pronouns here, presenting the Quechua system together with that of the varieties of Media Lengua, Catalangu, and Spanish (Table 6).

### Table 4. Regularized Spanish verbs in the three varieties of Media Lengua.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ML-SARAGURO</th>
<th>ML-SALCEDO</th>
<th>CATALANGU</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anda-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>anda-</td>
<td>ir ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamuchi</td>
<td>bamuchi</td>
<td>bamuchi</td>
<td>vámonos “let’s go”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dali-</td>
<td>da-</td>
<td>da-/dali-</td>
<td>dar “give”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bia-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>ver “see”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asi-</td>
<td>azi-</td>
<td>asi-</td>
<td>hacer “do/make”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rii-</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>riyi-</td>
<td>reir “laugh”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dentra-</td>
<td>dintra-</td>
<td></td>
<td>entrar “enter”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dizi-</td>
<td>dizi-</td>
<td></td>
<td>decir “say”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benditu-</td>
<td>bindizi-</td>
<td></td>
<td>bendecir “bless”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5. Reflexes of the Quechua impersonal verbs in the three varieties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUECHUA:</th>
<th>yarka-</th>
<th>chiri-</th>
<th>yaku-naya-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ML-SARAGURO:</td>
<td>am bri-</td>
<td>fria-</td>
<td>awa-naya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML-SALCEDO:</td>
<td>am bri-na(ya)-</td>
<td>chiri-</td>
<td>awa-naya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML-CATALANGU:</td>
<td>am bri-naya-</td>
<td>friyi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPANISH:</td>
<td>dar hambre</td>
<td>hacer frío</td>
<td>tener sed (de agua)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"feel hungry" "be cold" "feel thirsty (for water)"
Table 6. Personal pronouns in Quechua, the three varieties, and Spanish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>QUECHUA</th>
<th>ML-SARAGURO</th>
<th>ML-SALCEDO</th>
<th>CATALANGU</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg:</td>
<td>ñuka</td>
<td>miu/yó</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>yú</td>
<td>yo</td>
<td>“I”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg:</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>ústi</td>
<td>bos</td>
<td>ústi</td>
<td>vos/tu/usted</td>
<td>“you”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg:</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>isti</td>
<td>el/ella</td>
<td>“he/she”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl:</td>
<td>ñukanchik</td>
<td>miukuna</td>
<td>nustru</td>
<td>nustru</td>
<td>nustrukuna</td>
<td>nosotros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl:</td>
<td>kankuna</td>
<td>ústikuna</td>
<td>boskuna</td>
<td>ustidis</td>
<td>ustedes</td>
<td>“you”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl:</td>
<td>paykuna</td>
<td>elkuna</td>
<td>elskuna</td>
<td>elloskuna</td>
<td>ellos/ellas</td>
<td>“they”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gender distinctions in the 3sg and 3pl and the politeness distinction in the 2sg, which are characteristic of the Spanish system, have disappeared in the varieties of Media Lengua or Catalangu. The distinctions made in the Quechua system have been preserved. It is difficult, however, to see whether relexification is involved or generalization in terms of an unmarked six-term system (three persons, two numbers), or both. Consider, for instance, the marking of the plural pronouns. Saraguro ML has *miu-kuna* “we”, using the Quechua plural marker *-kuna*, while in Quechua the form is only indirectly related to the singular pronoun: *ñuka* “I” — *ñukanchik* “we”. It is striking how many differences there are among the three varieties.

The divergences among the forms in the three varieties suggest that relexification occurred several times independently in the Ecuadorian highlands, each time in a similar fashion but with slightly different results.

5.4. Are there varieties of Media Lengua in Peru and Bolivia?

There is no indication in any of the published literature, to the best of my knowledge, that varieties of Media Lengua have emerged in Peru or Bolivia — in spite of the fact that varieties of Quechua have been much more thoroughly investigated in these countries, on the whole, than in Ecuador.

