

LINGUISTIC TRANSFER IN ANDEAN SPANISH: SYNTAX OR PRAGMATICS?

BY

ANTJE MUNTENDAM

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Spanish
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2009

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:

Assistant Professor Karlos Arregui-Urbina, Chair
Professor Rakesh Bhatt
Professor Silvina Montrul
Professor Pieter Muysken, Radboud University Nijmegen

ABSTRACT

This dissertation uses the generative framework to study the syntax and pragmatics of word order variation in the Andean Spanish of Bolivia and Ecuador. While Standard Spanish has basic order SVO, in Andean Spanish the object frequently appears in preverbal position, resulting in alternative orders (e.g. OVS). Previous studies have attributed this phenomenon to an influence of Quechua, where the object typically precedes the verb, but they do not discuss which linguistic properties have been transferred. The alternative orders are also possible in Standard Spanish, but in Standard Spanish fronted elements encode topic/focus. Since focus fronting could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish, this dissertation examines whether focus fronting in Andean Spanish has the same properties as in Standard Spanish.

The main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish are its sensitivity to weak crossover effects and long distance movement. Elicitation studies were designed to test for these properties in Spanish and Quechua. In addition, naturalistic data were collected and an elicitation study on *wh*-questions and answers was created to study the pragmatics of focus in Spanish and Quechua. The subjects for the study were Quechua-Spanish bilinguals from Bolivia and Ecuador, and adult Spanish monolinguals.

The results reveal that the transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish is restricted to the domain of pragmatics, and does not affect the syntax. In other words, syntactically Andean Spanish is identical to Standard Spanish. The study has implications for syntactic theory, and studies in language contact and second language acquisition.

Specifically, it contributes to our understanding of the nature of cross-linguistic influence and linguistic vulnerability in second language acquisition and language contact. It also contributes to syntactic theory by providing a better understanding of word order and focus in Spanish and Quechua.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank everyone who has helped and inspired me during my doctoral study. In the first place, I am grateful to my advisor, Karlos Arregi, for his guidance and support throughout the project. I could not have wished for a better advisor. I would also like to thank my committee members, Rakesh Bhatt, Silvina Montrul and Pieter Muysken, for their constructive comments. I especially want to thank Pieter Muysken for his guidance and support ever since my first linguistics class at Leiden University. In addition, I am thankful to Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino, Anna María Escobar, Simon van de Kerke, Hella Olbertz, Clodo Soto Ruiz, and Virginia Zavala for the classes and discussions on Quechua and/or Spanish in the Andes.

I would also like to convey my gratitude to the participants of this study for their time and contribution, as well as their hospitality and friendship. They taught me not only about Quechua and Spanish, but also about life in the Andes. I also would like to thank Eefje Wensveen for the collaboration during our fieldwork in Bolivia in 2001. In addition, I am grateful to Marleen Haboud, Luis Enrique López, Patricia Seminetta, José Maldonado, and Inge Sichra for their advise and support during my fieldwork in Bolivia and Ecuador.

Financial support was provided by the Fellowship Leids Universiteits International Studie Fonds (2000-2001) and the Fellowship Letterenfonds (2000-2001) from Leiden University, and the Tinker Field Research Grant (2004), the Spanish, Italian and Portuguese Summer Research Fellowship (2004), the Dissertation Travel Grant (2006), and the Dissertation Completion Fellowship (2008-2009) from the University of

Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. I thank Clodo Soto Ruiz, the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, and Editorial San Marcos, for their permission to include adapted pictures from *Manual de Enseñanza* and *La fábula quechua* in this dissertation.

I am thankful to my friends for their love and support: Liz Black, Nesrin Bakir, Erica Britt, Talia Bugel, Alicia Burga, Juliette Dade, Machteld van Duijne, Laura Felton-Rosulek, Letania Ferreira, Joy Garling Prud'homme, Megan Kelly, Alexia Mallios, Lily Martínez, Marisa Martínez-Mira, Alyssa Martoccio, Helene Meijer, Brenci Patiño, Silvia Perpiñán, Lisa Pierce, Wibke Schiere, Carina Vásquez, Sanne Vleeming, Eefje Wensveen and Ursula Wolf.

My deepest gratitude goes to my family for their love and support: my parents, Jacolien, Ronald, Thomas, Eva, Hannah, Jan Willem, Annemarie, Wouter and Meike.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY.....	38
CHAPTER 3: THE SYNTAX OF FOCUS IN STANDARD SPANISH, ANDEAN SPANISH AND QUECHUA.....	98
CHAPTER 4: THE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF FOCUS IN STANDARD SPANISH, ANDEAN SPANISH AND QUECHUA.....	156
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS.....	210
REFERENCES.....	223
APPENDIX A: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS.....	243
APPENDIX B: PICTURES FOR THE ELICITATION STUDIES.....	254
APPENDIX C: STORIES AND QUESTIONS/ANSWERS FOR THE ELICITATION STUDIES.....	276
APPENDIX D: RESULTS OF THE NATURALISTIC DATA.....	415
APPENDIX E: RESULTS OF ELICITATION STUDY 3: WH-QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.....	426

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a debate on linguistic transfer, both in the field of language contact and the field of second language acquisition. The debate revolves around the question of what can be transferred from one language to another. There is particular disagreement with respect to the possibility of (direct) syntactic transfer. Some researchers argue that syntactic transfer is possible (i.a. Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 1997, 2000, 2001, 2008), whereas others argue that (direct) syntactic transfer is rare (i.a. Silva-Corvalán 1993, 1994, 1998, 2008; Prince 1988, 1992, 1998, 2001).

This thesis is a case study on word order transfer in the Andean Spanish of Bolivia and Ecuador. The basic word order of Standard Spanish is subject-verb-object. In Andean Spanish, however, the object frequently appears in preverbal position, giving rise to alternative word orders, such as OVS (see (1)):

1) Al gallo come el zorro.

To the rooster eats the fox

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

Previous studies have attributed this phenomenon to an influence from Quechua, where the object typically precedes the verb. These studies have not discussed, however,

which linguistic properties are transferred. This question is important because the answer will help us to understand the mechanisms of language contact. The alternative orders are also possible in Standard Spanish, but in Standard Spanish fronted elements encode topic/focus. Since focus fronting could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish, it must be determined whether focus fronting in Andean Spanish has the same properties as in Standard Spanish.

In this thesis, the nature of the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish is studied by separating the syntactic issues from the pragmatic issues. The thesis is based on naturalistic data and elicitation data. Three elicitation studies were designed to examine the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The main results of the study are that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, as is shown by the results of two elicitation studies designed to test for the syntactic properties of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. Furthermore, it will be argued that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, which is revealed by the analyses of the naturalistic data and the elicitation data. The study shows the importance of closely studying the syntactic structure. It lends support to Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) claim that syntax is relatively impermeable to influence from another language and that what at first seems to be syntactic transfer often turns out to be pragmatic transfer. The study does not support Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (1997, 2000, 2001, 2008) (among others) who argue that anything, including syntax, can be transferred.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. In section 2, the theoretical background of language contact is presented. In section 2.1, two opposing positions regarding linguistic permeability and the nature of linguistic transfer are presented. In section 2.2, Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) studies on the transfer of pragmatic functions from Yiddish into English are discussed more in detail. In section 3, previous studies on the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish are discussed, including their main findings and their limitations. In section 4, the hypotheses, research questions and objectives of this study are presented, and the contributions of this study to the debate on linguistic transfer in general and to the debate on the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish in particular are discussed. Finally, in section 5, the structure of this thesis is outlined.

2. LANGUAGE CONTACT

This section is concerned with language contact and linguistic transfer. In section 2.1., the theory of linguistic transfer will be discussed. It will be shown that there are two opposing views with respect to linguistic permeability. Section 2.2. is concerned with Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) study on pragmatic transfer from Yiddish into English in the case of Yinglish Yiddish-Movement. Section 2.3. contains the conclusion.

2.1. Linguistic permeability

Contact-induced change has given rise to a discussion about the degree of permeability of the different subsystems of a language to influence from another

language. The question is what can and what cannot be transferred from one language to another. There are essentially two positions. One position, originally proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), is that any linguistic feature can be transferred. This position is discussed in section 2.2.1. The other position, which is discussed in section 2.1.2., is that there are constraints and that direct syntactic transfer is not common (i.a. Silva-Corvalán 1993, 1994, 1998, 2008). Section 2.1.3. discusses Thomason's (2001, 2008, 2009) proposal regarding the evidence that is needed to argue for or against linguistic transfer. Finally, section 2.1.4. is the conclusion of this section.

2.1.1. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (1997, 2000, 2001, 2008)

Traditionally grammatical systems were considered to be impermeable to structural features from another language (i.a. Meillet 1921; Sapir 1921; Jakobson 1962), but more recently this view has been challenged (i.a. Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 1997, 2000, 2001, 2008; Heine and Kuteva 2005). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) claim that any linguistic feature, including syntactic features, can be transferred directly.

In their seminal book, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) give counterexamples to all the constraints that have been proposed in the literature (see also Thomason 2001). The main constraints that have been proposed are related to the typological distance between the languages involved, markedness, and structural similarity. It has been argued that only typologically similar structures can be transferred (e.g. Meillet 1921). A counterexample from typologically dissimilar structures is the changes in Asia Minor

Greek under influence of Turkish. Greek has a flecional noun morphology, but Asia Minor Greek adopted the agglutinative noun morphology from Turkish (Thomason 2001: 63). A second constraint concerns markedness. It has been proposed that contact-induced change simplifies a language and makes it less marked. A counterexample to this claim is the emergence of the distinction between inclusive and exclusive ‘we’ in some Indic languages under the influence of Dravidian languages (Emeneau 1962, cited in Thomason and Kaufman 1988). It has also been claimed that contact-induced change complicates a language and makes it more marked. A counterexample is the loss of the dual-number category in some Semitic languages in Ethiopia under Cushitic influence (Thomason 2001). It thus seems that contact-induced change may either simplify or complicate a language. Moreover, in morphology and syntax it is often not clear what is marked and what is unmarked, and whether a change simplifies or complicates a language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 25).

Based on these and other counterexamples, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (1997, 2000, 2001, 2008) argue that there are no absolute constraints on the types and degree of interference.^{1 2} They conclude that “any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 14), given the right social conditions. In their view, it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers that determines the linguistic result of language contact. Thomason and

¹ Thomason (1997, 2001, 2007, 2008) argues that the constraints hold only as tendencies.

² Heine and Kuteva (2005, 2008) disagree with this conclusion. In their view, there are linguistic constraints on contact-induced change. These authors give several examples from unidirectional processes, such as the change from a comitative marking to an instrumental marking. Since there are no attested changes in the opposite direction, they argue that this is a constraint on change.

Kaufman's (1988) position is reiterated in later work by Thomason (1997, 2000, 2001, 2008), Campbell (1993) and Harris and Campbell (1995: 149).

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (1997, 2000, 2001, 2008) argue that social factors determine the direction, degree and types of interference. They claim that the presence or absence of imperfect learning is the main factor in determining the linguistic result of language contact.³ Based on this factor, they differentiate between borrowing and shift-induced interference.⁴ Borrowing situations do not involve imperfect learning. In general, borrowing starts with non-basic vocabulary, followed by basic vocabulary and structural features (phonology, syntax and morphology) with increasing intensity of contact and cultural pressure. In borrowing situations the interference features are introduced by the recipient language speakers, that is, these speakers introduce features from their L2 into their L1. Situations of interference through shift do involve imperfect (group) learning. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) use the term 'shift-induced interference' to refer to the linguistic result of these situations.⁵ Shift-induced interference starts with structural features, in particular phonological and syntactic features. It can also involve morphology or loanwords, but there is always more structural interference than lexical interference. In these situations the source language speakers are the ones who

³ Thomason (2000) argues that it is the *only* reliable predictor of language change.