What we do find is relexification in the *wayno*, a type of bilingual song popular both in Peru and in Bolivia (cf. e.g. Escobar & Escobar 1981, from which the examples below are taken). In this type of song there is frequent code-switching and borrowing and, in addition, occasional relexification in paired verses:
In (89) *yacha-* is the Quechua word for “know” and *sabi-* is the equivalent Spanish word. Similarly, in (90) *sapa-* is the Quechua word and *sulu-* the Spanish word for “alone”. In both cases the Spanish-derived word has the Quechua lexical semantics and morphosyntax. Spanish *solo*, for instance, would never appear with person inflection in Spanish.

Here the Spanish and the Quechua words participate in a kind of “doubling” poetic structure. The evidence for relexification rather than borrowing in these cases consists of the already-mentioned incorporation into the Quechua lexicon and the fact that core lexical items are affected; these are never replaced by borrowings in ordinary discourse.

What the wayno examples demonstrate, to my mind, is not so much that there are cases of Media Lengua in Peru and Bolivia, but rather that the linguistic mechanism of relexification is potentially available there as well. If there is a cultural need for it in a specific community, a variety of Media Lengua could emerge. Perhaps a more thorough search will bring them to light.

6. Conclusions and suggestions for further research

In this paper I have tried to describe the main features of the variety of Media Lengua spoken around Salcedo in central Ecuador. In addition, I have suggested a possible scenario for its genesis, in the context of the sociolinguistic history of Quechua and Spanish in Ecuador. I have also briefly compared the variety of Media Lengua under study to other varieties and to other contact vernaculars in this part of the Andes.

I concluded that Media Lengua does not resemble other types of contact vernaculars in the Andes, as far as we can tell from the available evidence.
Further research is especially needed for the following purposes:

(a) to determine whether Media Lengua resembles results of language mixture elsewhere, such as Michif in Canada and the U.S. and Ma’ a (Mbugu) in Tanzania. There are resemblances as well as differences; perhaps a wider comparative perspective will also tell us something about possible scenarios for the emergence of languages like Media Lengua.

(b) to study the interaction between the processes leading to Media Lengua and other contact processes such as code-switching, borrowing, and second language acquisition. Saraguro Media Lengua and Catalangu have only been studied superficially so far; a more detailed analysis of these varieties should yield more solid results, particularly with respect to the question of interaction.
Appendix 1.