⁴ Not all language contact situations fit nicely in one of these categories. Aikhenvald (2006) argues that there is a continuum between the two extremes (Aikhenvald 2006: 44).

⁵ Shift-induced interference is also known as substrate influence.

introduce the interference features in the recipient language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 1997, 2001, 2008).⁶

Another important social factor concerns the intensity of the contact between the languages involved. The intensity of the contact is related to the the length of the contact, the relative group sizes and socioeconomic dominance. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001) argue that in situations of intense contact and cultural pressure more types of interference are possible. For instance, in borrowing situations that are characterized by long term contact, structural borrowing is possible. In a situation of different group sizes the smaller group is more likely to adopt interference features in its language than in a situation of equal group sizes. Socioeconomic dominance is an important factor in both borrowing situations and interference situations. In borrowing situations the dominated group borrows features from the dominant group. In interference situations the dominated group shifts to the language of the dominant group (Thomason 2001). Other social factors that have been mentioned in the literature include speakers' attitudes, the patterns of interaction between the communities involved and domains and frequency of use of the languages in contact (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Silva-Corvalán 1994; Thomason 2001, 2008; Winford 2003; Aikhenvald 2006).⁷

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) (and Thomason in later work) have been frequently misinterpreted as rejecting the relevance of linguistic factors in contact-

⁶ Heine and Kuteva (2008) critique Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) distinction based on the presence or absence of imperfect learning. They argue that there are cases of extensive structural interference with little lexical borrowing that do not involve imperfect learning or shift (Heine and Kuteva 2008: 77).

⁷ Winford (2008) furthermore argues that degree of proficiency in the languages involved is an important factor.

induced change (see for instance Sankoff 2001: 640). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) do not argue, however, that linguistic factors are not important. In their discussion of borrowing and shift-induced interference they explicitly mention the relevance of the linguistic factors of degree of integration of features in the system, typological distance and markedness (among others) (see also Thomason 2001). For instance, they argue that inflectional morphology is the hardest to borrow, because it is more integrated in the system (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 52). They also posit that typologically dissimilar languages follow the borrowing hierarchy more closely than typologically similar languages, that is, typologically similar structures may be transferred at relatively low levels of contact (cf. Thomason 2001). Finally, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that markedness is important in shift-induced interference. Universally marked features are harder to learn for second language learners, and are thus less likely to be transferred (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 49-51). In sum, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) (and Thomason in later work) acknowledge the relevance of linguistic factors. They do maintain, however, that social factors take precedence over linguistic factors. In other words, in their view the major factors in language change are social rather than linguistic (cf. Thomason 2000, 2001, 2008).

What is of particular relevance to the present study is that Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that structural features (including syntactic features) can be transferred directly. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) state that word order is relatively sensitive to crosslinguistic influence (55; cf. Thomason 2001; Winford 2003; Aikhenvald 2006). It can be transferred even between typologically dissimilar languages and at low levels of bilingualism. Two examples that show that word order can be affected by

contact-induced change are the change from SOV to SVO in Finnish under Indo-European influence and from SVO to SOV in Austronesian languages of New Guinea under Papuan influence (Bradshaw 1979, cited in Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 55).⁸

To summarize, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) argue that “any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language” (14). In their view, the sociolinguistic history of the speakers determines the linguistic result of language contact, rather than the structures of the languages.^{9 10}

2.1.2. Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008)

Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) position stands in contrast to Silva-Corvalán’s (1993, 1994, 1995, 1998, 2008) position. Based on a study of the Spanish of English-Spanish bilinguals, Silva-Corvalán (1993) argues that “even under conditions of intense

⁸ Typically, changes in word order start with an increase in frequency of a formerly rare word order that coincides with the basic word order of the source language. The change in frequency can co-occur with a change in semantic-pragmatic functions (Thomason 2001).

⁹ Aikhenvald (2002, 2003, 2006) argues, however, that typologically different structures tend to change in different ways, regardless of their sociolinguistic history. For instance, the East Tucanoan languages and Tariana (an Arawak language) in the Vaupés region in northwest Amazonia changed differently, even though they were spoken in the same environment and in the same sociolinguistic conditions (Aikhenvald 2002, 2003).

¹⁰ Heine and Kuteva (2005, 2008) argue that sociolinguistic factors play a very minor role in contact-induced change. According to these authors, there are no sociolinguistic factors that correlate with specific types of transfer (or grammatical replication in their terminology). Furthermore, transfer occurs in all types of sociolinguistic conditions (Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2008).

contact and strong cultural pressure, speakers of the secondary language *simplify* or *overgeneralize* grammatical rules but do not introduce elements which cause radical changes in the system of this language. It may be possible that any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language as “nonce-borrowing” (cf. Weinreich) in the speech of bilinguals, but only those that are compatible with the structure of the borrowing language at any given stage will be adopted, disseminated and passed on to new generations” (1993: 20).¹¹

One of the characteristics of the Spanish of English-Spanish bilinguals is the high frequency of SV(X) order. In Spanish, subjects can appear in preverbal or postverbal position. The postverbal subject position is used to introduce new referents in the discourse. In English subjects always appear in preverbal position. The English-Spanish bilinguals in Silva-Corvalán’s (1993, 1994, 1998) study use more preverbal subjects in their Spanish, as in English. Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998) interprets this change not as a radical change in Spanish syntax, but rather as the loss of a semantic-pragmatic constraint on the preverbal position of subjects.¹² The change may be due, in part, to the more rigid SV order of English, but the influence of English in Spanish is not profound

¹¹ Aikhenvald (2006) agrees that transfer is more frequent between structurally similar systems than between structurally dissimilar systems. Other authors (e.g. Harris and Campbell 1995) argue that the structural compatibility requirement (transfer occurs between similar grammatical systems) holds only as a tendency.

¹² Although preverbal subjects are more frequent in LA Spanish than in Standard Spanish, subjects are expressed less frequently in LA Spanish. Silva-Corvalán (1998) argues that this supports her claim that there is no direct syntactic transfer from English into Spanish.

(Silva-Corvalán 1993, 1994, 1998). Silva-Corvalán concludes that syntax is impermeable to influence from another language (1993: 39, cf. 2008).

Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) discusses other morphosyntactic changes in the Spanish of Los Angeles that are due to an indirect transfer from English. In particular, she studies expressed and null subjects, the placement of expressed subjects, the null complementizer/relative pronoun *que*, and lexical-syntactic calques. The examples from LA Spanish show that linguistic transfer is constrained by the structures of the languages in contact. Importantly, none of the changes are the result of a direct transfer of syntactic structure (1993, 1994, 1998).

Silva-Corvalán (1998, 2008) also discusses other cases of crosslinguistic influence, including the transfer of Spanish conjunctions into Pipil (Campbell 1987)¹³, the transfer of Spanish conjunctions into several indigenous languages from Mexico to Ecuador (Brody 1995; Hekking and Muysken 1995), the transfer of Spanish prepositions into Otomi (Hekking and Muysken 1995), and null objects in Spanish in contact with Basque, which can be interpreted as the loss of semantic-pragmatic constraints (Landa 1995, 2000). At first sight, these cases might seem cases of syntactic transfer. Silva-Corvalán (1998, 2008) argues, however, that they are cases of lexical transfer: the conjunctions, prepositions and zero objects do not directly affect the syntactic structure of the recipient language.¹⁴ Silva-Corvalán (1998) argues that these studies show that

¹³ Pipil is an indigenous language spoken in El Salvador. Campbell (1987) argues that the transfer of Spanish conjunctions into Pipil is syntactic, but Silva-Corvalán (1998) considers it lexical (see Silva-Corvalán 1998 for more information).

¹⁴ The Spanish conjunctions in Hekking and Muysken's (1995) data, for instance, co-occur with indigenous elements.

transfer is constrained by the structures of the languages in contact; the cases of transfer do not introduce radical changes in the systems.

In sum, Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) argues that there is no direct syntactic transfer. What is transferred is not syntactic structure, but rather lexical items or pragmatic uses.¹⁵ Whether we consider a particular case of transfer a case of syntactic transfer or not depends in part on our definition of syntax. A specific phenomenon can be considered syntactic by some and lexical-semantic by others (Silva-Corvalán 1998, 2008). Silva-Corvalán (2008) makes a distinction between abstract and concrete syntax, and argues that there may be transfer at the level of concrete syntax, but not at the level of abstract syntax.

In Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) view, there are constraints on linguistic transfer. Specifically, Silva-Corvalán (1998, 2008) argues that linguistic transfer is constrained by the structures of the languages involved, general cognitive principles and sociolinguistic conditions. She proposes that linguistic transfer often starts with the more frequent use of superficially parallel structures¹⁶ in the languages in contact, which have at least one shared meaning or pragmatic function (1998, 2008).¹⁷ The more frequent use of a parallel structure in the recipient language is often followed

¹⁵ Winford (2003), Landa and Elordui (1999) and Landa (2000) agree with Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998) that transfer is more likely when there are parallel structures are involved. They also agree that syntax is relatively impermeable, i.e. direct syntactic transfer is rare. Syntactic change may occur, however, as the result of lexical or pragmatic transfer.

¹⁶ That is, in terms of string order (cf. Prince 1992).

¹⁷ This proposal concurs with Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) proposal, which will be discussed in the next section.

by a loss of semantic-pragmatic constraints that were not present in the source language. The transfer starts within an individual's grammar, and can spread across individuals and eventually become part of the language of the community. Silva-Corvalán (1995, 1998, 2008) argues that the more frequent use of parallel structures can be explained by cognitive principles, such as the need to lessen the cognitive load. The author agrees with Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that we may not be able to predict changes, but she argues that there are constraints, and that we can determine the nature of transfer, given specific sociolinguistic conditions (2008).

It is important to note that Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) argues only against direct syntactic transfer. She does not, however, argue against syntactic change as a result of the transfer of lexical items and pragmatic uses: the transfer of lexical items and pragmatic uses can eventually lead to changes in the syntactic structure of the recipient language (1998).¹⁸

Silva-Corvalán (1995) argues that her proposal is compatible with Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) position. Her study looks at the early stages of contact, whereas Thomason and Kaufman (1988) refer to the linguistic result of long-term language contact. The studies on structural transfer mentioned in Thomason and Kaufman (1988) are based on situations of long-term language contact and do not have data for the early stages of language change (Silva-Corvalán 1995, 1998, 2008). Silva-Corvalán (2008) argues that most of the changes were in fact generalizations or reductions; crucially, she

¹⁸ Similar proposals are put forward by Weinreich (1968), King (2000), Landa (1995, 2000), Landa and Elordui (1999) and Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001).

argues that they did not involve a direct transfer of syntactic structures from one language into another. The changes were constrained by the structures of the languages in contact.

Thomason (1997, 2000, 2008) argues that Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998) study is not generalizable. It is based on only one English-Spanish language contact situation. Thomason (2000, 2008) argues that the fact that Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998) does not find radical changes in the syntactic structure of Spanish does not mean that those changes are not possible: even in situations of intense contact only some changes occur. Thomason (2000, 2008) considers Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998) data irrelevant to her claim that anything can be transferred. She states that in order to argue against her claim that anything can be transferred from one language to another, it needs to be shown that certain changes are not possible in any sociolinguistic condition (Thomason 2000). It is almost impossible to prove, however, that something is not possible.