The 200-word Swadesh list of core vocabulary for the local Quechua and for Media Lengua (items for which the Media Lengua form is unknown are omitted).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swadesh List</th>
<th>Local Quechua</th>
<th>Media Lengua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. all</td>
<td>tukuy</td>
<td>tuditu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. and</td>
<td>-un, -pish, i</td>
<td>-un, -pish, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. animal</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. at</td>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>-pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. bad</td>
<td>mana alli, malu</td>
<td>malu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. because</td>
<td>-munda</td>
<td>-munda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. big</td>
<td>hatun</td>
<td>grandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. bite</td>
<td>kani-</td>
<td>murdi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. burn</td>
<td>rupa-</td>
<td>kima-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. child</td>
<td>wawa</td>
<td>wawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. cold</td>
<td>chiri</td>
<td>chiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. come</td>
<td>shamu-</td>
<td>bini-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. day</td>
<td>p’uncha</td>
<td>dia</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. die</td>
<td>wañu-</td>
<td>muri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. dog</td>
<td>ashku</td>
<td>ashku, pirru</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. drink</td>
<td>ubia-</td>
<td>tuma-, ubia-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. dry</td>
<td>chakishka</td>
<td>siku</td>
</tr>
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<td>34. dust</td>
<td>pulbu</td>
<td>pulbu</td>
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<td>36. earth</td>
<td>ashpa</td>
<td>tirrinu</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. eat</td>
<td>miku-</td>
<td>kumi-</td>
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<td>38. egg</td>
<td>lulun</td>
<td>wibu</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. fall</td>
<td>urma-</td>
<td>kayi-</td>
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<td>46. few</td>
<td>ashalla, p’itilla</td>
<td>p’iti</td>
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<td>47. fight</td>
<td>makanaku-</td>
<td>pilia-</td>
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<td>50. five</td>
<td>pishka</td>
<td>sinku</td>
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<td>53. flower</td>
<td>sisa</td>
<td>flor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. fly</td>
<td>bula-</td>
<td>bula-</td>
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<td>57. four</td>
<td>chusku</td>
<td>kwatru</td>
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<tr>
<td>58. freeze</td>
<td>kasa-</td>
<td>ila-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. fruit</td>
<td>p’ruta</td>
<td>p’ruta</td>
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<tr>
<td>60. give</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>da-</td>
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<td>61. good</td>
<td>alli</td>
<td>bwinu</td>
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<td>62. grass</td>
<td>k’iwa</td>
<td>yirba</td>
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<tr>
<td>63. green</td>
<td>birdi</td>
<td>birdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. hand</td>
<td>maki</td>
<td>manu</td>
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<td>67. he</td>
<td>pay</td>
<td>el</td>
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<td>69. hear</td>
<td>uya-</td>
<td>uya-</td>
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<td>72. here</td>
<td>kay-bi</td>
<td>aki, aki-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. hit</td>
<td>maka-</td>
<td>piga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74. hold</td>
<td>chari-</td>
<td>tini-</td>
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<tr>
<td>75. how</td>
<td>imashna</td>
<td>kumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. husband</td>
<td>kusa</td>
<td>maridu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. I</td>
<td>ñuka</td>
<td>yo, miu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. ice</td>
<td>iladu</td>
<td>iladu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. in</td>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>-pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. kill</td>
<td>wañuchi-</td>
<td>mata-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83. know</td>
<td>yacha-</td>
<td>sabi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. laugh</td>
<td>asi-</td>
<td>ri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. live</td>
<td>kawsa-</td>
<td>bibi-, sint-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94. man</td>
<td>k'ari</td>
<td>umbri</td>
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<tr>
<td>95. much</td>
<td>ashka</td>
<td>muchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96. meat</td>
<td>aicha</td>
<td>karni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97. mother</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td>mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. mountain</td>
<td>urku</td>
<td>sirru</td>
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<td>104. new</td>
<td>mushuk</td>
<td>mushuk, nwibu</td>
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<td>105. night</td>
<td>tuta</td>
<td>nuchi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107. no</td>
<td>mana</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108. old</td>
<td>ruku, mauka, paya</td>
<td>ruku, bixu</td>
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<tr>
<td>109. one</td>
<td>shuk</td>
<td>unu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110. other</td>
<td>shuk, kashuk</td>
<td>utru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111. person</td>
<td>hinti, runa</td>
<td>hinti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112. play</td>
<td>puklla-</td>
<td>xuga-</td>
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<tr>
<td>115. rain</td>
<td>tamia</td>
<td>llubia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119. river</td>
<td>(hatun) yaku</td>
<td>riu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127. say</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>(di)zi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128. scrape</td>
<td>aspi-</td>
<td>aspi-, raspa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129. sea</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130. see</td>
<td>riku-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133. sharp</td>
<td>p'ilu</td>
<td>p'ilu</td>
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<tr>
<td>134. short</td>
<td>uchilla</td>
<td>chikitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135. sing</td>
<td>kanta-</td>
<td>kanta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136. sit</td>
<td>tiya-</td>
<td>sint-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138. sky</td>
<td>silu, hawa pacha</td>
<td>silu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139. sleep</td>
<td>puñu-</td>
<td>durmi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140. small</td>
<td>uchilla</td>
<td>chikitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146. some</td>
<td>shuk</td>
<td>algunos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155. straight</td>
<td>riktu</td>
<td>riktu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156. suck</td>
<td>chupa-</td>
<td>chupa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157. sun</td>
<td>inti</td>
<td>sol, solo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159. swim</td>
<td>nada-</td>
<td>nada-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161. that</td>
<td>chay</td>
<td>isi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2. Quechua vocabulary in Media Lengua.