Against Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998) (and others), Thomason (1997, 2001, 2008) argues that there are no linguistic constraints: the proposed constraints are only tendencies. There may be, however, social constraints; based on the social situations (e.g. borrowing situations versus shift-induced interference situations) we can predict the direction of change. Even so, there is no guarantee the changes will in fact occur (Thomason 2008). Thomason (2000, 2008) argues that one needs to make a distinction between necessary and sufficient conditions for contact-induced change. Intense contact is a necessary condition for profound structural interference, but it is not a sufficient condition, as is evident from Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998) study. Thomason (2000, 2008) argues that one can propose necessary conditions for change, but not

sufficient conditions. In other words, changes are not fully predictable (Thomason 2000, 2008).

Some studies take an intermediate position. Aikhenvald (2006) agrees with Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that there are exceptions to most constraints, and that no linguistic feature is completely resistant to transfer. She argues, however, that some linguistic features are more resistant to transfer than others. She proposes that there are facilitating factors. The more facilitating factors are at play, the more likely is contact-induced change (via a mutual reinforcement principle, Aikhenvald 2006: 35). Aikhenvald (2006) agrees with Silva-Corvalán (1994, 1995, 1998) that parallel structures facilitate contact-induced change. She argues that although the exact nature of contact-induced change is not predictable and there are no absolute constraints, one can establish which changes are more likely in certain conditions.

2.1.3. Evidence for contact-induced change

A final issue is the evidence that is needed to show that a particular change is contact-induced. Thomason (2008) defines contact-induced change as follows: “contact is *a* source of linguistic change if it is *less likely* that a given change would have occurred outside a specific contact situation” (47; see Thomason 2001, 2007 for similar definitions).¹⁹ Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001, 2008, 2009)

¹⁹ This definition has been critiqued since it is not clear what determines that a change is “likely” (Heine and Kuteva 2005). Furthermore, Heine and Kuteva (2005) argue that “likely” changes can also be contact-induced (22).

propose several criteria to argue for or against contact-induced change. First, one needs to take into account the whole language and look for interference in the different subsystems of a language. Phonological and syntactic interference often co-occur, and if there is interference in one subsystem, interference in the other subsystem is expected as well. Second, one needs to identify the source language, and show that there has been (intense) contact between the source language and the recipient language (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005). One needs to show that the contact was intense enough for structural interference to occur. Third, one needs to find shared features in the languages involved. Fourth, one needs to show that the recipient language did not have the features before contact and that the language has changed (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005). And fifth, one needs to show that the source language did have the feature before contact. Finally, one has to take into account internal factors as well. Contact does not have to be the only cause of change; multiple causation is always a possibility.²⁰

2.1.4. Conclusion

To summarize, there are two opposing positions with respect to what can be transferred in a contact situation. One position is that any linguistic feature, and thus syntax, can be transferred. This implies that syntax can change. This is the position originally proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). The other position is that there is no direct syntactic transfer, although syntactic change as result of lexical or pragmatic transfer is possible. The main proponents of this position are Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994,

²⁰ Aikhenvald's (2003) multiple reinforcement principle is similar to this concept of multiple causation.

1998, 2008) and Prince (1988, 1992, 1998). The two positions lead to two different hypotheses for the present study, which will be discussed in section 4.

2.2. Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001): Yinglish Yiddish-Movement

This section is concerned with Prince's study, which is particularly relevant to the present study, since it looks more in depth at the precise nature of linguistic transfer. Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) argues that syntactic transfer is rare. What at first sight seems to be a case of syntactic transfer often turns out to be a case of lexical or pragmatic transfer. One of her examples is pragmatic transfer from Yiddish to English in the case of Yinglish Yiddish-Movement.²¹ Example (2) is a case of Yinglish Yiddish-Movement:

- 2) That night, after dinner, I gave Aunt Gladys a kiss and told her she shouldn't work so hard. "In less than a week it's Rosh Hashana and he thinks I should take a vacation. *Ten people I'm having*. What do you think, a chicken cleans itself?" (Roth 1963: 86, cited in Prince 1988: 512).

The sentence *Ten people I'm having* is unacceptable in Standard English, but it is acceptable among Yiddish-English bilinguals. This sentence with Yinglish Yiddish-Movement is syntactically identical to Standard English Focus-Movement, which is illustrated in (3):

²¹ The term Yinglish refers to a variety of English spoken by Jews of Yiddish background.

- 3) Let's assume there's a device which can do it- *a parser let's call it* (J.D. Fodor, lecture, cited in Prince 1988: 513).

According to Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001), the sentence in (2) is unacceptable to Standard English speakers because of pragmatic reasons. Yinglish Yiddish-Movement and Standard English Focus-Movement are syntactically identical, but the pragmatic functions of the two constructions are different. Both Yinglish Yiddish-Movement and Standard English Focus-Movement are focus-presupposition constructions. The preposed constituent is the focus, and the rest of the sentence (with a variable for the constituent) is the presupposition. The focus is an instantiation of the variable in the presupposition (see (4)).

- 4) a. Proposition: Let's call (it, a parser)
b. Presupposition: let's call (it, X)
c. Focus: X= a parser

In Standard English Focus-Movement, the presupposition must be shared by the speaker and the listener and salient, that is it must be in the listener's consciousness. The presupposition in (3) is that the entity has an attribute. The focus provides the value of the attribute (Prince 1992, 1998). In (3), the speaker introduces a device. Both the speakers and the listeners know that devices have names, and the focus provides the name for the device.

The pragmatic functions of Yinglish Yiddish-Movement are different from those of Standard English Focus-Movement. First, in Yinglish Yiddish-Movement, the focus does not need to be the value of an attribute; it can also be a discourse entity. In (2), *ten people* is a discourse entity, not the value of an attribute. Second, in the case of Yinglish Yiddish-Movement the presupposition needs to be shared or plausible in the context, but it does not need to be salient. In (2) it is not known or salient that Aunt Gladys is having guests. The listener does not know that Aunt Gladys is having guests. It is plausible in the context, however, since people usually invite guests for Rosh Hashana (Prince 1998: 348). These examples thus show that Yinglish Yiddish-Movement is less restricted than Standard English Focus-Movement.

Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 1999, 2001) argues that the pragmatic function of Yinglish Yiddish-Movement is borrowed from Yiddish Focus-Movement; the two cases of movement have the same pragmatic function. The example of Yiddish Focus-Movement in (5) is perfectly acceptable in the context of (2):

5) [context of (2)...]

Tsen mentshn krig ikh.

Ten people get I (Prince 1988: 515).

Standard English Focus-Movement and Yinglish Yiddish-Movement have the same syntactic structure. Prince (1998) proposes the next syntactic structure for the two constructions:

6) Standard English Focus-Movement and Yinglish Yiddish-Movement:

[_{CP} NP_k [_{C'} [_{IP} NP_j [_{I'} V_i [_{VP} t_j t_i ... t_k]]]]]] (Prince 1998: 351).

In (6) above, NP_k is the fronted element and NP_j is the subject. The fronted XP moves to the specifier of CP, and the subject appears in the specifier of IP. In Standard English Focus-Movement and Yinglish Yiddish-Movement the fronted element thus immediately precedes the subject.

Yiddish Focus-Movement is different from Standard English Focus-Movement and Yinglish Yiddish-Movement. Yiddish is a verb second language. The fronted element (NP_k in (7)) moves to the specifier of IP, and the verb appears in second position. The subject (NP_j in (7)) stays in VP and thus appears in postverbal position.

7) Yiddish Focus-Movement:

[_{CP} [_{C'} [_{IP} NP_k [_{I'} V_i [_{VP} NP_j t_i... t_k...]]]]]]] (Prince 1998: 351).

The syntactic structure of Yiddish Focus-Movement is thus different from that of Standard English Focus-Movement and Yinglish Yiddish-Movement. Prince (1988, 1992, 1998) concludes that there is no syntactic transfer from Yiddish into Yinglish.

To summarize the discussion so far, Standard English Focus-Movement and Yinglish Yiddish-Movement are syntactically identical, but their pragmatic functions differ. Yiddish Focus-Movement has a different syntactic structure, but it has the same pragmatic functions as Yinglish Yiddish-Movement

The question is how we can account for the pragmatic transfer from Yiddish into Yenglish. Prince (1988, 1992, 1998) argues that the bilingual speakers interpret Standard English Focus-Movement and Yiddish Focus-Movement as syntactically equivalent. Importantly, the speakers take into account the string order, not the hierarchical structure; it is not relevant that in Yiddish the verb appears in second position. The pragmatic functions of Yiddish Focus-Movement are then transferred into English and associated with Focus-Movement in English (Prince 1988, 1992: 103, 107). Crucially, Standard English Focus-Movement and Yiddish movement had a pragmatic function in common. The change in Yenglish is the result of a loss of a pragmatic constraint. The change may eventually result in syntactic change (1998: 339, 360).

Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) concludes that cases of transfer that at first sight might seem syntactic are in fact lexical, semantic and/or pragmatic. She argues that direct syntactic transfer is not common. To determine the nature of transfer, we must make a distinction between syntax and other components of the language system.

2.3. Conclusion

To summarize the discussion, in the field of language contact there are two positions with respect to crosslinguistic transfer. One position is that syntactic transfer is possible. According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), “anything can be transferred from any language to any other language.” (14). The other position is that syntax is relatively impermeable to influence from another language. Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) argue that the transfer is limited to a

transfer of pragmatic uses. Before presenting our hypotheses regarding the nature of crosslinguistic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, we will discuss previous studies on word order variation in Andean Spanish in section 3.

3. TRANSFER OF WORD ORDER IN ANDEAN SPANISH

There are several studies on Spanish in contact with Quechua in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru that address word order. Several studies have mentioned that the verb frequently appears in sentence-final position and have attributed this phenomenon to an influence from Quechua (i.a. Cerrón-Palomino 1972, 1990; Pozzi-Escot 1972; Mendoza and Minaya 1975; Escobar 1978; Minaya 1978; Miranda 1978; Soto 1978; Minaya and Luján 1982; Muysken 1984; Benavente 1988; López and Jung 1989; Escobar 1990, 2000; Ocampo and Klee 1995; Zavala 1999). In this section, the relevant studies will be discussed more in detail. Most of the studies are on Quechua-Spanish contact in Peru (Luján, Minaya and Sankoff 1984; Ocampo and Klee 1995; Klee 1996; Camacho 1999; Escobar 2000; Sánchez 2003). These studies are discussed in section 3.1. Section 3.2. is concerned with Muysken's (1984) study, which focuses on Ecuador, and section 3.3. describes Mendoza's (1991, 1992) study on Bolivia. Section 3.4. contains the conclusions.

3.1. Transfer of word order in the Andean Spanish of Peru

Luján, Minaya and Sankoff (1984) study the acquisition of word order in nine bilingual children from the Peruvian highlands. The data come from nine hours of recordings of conversations with 5, 7 and 9 year old children. The order of the verb and the object (VO/OV), the possessor and the possessed (GN/NG) and the adjective and the noun (AN/NA) were studied. Quechua has the orders OV, GN, and AN, whereas Spanish has the orders VO, NG and NA. In the children's Spanish, the orders OV, GN, and AN were found, as in Quechua (see (8)-(10)):

8) Su nariz se agarra.

her nose refl she-grabs

'She grabs her nose'

9) de una señora su frazada

of a woman her blanket

'a woman's blanket'

10) tu chiquito oveja

your small sheep

'your small sheep' (Luján, Minaya and Sankoff 1984: 345).

Table 1 shows the frequency of the word orders OV/VO, GN/NG and AN/AN in the Spanish of the children in the three age groups.

Table 1: Word order acquisition stages in bilingual children (adapted from Luján, Minaya and Sankoff 1984: 359).

	OV/VO	GN/NG	AN/NA
5	51%/49%	63%/37	91%/9%
7	40%/60%	54%/46%	60%/40%
9	30%/70%	36%/64%	38%/62%

As is shown in Table 1, the orders OV, GN and AN are more frequent in the 5 year old children than in the older children. Luján, Minaya and Sankoff (1984) argue that these results indicate a transfer from Quechua into Spanish.

Ocampo and Klee (1995) study the order of the verb and the object in the Spanish of bilingual speakers from Calca, Peru. Klee (1996) extends the study to a study of the orders XV/VX, where X represents adverbs, prepositional phrases, predicates, objects, and sentential complements. The subjects in her study were 20 bilingual speakers from Calca, who were divided in three different groups according to social class: lower group, middle group and professionals. Klee (1996) studied the frequency of the orders XV and VX in naturalistic data. The results are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: XV/VX Word Order for Three Groups of Speakers in Calca (Klee 1996: 80)

	Lower Group		Middle Group		Professionals		Total	
Adv V	122	56.5%	174	65.2%	116	55.2%	412	59.5%
V Adv	94	43.5%	93	34.8%	94	44.8%	281	40.5%
PP V	62	35.0%	45	23.3%	57	27.0%	164	28.2%
V PP	115	65.0%	149	76.8%	154	73.0%	418	71.8%
Pred Cp	41	34.7%	24	16.9%	12	9.5%	77	20.0%
Cp Pred	77	65.3%	118	83.1%	114	90.5%	309	80.0%
OV	52	22.6%	42	17.9%	44	15.2%	138	18.3%
VO	178	77.4%	192	82.1%	246	84.8%	616	81.7%
Comp V	53	34.2%	50	29.9%	40	22.9%	143	28.8%
V Comp	102	65.8%	117	70.1%	135	77.1%	354	71.2%
Total XV	320	36.1%	328	32.9%	269	26.6%	917	31.7%
Total VX	566	63.9%	669	67.1%	743	73.4%	1978	68.3%

The results reveal that XV orders are more frequent in the lower group than in the middle group and the professionals (see Table 2). Klee (1996) reports that the differences between the lower group on the one hand, and the middle group and the professionals on

the other are statistically significant for the order of predicate-copula and the order of XV. The results also show that OV word order is more frequent in the lower group than in the middle group and the professionals (see Table 2), but the differences between the groups were not statistically significant. Crucially, the order OV is more frequent in the Spanish variety spoken in Calca than in monolingual varieties of Spanish, as was shown by a comparison with data from Ocampo (1989) on Argentinean Spanish.

Ocampo and Klee (1995) and Klee (1996) also analyzed the relationship between pragmatic function and word order. The results revealed that the relation between word order and the pragmatic functions of informational word order, contrary to expectation, focus of contrast, focal constituent and topic in the Spanish of Calca is the same as in Standard Spanish. In addition to these pragmatic functions, Ocampo and Klee (1995) and Klee (1996) found other discourse situations that correlate with OV word order: repetition, summary, agreement and explanation. The authors concluded that the use of the order OV is extended to new discourse situations. The new discourse situations may be due to an indirect influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish. Importantly, the new uses are compatible with the structure of Standard Spanish. The authors concluded, following Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994), that there is no radical change in the syntactic structure of Spanish.

Camacho (1999) argues that word order and topic/focus interpretation in Spanish in contact with Quechua in Peru differ from word order and topic/focus interpretation in Standard Spanish, due to an influence from Quechua. His study is based on an analysis of ten consecutive bilingual speakers who acquired Spanish before the age of 8 and who migrated from Quechua-speaking rural communities to Lima. Camacho (1999) discusses

two types of divergent sentences: (a) sentences whose topic interpretation is not consistent with that of Standard Spanish (see (11)), and (b) sentences whose word order is ungrammatical in Standard Spanish but consistent with that of Southern Quechua (see (12)):

11) Hay veces con las ropitas me ayudan, [ropitas usadas pa' mis hijitos me dan].

Sometimes with the clothes CL help, clothes used for my children CL give.

'Sometimes they help me with clothes, used clothes for my children they give me.' (Camacho 1999: 123).

12) a. ¿Y tú vuelves a Ayacucho para ayudar a tus padres en la chacra?

'Do you return to Ayacucho to help your parents in the farm?'

b. Sí, claro.. maíz para cultivarlo, para sembrar...

Yes of course corn to cultivate-CL to plant

'Yes, of course, to cultivate corn, to plant (corn)...' (Camacho 1999: 124).

In the example in (11), *ropitas usadas*, 'used clothes', cannot be focus, because it does not express new information. The preverbal object cannot be interpreted as a topic according to Standard Spanish, because there is no resumptive pronoun and it is also not a generic noun. According to Camacho (1999), the sentence in (11) is compatible with Quechua focus structure; in Southern Quechua, OV word order is used for sentence focus. The second example is ungrammatical in Standard Spanish, but its order corresponds to Southern Quechua word order, which is shown in (13):

13) Sara-ta-m tarpu-na-y-paq

Corn-acc-foc plant-nom-1ps-benef

‘Corn, to plant (corn).’ (Camacho 1999: 125).

Camacho (1999) attributes the alternative word orders to a transfer of two parameters from Southern Quechua: the availability of null objects with definite/specific antecedents, and the availability of object movement for sentential focus.

Escobar (2000) also notes that objects, prepositional phrases and adverbs frequently appear in preverbal position in Andean Spanish. She argues that the different constituents move to a preverbal position (2000: 50). In Standard Spanish, the object can appear in preverbal position because of pragmatic factors. In Andean Spanish, this strategy is extended to other constituents due in part to an influence from Quechua word order.

Sánchez (2003) finds some evidence of Quechua influence in OV word order in the Spanish of bilingual children who live in bilingual communities in Peru. In (14), the object appears in preverbal position and is not focused:

14) *Bilingual Spanish*

Su pierna está poniendo por arriba.

His leg is putting up

‘(He) is putting his leg up.’ (Sánchez 2003: 7)

Unlike the other studies, Sánchez (2003) does not find a high frequency of OV word order; on the contrary, she finds that there is a strong preference for VO word order in her data, as is shown in Table 3 below. The subjects from San Juan de Miraflores in Table 3 are monolingual speakers. The subjects from Lamas and Ulcumayo are bilingual.

Table 3: DP (VO versus OV) (Sánchez 2003: 126)

Verb Position with DP complements	San Juan de Miraflores		Lamas		Ulcumayo	
DP (VO)	214	(99.1%)	245	(96.5%)	255	(95.5%)
DP (OV)	2	(0.9%)	9	(3.5%)	12	(4.5%)
Total	216	(100%)	254	(100%)	267	(100%)

The data show that even in the bilingual groups (Lamas and Ulcumayo) the percentages for OV word order are low. It must be noted that while the other studies are based on naturalistic data, Sánchez's (2003) data come from a story-telling task.

3.2. Transfer of word order in the Andean Spanish of Ecuador

Muysken's (1984) study is the only study that addresses word order in Quechua-Spanish language contact in Ecuador that we know of. He studies variation between XV and VX in the Spanish of 14 bilingual adults. X represents objects, predicates, complements and PPs. He distinguishes five groups: *cargadores* (incipient bilinguals), *campesinos* (Quechua-dominant bilinguals), *obreros* (Spanish-dominant bilinguals),

cholos (lower class monolinguals) and *gente/gente decente* (middle class monolinguals).

Table 4 shows the frequency of the different word orders.

Table 4: XV/VX Word order for five groups of speakers (Muysken 1984: 114)

	IB	QB	SB	LC	MC	Total
Adv V	34	41	42	47	42	206 (.78)
V Adv	12	6	14	18	9	59 (.22)
PP V	13	15	14	20	7	69 (.34)
V PP	5	21	41	32	34	133 (.66)
Pred Cop	19	9	2	14	3	47 (.26)
Cop Pred	11	20	35	22	41	129 (.74)
OV	17	22	6	6	9	60 (.20)
VO	35	41	66	41	63	246 (.80)
Comp V	18	10	5	7	2	42 (.10)
V Comp	50	83	94	73	78	378 (.90)
Total XV	101 (.49)	97 (.36)	69 (.22)	94 (.34)	63 (.22)	
Total VX	103 (.51)	171 (.64)	250 (.78)	186 (.66)	225 (.78)	

The data reveal that XV order is more frequent in the speech of the lower class than in that of the middle class, and that it is more frequent in incipient bilinguals and in Quechua-dominant bilinguals than in the other groups (see Table 4). Interestingly, XV order is less frequent in Spanish-dominant bilinguals than in lower class monolinguals. Muysken (1984) argues that the high frequency of the order XV is not the result of a direct influence from Quechua into Spanish, but rather the result of the movement of X to the left periphery, which is also possible in Standard Spanish. The fact that there are only a few cases of SXV in his data and no cases of SOV supports his argument that the order XV is only indirectly the result of Quechua influence (1984: 114). Muysken (1984) also compares varieties of Spanish in contact with Quechua from Peru and Ecuador. He shows that there are differences between the varieties even though both are the result of Quechua-Spanish contact.

3.3. Transfer of word order in the Andean Spanish of Bolivia

There is only one study that addresses word order in Spanish in contact with Quechua in Bolivia that we know of. Mendoza (1991, 1992) shows that direct objects, adverbs and predicates appear in preverbal position. He attributes this phenomenon to a Quechua influence. He furthermore argues that it is characteristic of vernacular varieties.

3.4. Conclusions

To summarize, the studies discussed in sections 3.1-3.3. above show that the orders OV and XV are more frequent in the speech of the least proficient Spanish speakers than in the speech of more proficient Spanish speakers. Luján, Minaya and Sankoff (1984) show that OV is more frequent in the youngest bilingual children in their study. The studies by Ocampo and Klee (1995), Klee (1996), and Muysken (1984) all reveal that the orders OV and XV are more frequent in lower social groups and in (Quechua-dominant) bilinguals. Finally, Mendoza (1992, 1992) argues that XV is characteristic of vernacular varieties. This suggests that OV word order is due to an influence from Quechua in Andean Spanish. Several of the studies argue that the influence is indirect and due to pragmatic factors (Muysken 1984; Ocampo and Klee 1995; Klee 1996; Camacho 1999; Escobar 2000; Sánchez 2003).

These previous studies have some limitations. First, the majority of the studies are based solely on naturalistic data. Some of the studies argue that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua, but their conclusions remain rather tentative; based on naturalistic data alone, these studies cannot establish the precise nature of the linguistic transfer. Elicitation data are needed to be able to study the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus.

Furthermore, the majority of these studies only use data from Andean Spanish. These studies refer to Standard Spanish and Quechua, but they do not have the data to make a comparison between Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. It should

be noted that Sánchez (2003) collected Quechua data. However, her data come from a picture-based story-telling task. Based on her data, it is not possible to establish the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus in Quechua. Ocampo and Klee (1995) compare their Andean Spanish data to Argentinean data from Ocampo (1989). The comparison is insightful in that it shows the high frequency of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish as compared to Standard Spanish. However, Ocampo and Klee (1995) do not have data from Quechua, nor data on the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus in Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish.

Finally, several studies (e.g. Muysken 1984; Klee 1996) find differences between groups of speakers and relate those differences to proficiency in Quechua. They did not perform statistical analyses, however, to determine the significance of the differences.

In the next section, the research questions, hypotheses and objectives of the present study are presented. The section also explains how the study intends to contribute to the general debate on linguistic transfer, as well as to the debate on the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS, HYPOTHESES AND OBJECTIVES

The research questions of the present study are: (a) is there a transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish word order, and (b) if so, what is the precise nature of the transfer. To tease out the nature of the transfer, we must separate syntactic issues from pragmatic issues. The syntactic issues concern the structure of different word orders. The same surface word order does not necessarily have the same underlying syntactic

structure in different languages. It thus needs to be determined what structure OV word order has in Andean Spanish, Standard Spanish and Quechua. More specifically, we need to examine whether OV word order in Andean Spanish has the same structure as in Standard Spanish or as in Quechua. If the structure of the OV word order in Andean Spanish is the same as in Standard Spanish, but different from Quechua, then there is no syntactic transfer. If, on the other hand, the structure is different from Standard Spanish, but the same as in Quechua, then a syntactic transfer is plausible. The pragmatic issues refer to the use of different word orders. Some word orders are used only in special pragmatic contexts. In Standard Spanish, for instance, the object can be fronted when we want to focus it. Quechua is different from Standard Spanish in that the object can appear in preverbal position in a neutral sentence. We need to determine what pragmatic function OV word order has in Andean Spanish, Standard Spanish and Quechua. In particular, we need to find out if the preverbal object in Andean Spanish has the same pragmatic function of focus as in Standard Spanish.

There are essentially two different hypotheses regarding the influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The first hypothesis is that there has been a transfer of both pragmatic uses and syntactic properties. This hypothesis thus implies that syntax can change, and supports Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) and Thomason's (1997, 2000, 2001, 2008) position (see section 2.1 of this chapter). The second hypothesis states that there has been a transfer of pragmatic uses, but not of syntactic properties. The fact that there have been changes in word order does not necessarily mean that there has been a change in syntax. This hypothesis lends support to Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1995,

1998, 2008) and Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) position (see section 2.1 of this chapter). The data examined in this thesis confirms the second hypothesis.

The study is based on naturalistic data and elicitation data. The naturalistic data come from adult Quechua-Spanish bilinguals from Bolivia and Ecuador. The subjects for the elicitation studies were adult Quechua-Spanish bilinguals and Standard Spanish monolinguals. The objective of the study is to show that the transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish is restricted to pragmatics, that is, the syntactic structure is identical to that of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, but there has been a transfer of pragmatic uses from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish are weak crossover and long distance movement (these properties will be explained in Chapter 3). Elicitation studies were designed to test for these properties in Andean Spanish and Quechua. The results reveal that the syntactic structures of Quechua are not transferred into Andean Spanish. The naturalistic data were examined and an elicitation study was designed to determine the pragmatic uses of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish. The results show that the pragmatic uses of preverbal objects in Quechua are transferred into Andean Spanish. The study confirms previous research in language contact in Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008).

The study intends to contribute to the general debate on syntactic transfer by showing that the transfer here is limited to a transfer of pragmatic uses. At first glance it might seem that there is a syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, but when we examine the syntactic structure of Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua, it turns out that the transfer is in fact pragmatic and not syntactic. The study

also has implications for the debate on the vulnerability of interfaces, specifically the syntax-pragmatics interface, in second language acquisition and other areas of language development (see section 6 of Chapter 4 for details).

The study intends to contribute to the more specific debate on the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish in several ways. In the previous section, previous studies on the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish and their limitations were discussed. In the present study, naturalistic and elicitation data are combined to reach a better understanding of the phenomenon. The two types of data combined help us to study the precise nature of the linguistic transfer. The elicitation studies provide a more controlled setting, and allow us to separate the syntactic issues from the pragmatic issues. Unlike previous studies, the present study is based on data from Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The controlled setting of the elicitation studies allows us to get comparable data from the three languages. Previous studies (Muysken 1984; Klee 1996) already showed differences between speakers based on their Spanish proficiency and/or social class. The present study goes a step further in performing statistical tests to show significant differences between speakers depending on their sex and educational level. Furthermore, while the majority of the previous studies were based on Andean Spanish varieties from Peru, the present study focuses on Bolivia and Ecuador. The study thus provides us with information about different varieties of Andean Spanish and Quechua.

In sum, The present study is more rigorous than previous studies in that it studies deeper syntactic structures. Furthermore, it uses a rigorous methodology in which the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus are studied in a controlled setting.

5. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The structure of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 is concerned with the methodology used for collecting data. It discusses the rationale for the type of data used, the characteristics of the fieldwork sites, the selection and characteristics of the subjects, the designs of the studies and procedures for data collection, the analysis and interpretation of the data and the main difficulties a researcher faces when collecting data. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the syntactic characteristics of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The chapter contains a discussion of focus in Spanish and Quechua, and a discussion of the results of the elicitation studies on the main syntactic properties of focus fronting, which are weak crossover and long distance movement. It will be shown that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. In Chapter 4, the pragmatic characteristics of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua are discussed. The chapter contains a discussion of the theoretical background, the results of the analysis of the naturalistic data, the results of the elicitation study on question-answer pairs, and the interpretation and discussion of the results. It will be shown that there is a pragmatic influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish. Finally, in Chapter 5, the results of the study are summarized and the conclusions and the contributions of the study to the fields of syntactic theory, language contact and second language acquisition are presented.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the methodology used for collecting and analyzing the data is discussed. For this study, two types of data are used: naturalistic data and elicitation data. The naturalistic data were collected in Spanish in Tarata (Bolivia) in 2001 and in Juncal/Cañar (Ecuador) in 2004. In addition, a study consisting of picture-based storytelling tasks and sentence judgment tasks in Spanish and the local varieties of Quechua was conducted in the same areas in Bolivia and Ecuador in 2006 and 2007.

In section 2, the rationale for using two types of data (naturalistic data and elicitation data) is presented. It will be shown that both types of data have their strengths and weaknesses. In the present study, the naturalistic data are used to study the frequency of different word orders, the correlations with specific sociolinguistic variables, and the pragmatics of preverbal objects. The elicitation studies allow us to study the syntax and pragmatics of focus in a more controlled setting. These studies are used to analyze the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. In section 3, the main characteristics of the two fieldwork sites are discussed, which are Tarata (Bolivia) and Juncal/Cañar (Ecuador). The characteristics of the two places played an important role in the design of the study and the methodology used in the data collection. Some of the characteristics that had an impact on the methodology are the relatively low levels of literacy in Spanish and/or Quechua, the relatively low levels

of education and the indigenous identity of the subjects. Section 4 is concerned with the naturalistic data collection. In that section, the selection and characteristics of the subjects who participated in the study, the procedures followed in collecting the naturalistic data, and the coding and analysis of the data are explained. The section will discuss the difficulties a researcher faces when collecting data, as well as what was done to overcome those difficulties. Section 5, the methodology used for collecting the elicitation data is discussed, including the characteristics of the subjects, the design of the study, the procedures followed during the elicitation studies, and the analysis and interpretation of the data. Section 6 contains the conclusion and explains how the data are used within the different parts of the thesis.

2. RATIONALE FOR USING TWO TYPES OF DATA

As explained above, two types of data are used for this study: naturalistic data and elicitation data. The naturalistic data consist of informal conversations or semi-structured interviews in Spanish with adult bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish. These data will be discussed in section 4 of this chapter. The elicitation data comprise three elicitation studies in Spanish and Quechua: (1) an elicitation study on weak crossover effects (see section 5.2.1.), (2) an elicitation study on long distance movement (see section 5.2.2), and (3) an elicitation study on question-answer pairs (see section 5.2.3). Weak crossover and long distance movement are the main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Spanish. Elicitation studies 1 and 2 are used to test for these properties in

Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. Elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs is used to study focus structures in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.

Table 5 below summarizes the data for this study including the fieldwork sites, the dates of the data collection, the language in which the data were collected, the type of data (naturalistic data or elicitation data), and the number of subjects.

Table 5: Summary of the data: fieldwork sites, dates, type of data and number of subjects.

Fieldwork site	Date	Language	Type of data	# of subjects
Bolivia: Tarata (Quechua-Spanish bilinguals)	2001	Spanish	Naturalistic data	16
	2006	Spanish	Elicitation study 1: weak crossover	10
	2006	Spanish	Elicitation study 2: long distance movement	10
	2006	Spanish	Elicitation study 3: question-answer pairs	10
	2006	Quechua	Elicitation study 1: weak crossover	4
	2006	Quechua	Elicitation study 2: long distance movement	4
	2007	Quechua	Elicitation study 3: question-answer pairs	4
Ecuador: Juncal, Cañar, and nearby communities (Quechua-Spanish bilinguals)	2004	Spanish	Naturalistic data	17
	2006	Spanish	Elicitation study 1: weak crossover	5
	2006	Spanish	Elicitation study 2: long distance movement	5
	2006	Spanish	Elicitation study 3: question-answer pairs	5
	2006	Quechua	Elicitation study 1: weak crossover	4
	2006	Quechua	Elicitation study 3: question-answer pairs	4
Urbana-Champaign (Spanish monolinguals)	2008	Spanish	Elicitation study 1: weak crossover	12
	2008	Spanish	Elicitation study 2: long distance movement	12
	2008	Spanish	Elicitation study 3: question-answer pairs	12

Naturalistic data and elicitation data provide different kinds of information and complement each other. When collecting naturalistic data, one sometimes comes across unexpected information that can provide new insights (Gil 2001: 115; Mithun 2001: 53). The naturalistic data collected for this study drew my attention to the high frequency of preverbal objects. In general, naturalistic data provide us with information about the actual use of a linguistic feature and the context in which it is used. The naturalistic data in this study are used to examine the use of the different word orders. In particular, the naturalistic data allow us to study the frequency of different word orders, independently of focus (see Chapter 4). In addition, these data shed insight on the pragmatic use of sentences with preverbal objects. Furthermore, the naturalistic data are used to examine correlations with sociolinguistic variables, specifically sex and educational level (see section 4.1. of this chapter for more information on these variables).

One issue with naturalistic data is the low frequency of occurrence of linguistic features. Some linguistic features are of low frequency in naturally occurring data (Labov 1972b, 1996; Gass 1994; Nunan 1996; Murphy 1997; Vaux and Cooper 1999; Milroy and Gordon 2003). Another issue is related to the pragmatic constraints of the interview situation or of conversations. For instance, we do not expect subjects to produce many interrogative constructions in interviews (Milroy and Gordon 2003). In the naturalistic data collected for this study, there are very few question-answer pairs. Also, the subjects' responses to *wh*-questions do not always allow us to study focus structures. Subjects sometimes answer with one word or ignore the question. In other words, the subjects do not always provide us with the structures we are interested in. This issue is further discussed in Chapter 4 on the pragmatics of focus. Because of these and other issues,

generalizations based only on naturalistic data often result in incomplete descriptions (cf. Chelliah 2001: 152). For this study, the naturalistic data do not allow for a systematic analysis of the syntactic and pragmatic properties of the different word orders. They do not show what is not possible in a language; they are a subset of what can be said (Rice 2001: 240). We therefore need to collect information about what cannot be said (Vaux and Cooper 1999). Sentence-judgment tasks allow for more control over the data collected (Murphy 1997) and provide us with negative evidence, that is, information about structures that cannot occur (Schütze 1996; Rice 2001), and help us to construct a theory. The fact that the same elicitation study was carried out in Spanish (with Andean Spanish speakers and Standard Spanish speakers) and in Quechua allows for a systematic comparison of the results.

There are also issues with elicitation data. An important issue with sentence judgment tasks is that there often is a mismatch between the subjects' judgments (what they claim they say) and their actual behavior (what they actually say) (Labov 1972a, 1996). This is especially true in the case of non-standard varieties (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 175). Speakers of non-standard varieties often think their variety is inferior. When subjects are asked about a non-standard variety, their answers tend to shift in the direction of the standard variety (Labov 1972, 1996). Other issues with the use of elicitation data are related to reliability and inter-subject and intra-subject consistency. These and other issues are discussed in section 5 of this chapter.

In sum, there are issues with both naturalistic and elicitation data. One type of data alone does not provide us with all the information we need. The combination of the

two types of data gives us the most reliable results and the most complete picture of the phenomenon under study.

3. FIELDWORK SITES

The data for this study were collected in two Andean countries: Bolivia and Ecuador. A lot of what is known about Andean Spanish and Quechua comes from local, independent studies and these are typically generalized to the entire Andean region. However, there might be differences between the language varieties spoken in the Andean regions. The regions that were selected for this study are similar in that they are semi-urban and characterized by a high degree of bilingualism in Spanish and Quechua. Below, the main characteristics of the selected fieldwork sites are discussed.

3.1. Bolivia: Tarata

The Bolivian naturalistic data were collected in the period from February to June 2001 in the town of Tarata. In 2006 and 2007, elicitation data was collected in the same town. Tarata is located approximately 22 miles from the city of Cochabamba in central Bolivia. According to the census of 2001, the total population of Tarata is 8,715. The subjects for this study are all from the urban area of Tarata, which has a population of 3,323. Of the total urban population, 1,621 people are male and 1,702 are female (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) 2002: 3*).

According to the census of 2001, 91.46% of the population over 6 years old speak Quechua, and 68.32% speak Spanish. Other languages spoken in Tarata are Aymara (1.05%), Guaraní (0.11%) and other languages (0.6%) (INE 2002: 29-31). One of the reasons for selecting Tarata as a fieldwork site was the high degree of bilingualism. According to the 2001 census, 7.8% of the population over 6 years old in Tarata are monolingual in Spanish, whereas 31.46% are monolingual in an indigenous language. More than sixty percent (60.56%) of the population over 6 years old are bilingual in Spanish and another language. This percentage is higher for men than for women (68.9% versus 52.7%) (INE 2002: 36). Spanish is used at home, in interactions with Spanish speaking people in town, at school and in church. Quechua is used at home, in interactions with people from rural areas and with some people in town. Of the total population of 15 years and older, more than eighty percent (87.63%) self-identify as indigenous (INE 2002: 213). The traditional indigenous clothes are still in use, especially among women from rural areas.

The illiteracy rate of Tarata is relatively high. According to the 2001 census, more than twenty percent (23.93%) of the total population of 15 years and older in Tarata are illiterate. The illiteracy rate is higher for women than for men (34.02 % versus 12.62%), and higher in rural areas than in urban areas (32.2% versus 11.5%) (INE 2002: 59). Almost eighty percent (79.24%) of the population of 19 years and over have received formal education. 17.16% have received some form of higher instruction (university, technical training, teacher training college, military or police academy). The mean number of years of study is 5.27% (INE 2002: 82). This information needed to be taken into account when designing the materials for the data collection. Since a significant

portion of the population is illiterate in Spanish and/or Quechua, the elicitation studies were conducted orally (see section 5.3. of this chapter). In 2001, there were two public schools and one private school (all elementary schools), but the private school closed a couple of years ago.

The main economic activity in the area is agriculture: 37.36% of the employed population works in the agricultural sector, 18.84% in a factory, 7.95% in education, 7.87% in construction and 7.31% in commerce. Every Sunday and Thursday, people come from the rural areas to the town of Tarata to visit the market, which is relatively small. In addition, people from Tarata and the rural areas surrounding Tarata go to the market in Cochabamba. Tarata is known for its colonial character, which draws some tourists to the town. The town currently has a Tourism office, and there are some people who sell handicrafts. There are several restaurants and *chicherías*²², and in 2005 or 2006 two hotels opened in town.

The area is relatively poor: more than thirty percent (34.77%) of the households do not have running water, 38.6% do not have electricity, and 58.5% do not have a bathroom (INE 2002: 204-208). The Canadian NGO *Coderta (Centro de Desarrollo Rural de Tarata)* has been trying to improve the living conditions in Tarata since 1987. This organization has provided communities with drinking water, irrigation systems, schools, and other services. It also broadcast radio programs in Quechua on health issues, agriculture, and education. The Peace Corps was also active in Tarata until recently.

²² A *chichería* is a place where people go to drink corn beer.

3.2. Ecuador: Cañar and Juncal

The Ecuadorian naturalistic data were collected in the period from June to August 2004 in the province of Cañar. In 2007 elicitation data were collected in the same area. The total population of the province of Cañar is 206,981. 36.50% of the population live in urban areas, whereas 63.5% live in rural areas (INEC 2001: 14). The research for this study was carried out in the canton of Cañar, which according to the census of 2001 has a population of 58,185. Of the total population of the canton Cañar, 45.6% are men and 54.4% of women (*Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos* (INEC) 2001: 24).

As in Bolivia, the illiteracy rate is relatively high: more than ten percent (13.40%) of the population of the province of Cañar are illiterate. The illiteracy rate is higher for women than for men (16.5% vs. 9.5%), and higher in rural areas than in urban areas (17.2% vs. 7%) (INEC 2001: 34). In the province of Cañar, 58.2% of the population of 6 years and older has received primary education, 18.5% secondary education, and 5.5% some form of higher education. There are both monolingual Spanish and bilingual Quichua-Spanish schools in the area.

The main economic activity is agriculture: of the economically active population of 12 years and older, forty five percent (45.20%) work in the agricultural sector. 13.9% work in service, 10.7% in commerce, 10% in industry, and 8.3% in construction (INEC 2001: 38). The area is relatively poor: 19.9% of the households do not have running water and 91.48% do not have electricity (INEC 2001: 49).

The 2001 census does not include information about language use, but Büttner's (1993) study on the use of Quechua and Spanish in the Ecuadorian highlands sheds light

on the linguistic profile of Cañar.²³ The study involves a total of nine provinces and 2,841 people (Büttner 1993: 37). The information on the province of Cañar is based on data from 181 people. In the province of Cañar, 5.5% of the participants in Büttner's (1993) study are monolingual in Quechua, 13.8% are monolingual in Spanish, and 76.8% are bilingual. The great majority of the bilinguals (65.2%) are Quechua-dominant, whereas 9.4% are Spanish dominant, and 2.2% are simultaneous bilinguals (Büttner 1993: 70).

Büttner (1993) also studied the domains of use of Quechua and Spanish. More than fifty percent (51.9%) of the participants in the study indicated that Quechua is used in the family, whereas 23.3% reported that Spanish is used in the family, and 23.8% said that both Quechua and Spanish are used (Büttner 1993: 59). When asked about the language used in their town, the great majority of the participants (67.4%) answered that they use Quechua, whereas 22.1% said they use Spanish, and 10.5% said they use both Quechua and Spanish. Büttner (1993) studied the language used outside the family more in detail. The results of his study indicate that during *mingas*²⁴ and community meetings, Quechua prevails; more than sixty percent (60.2%) of the people reported that they use Quechua in the *mingas*. 22.1% said they use Spanish, and 16.6% said they use both Quechua and Spanish. More than fifty percent (55.2%) indicated that they use Quechua in community meetings; 22.1% said they use Spanish, and 21% said they use both Quechua and Spanish. In the seat of the parish, the market and church, however, Spanish

²³ Ecuadorian Quechua is also known as Quichua, which is the term used in Büttner (1993). In this thesis, the term (Ecuadorian) Quechua is used.

²⁴ A *minga* is a meeting in which friends and neighbors collectively carry out some kind of work for the community, for instance, road construction or work on the irrigation systems. The community members risk a fine if they do not participate in the *mingas*.

is used more often. More than half (50.8%) of the participants indicated that they use Spanish in the parish, whereas 16% said they use Quechua, and 32.6% said they use both Quechua and Spanish. The majority (53.6%) of the participants reported that they use Spanish in the market; 14.9% said they use Spanish, and 31.5% said they use both Quechua and Spanish. Finally, almost half (49.2%) of the participants said they use Spanish in church, whereas 20.4% said they use Quechua, and 28.7% said they use both.

Most of the naturalistic data for the present study and all the Ecuadorian naturalistic data were collected in Juncal²⁵, which is located approximately 12 miles from the city of Cañar and has a population of 2,339 (INEC *Censo de Población* 2001). In Juncal, there are both *mestizos* and indigenous people. Many of the indigenous people, especially the women, wear traditional indigenous clothes. In the town of Juncal, there are monolingual Spanish speakers, monolingual Quechua speakers and bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers. Most of the bilingual speakers are Quechua-dominant, as were the participants in Büttner's (1993) study. Quechua is mainly used at home and in interactions with some people in town. Spanish is also used at home, in particular with the younger children. In addition, it is used in daycare, at school, in church and in interactions with some Spanish-speaking people in town. During the *minga* and during community meetings both languages are used.

²⁵ Part of the naturalistic data was collected in the community of Quilloac, which borders the city of Cañar. Some of the subjects for the naturalistic data were from other nearby communities, such as Suscál and Charkay. See Appendix A for details.

3.3. Quechua dialects

According to Torero (2005), the total number of Quechua-speakers is approximately ten million (Torero 2005: 55). Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia have the highest number of Quechua-speakers. There are approximately a hundred thousand Quechua-speakers in Argentina, and a few thousand in Colombia. Approximately sixty percent of the total number of Quechua-speakers also speak Spanish.

There are many different dialects of Quechua. Torero (1964, 1974, 2005) divides the Quechua dialects in two main branches: Quechua I or Huáihuash and Quechua II or Yúngay^{26 27}. This division is based on phonological and morphological differences between the dialects. In particular, Quechua I has distinctive vowel length, whereas Quechua II does not. Quechua I is the older dialect and is spoken in the central highlands of Peru, specifically in the Andean parts of the departments of Áncash, Huánuco, Pasco, Junín, some parts of the department of Lima and a few districts in the departments of Huancavelica, Ica and La Libertad (Adelaar and Muysken 2004).²⁸

Quechua II is spoken in the regions to the north and to the south of Quechua I. It is subdivided in Quechua IIA, Quechua IIB and Quechua IIC (Torero 1964, 2005). Quechua IIA is linguistically closer to Quechua I. Quechua IIB and Quechua IIC are closely related, and are known together as Chínchay (Torero 1964; Cerrón-Palomino

²⁶ This dialect is also known as Huámpuy (Cerrón-Palomino 1987).

²⁷ Quechua I and II are Quechua B and A, respectively, in Parker's (1963) classification. Quechua I is also known as Central Quechua (Mannheim 1985 and Landerman 1994, cited in Adelaar and Muysken 2004).

²⁸ There are many differences between the dialects that belong to Quechua I. Torero (1974) divides the Quechua I dialect in five subgroups.

1987). Quechua IIB is the northern branch of this dialect (Chínchay septentrional, Cerrón-Palomino 1987) and consists of the Colombian-Ecuadorian dialects and northeastern Peruvian dialects. QIIC is the southern branch (Chínchay meridional, Cerrón Palomino 1987) and comprises the dialects of Ayacucho Quechua, Cuzco Quechua, Bolivian Quechua and the dialect spoken in Santiago de Estero (Torero 2005: 56). According to Adelaar and Muysken (2004), the Ecuadorian and Colombian dialects of Quechua have undergone significant changes (especially in their morphology)²⁹, whereas the dialects of Peru and Bolivia are more conservative.

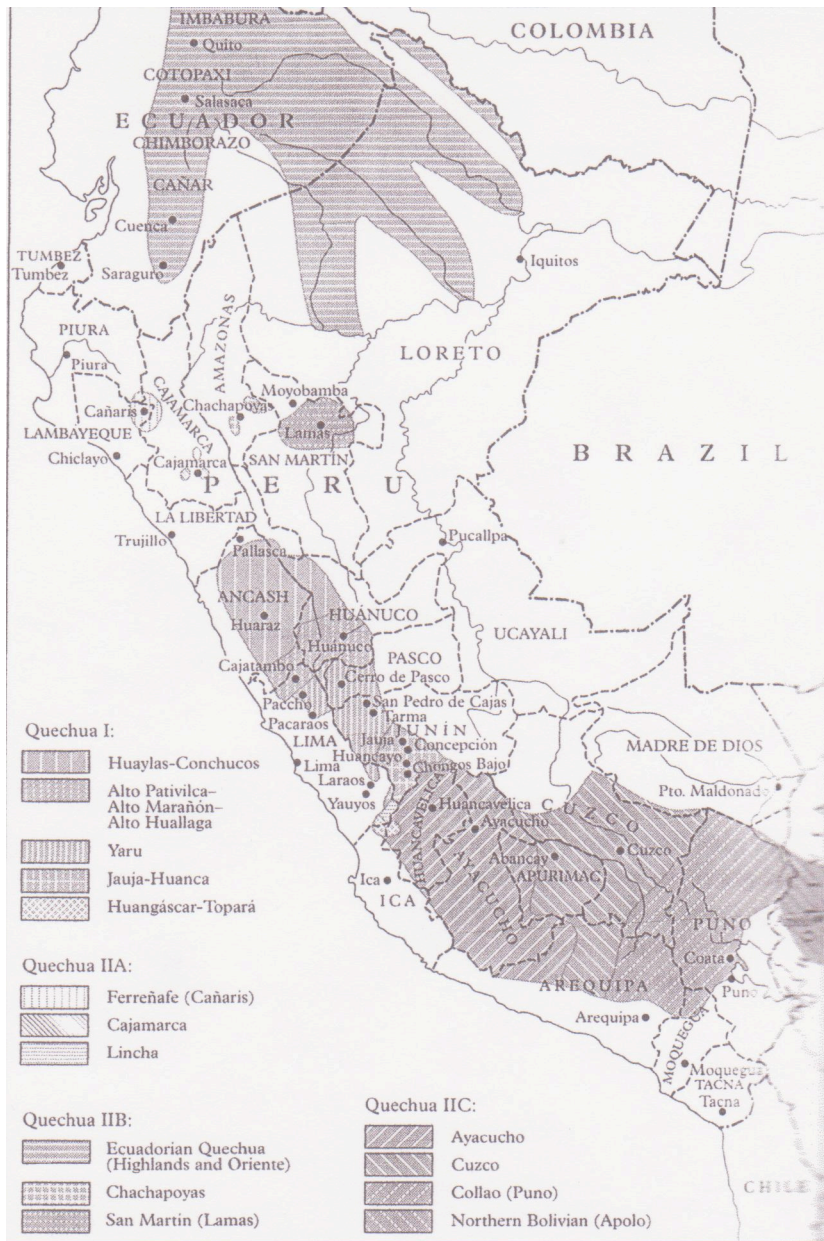
Bolivian Quechua is spoken in the highlands of Bolivia, specifically in the departments of Cochabamba, Sucre, Potosí, parts of Oruro, most of La Paz to the north of Lake Titicaca, and in Argentina (Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 188). A distinction is sometimes made between southern and northern Bolivian Quechua (e.g. Stark 1985). The Cochabamba dialect belongs to the southern Bolivian dialect.

Picture 1 below shows the distribution of the Quechua dialects.

²⁹ The changes were more profound in some dialects than in others.

Picture 1: Approximate distribution of Quechua dialects in Peru and adjacent areas

(Adelaar and Muysken 2004: 184)



The Quechua dialects studied here belong to two different dialects. The Quechua spoken in Cañar belongs to Quechua IIB, whereas the Quechua spoken in the department of Cochabamba in Bolivia belongs to Quechua IIC. There are phonological, lexical and

morphological differences between the two Quechua dialects. As we will see in section 3 of Chapter 3, the dialects slightly differ with respect to the morphological marking of focus.

4. NATURALISTIC DATA

As indicated above, for the present study both naturalistic data (in Spanish) and elicitation data (in Spanish and Quechua) were collected. In section 5, the methodology used for collecting the elicitation data will be discussed. In the present section, the methodology employed for the naturalistic data is discussed. The naturalistic data are used mainly to study the frequency and the pragmatic uses of different word orders in Andean Spanish. As will be shown in chapter 4, however, the naturalistic data alone are not sufficient to study the pragmatic uses of the different word orders.

In section 4.1. of this chapter, the selection and characteristics of the subjects are discussed. In section 4.2., the procedures that were followed in collecting data are presented. Attention will be paid to the issues a researcher faces when collecting naturalistic data, and to what has been done to overcome those issues. Finally, in section 4.3., the analysis and interpretation of the naturalistic data is discussed.

4.1. Subjects

The naturalistic data from Bolivia were collected in collaboration with Eefje Wensveen, whereas all the other data were collected by the author. The researcher's

ethnicity, nationality, sex, age, educational level, language proficiency and attitude towards bilingualism and the languages under study are important (cf. Wei 2000: 476), since they affect the relationships with the local community and the data collection. Eefje Wensveen and the author are both Dutch, white and female. At the beginning of the data collection the researchers were in their early twenties and pursuing a Master's degree in Hispanic Linguistics. Both researchers were fluent in Spanish and familiar with the local variety of Spanish, and also had some knowledge of Quechua. The researcher's personality, training, skills and preparation also have an effect on the data (Samarin 1967; Dimmendaal 2001; Rice 2001). In preparation of the fieldwork, the researchers studied Quechua and the available literature on Andean Spanish, familiarized themselves with the local culture, and established relationships with colleagues at local universities and institutions.

The naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador consist of 33 tape recordings of informal conversations in Spanish with adult simultaneous and early sequential bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish. To determine whether a subject was a simultaneous or sequential bilingual, the subject was asked about the age and context of acquisition of Quechua/Spanish, the languages spoken by his/her parents and siblings, the home language, and the functions and domains of use of Quechua/Spanish, that is, what languages are used, in what context and for what purpose (cf. Grosjean 1998: 133). The simultaneous bilinguals in this study acquired Quechua and Spanish at the same time at home; both Quechua and Spanish were used at home by both parents. The Bolivian subjects who participated in this part of the study were all simultaneous bilinguals. The sequential bilinguals in this study acquired Quechua prior to Spanish; the age of

acquisition of Spanish was around four or five years. For these sequential bilinguals the home language was Quechua, whereas education was in Spanish. The subjects for this study had not received bilingual education. All of the Ecuadorian bilinguals were sequential bilinguals. The reason for expanding the research to include sequential bilinguals was that there are few adult simultaneous bilingual speakers in Ecuador. Only three percent of the sample of Büttner and Haboud's (1993) and Haboud's (1998) survey, which involved 2,841 people throughout nine highland provinces of Ecuador, are simultaneous bilingual speakers (Haboud 2004). As we will see in Chapters 3 and 4, the type of bilingual speaker turned out to be irrelevant.

Table 6 shows the number of tape recordings per region and type of speaker for the naturalistic data. Detailed information on the subjects can be found in Appendix A.

Table 6: Naturalistic data (Spanish)

	Simultaneous bilinguals	Sequential bilinguals	Total
Bolivia	16		16
Ecuador		17	17
Total			33

A quota sampling or judgment sampling was used for selecting the subjects. In this type of sampling, the population is first divided in sub-groups and then judgment is used to select a fixed number of subjects for each group (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30). In this study the population was divided in four groups along the dimensions of sex and

educational level: professional women, non-professional women, professional men, and non-professional men. Professionals received some form of higher education after secondary school (for instance, they attended a teacher training college or university), whereas non-professionals received no more than secondary education. The sample size was determined by practical considerations, such as time and availability of subjects. In both Bolivia and Ecuador, four subjects were selected per subgroup. The subjects were selected on the basis of face-to-face interaction.

It is crucial to know the community and the speakers before selecting subjects (Samarin 1967: 23), since not every speaker is a good subject. The subjects for the naturalistic data needed to meet the criteria mentioned above. In addition, they needed to be available, patient and talkative. Subjects who enjoy talking about their culture were especially good subjects for this part of the study (Samarin 1967), since their stories make the corpus more interesting.

The Bolivian subjects are sixteen simultaneous bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish from the town of Tarata. The subjects' ages ranged from 29 to 50 years, with a mean age of 41 years. The subjects were born in Tarata or had lived there for at least twelve years. Eight of the subjects were male and eight were female. Eight of the subjects were professionals, and eight were non-professionals. In informal conversations the subjects were asked for specific information concerning their educational level and occupation. Appendix A contains detailed information on the subjects.

The Ecuadorian subjects are seventeen (early) sequential bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish from Juncal and nearby communities in the province of Cañar. The subjects' ages ranged from 22 to 59, with a mean age of 39 years. Eight of the subjects

were male and nine were female. Eight were professional and nine were non-professional. More information on the main characteristics of the subjects can be found in Appendix A.

The subjects were not paid for their service. The subjects generally saw the service as an act of friendship (cf. Samarin 1967) and direct payment is considered inappropriate in the local culture. To provide alternative remuneration, the researcher brought food and household items when visiting the subjects instead.

4.2. Procedures

The naturalistic data consist of informal conversations between the researcher(s) and the subject. The conversations lasted between forty and sixty minutes each, and took place in public places or at the subject's home. They were audio-recorded with a recorder Sony TCS-580V and a microphone ATR97.

One of the main issues in collecting naturalistic data is the observer's paradox: the goal is to observe the way people speak when they are not being observed, but we can only get this data by observing people (Labov 1972a, 1972b, 1984). The use of a tape-recorder increases the observer's paradox, because people tend to use more formal speech when they are tape-recorded. Several techniques have been mentioned in the literature to overcome the observer's paradox. In collecting data for the present study, sociolinguistic interviews were used (Labov 1972a, 1972b, 1984) to minimize the effects of the observer's paradox. In a sociolinguistic interview, a certain amount of speech is recorded for each subject. The researcher asks questions to obtain basic demographic information

(e.g. the subject's age, educational attainment, occupation and language history), as well as questions to elicit spontaneous speech in which little attention is paid to speech (Labov 1984). To obtain examples of spontaneous speech, the researcher needs to find topics that engage the subjects in the interaction. The idea is that when subjects are engaged and emotionally involved in the interaction, they do not pay attention to their speech. Questions that lead to emotional reactions are therefore very useful. A famous question that engages subjects is Labov's danger-of-death question, which is as follows: "have you ever been in a situation where you were in serious danger of being killed, where you thought to yourself "this is it?" ". If the subject answers in the affirmative, the researcher asks "what happened?" (Labov 1972a: 93). Other topics that often lead to spontaneous speech are fights, accidents, sickness, fate, premonitions, attitudes, dating, childhood experiences and gossip (Labov 1972b, 1984).

In a sociolinguistic interview, the questions are organized in conversational modules, which are groups of questions about a particular topic, such as childhood experiences and danger of death (Labov 1984: 33). The researcher comes with a prepared list of questions on different topics. The questions should be brief and formulated in a colloquial style (Labov 1984: 33-34). The researcher can start with more general questions. As the researcher gradually gets to know the community, he/she can use his/her knowledge to ask more specific and relevant questions about local issues. This technique, called the feedback technique (Labov 1972b: 114), is used to increase the subject's involvement and the quality of the data.

The conversational modules are combined in a conversational network, in which the modules are linked through associations. The researcher moves from one module to

the next by asking transitional questions (Labov 1984). The network serves as a guide for conducting interviews. The different topics do not have to be addressed in the same order in every interview. In fact, the subject's ideas and interests often help to make the transitions from one module to another. The modules and the networks allow for consistency across the interviews, and make the data comparable across subjects.

The topics used in the present study include local traditions, holidays, family, daily life, the political and economic situation, bilingual education, language attitudes, dreams, beliefs, the subject's childhood, and important events in the subject's life, such as sickness, accidents, and situations in which the subject was scared. The use of conversational modules and networks enabled the researcher to obtain comparable data for the subjects. There are some differences between the data, since not all topics and questions worked for all subjects. Some subjects enjoyed talking about local traditions, the history of the town and relevant local issues, whereas others preferred to talk about their personal life. In general, the interviews were guided by the subjects' ideas and interests.

Spontaneous speech also emerges in breaks and intervals that are not considered part of the interview, in casual remarks to the researcher outside the interview or in conversations with other people. To confirm that spontaneous data is obtained in the interview, one can listen to people speak in public places and overhear conversations between people (Labov 1972b). Since the researcher spent a considerable time in each of the fieldwork sites, she had the opportunity to listen to people speak outside the interview.

It has been argued that data obtained from interaction of natural peer groups is generally more spontaneous. This technique was not employed in the present study for several reasons. First, the recording of group sessions complicates the transcription of the data. Second, data recorded in groups sessions generally do not provide us with sufficient data for each subject. Finally, data obtained in group sessions are often not comparable across subjects (Labov 1972a). Therefore, structured interviews with individual subjects were considered more useful for the present purpose.

The nature of the interview is affected by the power relationships in the interview (cf. Labov 1984). It has been recommended that the researcher adopts the position of a learner who is in a lower position than the subject (Samarin 1967; Labov 1984). The researcher also needs to show respect for and a genuine interest in the subject's knowledge. When the subjects speak a non-standard, stigmatized variety, as in the present study, they may modify their speech in the direction of the standard variety (Samarin 1967). It is therefore important that the researcher shows the subjects that their language is valued and uses the local variety of the language, where possible.

One of the challenges the researcher faces when collecting data is to be accepted by the local community. The community can be suspicious or cautious about outsiders, and might not understand the purpose of the project. In the present research participant observation was used to get to know the community and become more of an insider. As Samarin (1967) and Milroy and Gordon (2003: 70) point out, participant observation is especially helpful in small communities. In Juncal, the researcher lived with an indigenous family, assisted members of the community with their work in the field or at home, was present at community meetings, and participated in important local events,

such as weddings and housewarming parties. In Tarata, a similar procedure was followed; the researcher accompanied members of the community to, for instance, literacy classes. In both fieldwork sites, the researcher became friends with members of the local community. When the researcher becomes an insider, he/she can ask more profound questions about issues that are relevant to subjects, which improves the quality of the data (Labov 1984). In addition, when the researcher knows the subjects and shows an understanding of the local issues, the subjects feel more comfortable and are more willing to share their stories.

There are always ethical issues involved in doing fieldwork, such as issues related to informed consent, protection of anonymity, and access to the tape recordings (Labov 1984; Milroy and Gordon 2003). The subjects for the present study gave their consent to being tape-recorded.³⁰ The consent form explained the purpose of the study and what was expected from the subjects. It explicitly stated that participation in the study was voluntarily and anonymous, and that any information that is obtained in connection with the study and that can be identified with them will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with their permission. Since the majority of the subjects for this study are illiterate, the consent form was read aloud to them at the beginning of the interview. The subjects' anonymity is preserved by the use of fictitious names in the discussion of the

³⁰ The Bolivian naturalistic data were collected as part of the researchers' Master's at Leiden University in the Netherlands. Since Dutch universities do not require the use of consent forms for linguistic studies, no formal consent form was read to the subjects. As with the formal consent form, the researchers explained the purpose of the study to the subjects and told them participation was voluntary. The subjects also gave their permission to be audio-recorded.

data. The subjects are thus not identifiable. The data are further protected in that the researcher is the only one who has access to the data.

4.3. Analysis

The naturalistic data are mainly used to show the frequency of the different word orders (see section 2 of Chapter 4) and the pragmatic use of sentences with preverbal objects (see section 4 of Chapter 4). In addition, the naturalistic data provide examples of long distance movement in Andean Spanish (see section 4.2.2. of Chapter 3). Below, the methods used for the analysis of the data are discussed.

The naturalistic data were transcribed orthographically by the researcher(s).³¹ The sentences were then coded and classified according to their word order. For the coding and classification of the sentences, Ocampo (1994, 1995) was followed. Ocampo (1994, 1995) studies word order variation in Argentinean Spanish, which is a monolingual variety of Spanish. The rationale for following Ocampo's (1994, 1995) methodology is that the researcher wanted to contrast the results of the present study on word order in Andean Spanish with the results of Ocampo's studies on word order in Argentinean Spanish. In particular, the aim was to determine if certain word orders, such as the orders OV and OVS (with the object in preverbal position), are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish.

Ocampo (1994) studies word order variation in declarative sentences with a verb and another constituent in informal conversations in Spanish with twenty one middle-

³¹ Eefje Wensveen transcribed half of the naturalistic data from Bolivia.

class speakers from La Plata, Argentina. The study looks at the correlation between word order, the type of verb or construction, the informational status of the NP referent, and the pragmatic function expressed by the sentence. The study considers only sentences with a verb and another constituent, but no additional constituents. Ocampo (1994) examines only lexical NPs; personal pronouns are excluded from the analysis, “because a preliminary analysis of the data shows that there may be additional factors ... that motivate their word order” (Ocampo 1994: 426). Ocampo (1994) does not further specify what those other factors are. In Ocampo (1994) only main clauses were studied, since the number of constituents has an effect on word order and word order restrictions may be different for main and subordinate clauses.

The second constituent in Ocampo (1994) is a subject, a direct object, an indirect object, a prepositional phrase, or an adverb. Direct objects are defined as NPs that can be replaced by the clitics *lo*, *la*, *los*, and *las*. Ocampo (1994) explains that in the data direct objects may or may not occur with a clitic, as in the following examples from Ocampo (1994: 426). The direct objects in (16) and (18) co-occur with a clitic, whereas the ones in (15) and (17) do not.

15) Pido el libro.

I ask the book

‘I ask the book’

16) Lo traje el papelito.

CLITIC I brought the piece of paper.

‘I brought the piece of paper.’

17) Doce años tenía.

Twelve years I had.

‘I was twelve years old’

18) La lección no la daba.

The lesson no CLITIC I gave.

‘I didn’t know the lesson.’

The first two examples are classified as sentences with a postverbal object, and the last two as sentences with a preverbal object (Ocampo 1994).

In his analysis Ocampo (1994) takes into account the type of verb. He makes a distinction between transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, *gustar*-type verbs, and presentative verbs. Presentative verbs are “those one-valency verbs that have the possibility of taking NP arguments whose referents are brand-new or brand-new anchored”: *haber* (‘there is/there are’), *estar* (‘to be’ (locative)), *existir* (‘to exist’) (Ocampo 1994). *Gustar*-type verbs are verbs that agree with a NP that lacks agentivity and occur with an experiencer that in Standard Spanish is obligatorily expressed by an indirect object clitic (Ocampo 1994: 427). Other examples of *gustar*-type verbs are *interesar* and *encantar*.

Ocampo (1995) studies word order variation in constructions with a subject, a direct object and a verb in the Spanish of thirty three middle-class speakers from La Plata, Argentina. The study focuses on the relationship between word order, pragmatic functions and primary stress placement. The methodology employed in Ocampo (1995) is similar to the one followed in Ocampo (1994): only main clauses are considered, and

personal pronouns are excluded from the analysis. This study, however, does not consider verb-type.

As indicated above, the methodology used for analyzing the naturalistic data of the present study is similar to the one used in Ocampo (1994, 1995). Following Ocampo (1994, 1995), only declarative sentences and main clauses were analyzed; subordinate clauses were excluded from the analysis. As we saw above, Ocampo (1994, 1995) takes only lexical NPs into consideration. In the present study, personal pronouns were counted, but they were separated from the lexical NPs. All sentences with a subject, a verb, a direct object, an indirect object, an adverb, a prepositional phrase, and/or a predicate were studied. The direct objects and indirect objects sometimes co-occurred with clitics. Following Ocampo (1994: 425-430), a distinction was made between transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, presentatives and *gustar*-type verbs. Discourse markers such as *dizque* and quotatives (e.g. *dice* "... " *dice*) were excluded from the analysis.

The results of the analysis of the frequency of the different word orders are discussed in section 2 of Chapter 4. The following sentences were taken into consideration: (a) sentences with a subject, a verb and an object or predicate, (b) sentences with a verb and an object or predicate, (c) sentences with a verb and a subject, (d) sentences with a verb and an adverb, and (e) sentences with a verb and a prepositional phrase. The frequency of the different word orders was calculated for all the subjects together. The results were compared to the results from Ocampo's (1994) study, and *chi*-square tests were performed to show that there are significant differences between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish. In addition, the data were analyzed per group. As

explained in section 4.1. above, the subjects were divided in groups based on type of bilingual speaker (simultaneous versus sequential), sex (male or female), and level of education (professional or non-professional). Where possible, *chi*-square tests were performed to study the relevance of the factors type of bilingual speaker, sex, and level of education. It will be shown that the factor type of bilingual speaker is not relevant, whereas sex and level of education are (see section 2 of Chapter 4). The results were also compared to the results from previous studies on Andean Spanish to show that the same tendencies are found.

The naturalistic data were also analyzed for answers to *wh*-questions with a focus on the direct object (see section 4 of Chapter 4). It will be shown that in Andean Spanish the order OV can be used in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the object. A quantitative analysis of the naturalistic data was performed to determine if this is a common strategy in Andean Spanish.

Finally, the naturalistic data were used to show the occurrence of long distance movement in Andean Spanish. Some examples are provided in section 4.2.2.2. of Chapter 3 on the syntactic properties of focus fronting.

The naturalistic data are of limited use in studying the nature of linguistic transfer, since they do not provide much information about the syntactic properties of focus. The elicitation data are of crucial importance to be able to determine the nature of the linguistic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The methodology used for collecting elicitation data is discussed in the next section.

5. ELICITATION DATA

In this section, the methodology used for collecting the elicitation data is presented. In section 5.1, the selection and the main characteristics of the subjects is discussed. Section 5.2 is a discussion of the procedures followed in the data collection and the designs of the three elicitation studies that were created to study the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus structures in Spanish and Quechua: an elicitation study on weak crossover effects (section 5.2.1.), an elicitation study on long distance movement (section 5.2.2.), and an elicitation study on question-answer pairs (section 5.2.3.). Finally, in section 5.3, the analysis and interpretation of the data are discussed.

5.1. Subjects

The subjects for this part of the study were bilingual speakers of Spanish and Quechua (see section 1.1.1.) and monolingual Spanish speakers (see section 5.1.2.). The group of Spanish monolinguals provides us with data on Standard Spanish, and therefore allows us to confirm or disconfirm what has been said about focus and word order in Standard Spanish. Moreover, the use of data from bilingual and monolingual speakers enables us to examine differences between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish in detail, and to ensure that the data are not affected by the design of the study.

5.1.1. Bilingual speakers

The elicitation data consist of picture-based story-telling tasks and sentence-judgment tasks in Spanish and Quechua. Tables (7) and (8) show the number of tape recordings per region and type of speaker for the elicitation data in Spanish, and in Quechua, respectively.

Table 7: Bilingual speakers (Spanish elicitation data)

	Simultaneous bilinguals	Sequential bilinguals	Total
Bolivia	7	3	10
Ecuador		5	5
Total	7	8	15

Table 8: Bilingual speakers (Quechua elicitation data)

	Simultaneous bilinguals	Sequential bilinguals	Total
Bolivia	3	1	4
Ecuador		4	4
Total	3	5	8

The subjects for this part of the study were selected according to the criteria that were already used in the 2001/2004 fieldwork. For this part of the study, a good subject is

someone who has intuitions about the structure of the language and enjoys talking about it (cf. Dimmendaal 2001). Subjects who did not have clear intuitions and accepted all sentences were not as useful for this part of the study. Some of the subjects considered the sentence-judgment task an interesting intellectual activity; these subjects were willing to do the task both in Spanish and in