A: Quechua culture items
B: Quechua borrowings in local Spanish

(CF - elicited data from family A; Cl - informal data from family A; MI - informal data from family B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chiri (CF, MI)</td>
<td>“cold”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kancha (CF)</td>
<td>“toasted corn” B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’iti (CF, CI)</td>
<td>‘a little bit”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyi (CF)</td>
<td>“guinea pig” B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Media Lengua
warmi (CF, Cl)  
kincha (CF)  
punchu (CF)  
warangitu (CF)  
wagra (CF)  
ingillu (CF)  
llama (CF, MI)  
ukucha (CF)  
wawa (CI)  
chichi (CI)  
wambra (CI)  
chugllu (CI)  
lancha (CI)  
runga (CI)  
masha (CI)  
wayku (CI, MI)  
pampa (CI)  
killa (CI)  
mishki (MI)  
ashku (MI)  
k’uchi (MI)  
yanga p’uncha (MI)  
pata (MI)  

verbs  
chayku- (CF)  
chiri- (CF)  
tuku- (CF, CI)  
ga- (CF, CI)  
ashna- (CF)  
lata- (CF)  
shutichi- (CF)  
yuyari- (CF)  
(yu)ya-  
killana- (CF)  
k’uya- (CF)  
rikchari- (CF)  
uya- (CF)  
mayllachi- (CI)  
ubia- (CI)  
aspay- (MI)  
mayna- (MI)  
wanllamu- (MI)  
macha- (MI)  

“wife, woman” (altern. muhir)  
“yard, corral”  
“poncho” B  
“cactus beer” B  
“cattle” B  
“Quechua” (← Sp. *inga-illu)  
“sheep”  
“mouse”  
“child” B  
“way of preparing meat”  
“boy” B  
“corn cob” B  
“drizzle” B  
“indian” (orig. “person”) B  
“son-in-law”, “brother-in-law” A  
“ravine” B  
“plain” B  
“month”  
“cactus juice”  
“dog” (altern. pirru)  
“pig” (altern. chanchu) B  
“weekday”  
“side” (altern. ladu)  
“get tired”  
“be cold” (altern. chiri azi-, friyu ga-)  
“end up, do” (altern. azi-), “turn”  
“be”  
“stink”  
“bark”  
“baptize” A  
“remember”  
“think”  
“be lazy”  
“like, love”  
“wake up” (altern. rekorda-)
“hear”  
“sprinkle”  
“drink” (altern. toma-)  
“scrape” (altern. raspa-)  
“pass the day” B  
“bring presents or souvenirs” B  
“get drunk” (altern. chuma-)
other

manchanida (CF)  “terribly”
k’ari (CF)  “strong”
kwentâ (CF)  “like”
mushuk (CF)  “new” (altern. nwibû)
yangapacha (CF)  “like anything, for nothing”
kay-mu (CF)  “to here” (altern. aki-mu)
k’willa (CF)  “pretty”
millana (CF)  “scary”
chawpi (Cl)  “half” B
laya (Cl)  “like”
ruku (Cl)  “old”
washa (Cl)  “behind”
ñutu (Cl)  “fine-grained”
p’akta (MI)  “enough”

Note

1. My spelling system for Quechua and Media Lengua is similar to the one commonly accepted now in Peru. I do not use i and u everywhere, but sometimes e and o for the mid-high vowels, according to the pronunciation. For the consonant system I use the array of characters represented in Table 2 above. For Spanish names I use the Quechua pronunciation in the Media Lengua and Quechua examples: xwan, mariya, xusi, pidru, etc. The spelling is roughly phonetic, based on the local dialect variants. Thus the accusative case marker is sometimes represented as -ta and sometimes as -da, depending on the pronunciation in a particular context. For Spanish I have remained fairly close to standard orthography, except where there was a strongly divergent pronunciation. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

1 = first person, 1FUT = first person future, 1OBJ = first person object, 2 = second person, 3 = third person, 3FUT = third person future, ACC = accusative, AFF = affirmative, AG = agentive nominalizer, ASP = aspect, BEN = benefactive, purposive, CIS = cislocative, DES = desiderative, DIM = diminutive, DUB = dubitative, EMP = emphatic, GEN = genitive, GER = gerund, IMP = imperative, INC = inchoative, IND = independent, INF = infinitive, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, NOM = nominalizer, OBJ = object, PAST = past tense, PL = plural, POT = potential mood, PROG = progressive aspect, PROX = proximate, REFL = reflexive, SD = sudden discovery tense, SUB = adverbial subordination, TOP = topic marker. When several words in the gloss correspond to a single Media Lengua or Quechua item, they are separated by a “.” in the gloss. Spanish inflections are often marked “=”. 
References


Gnerre, Maurizio 1975. “A Spanish pidgin of the Shuar”. University of Rome MS.


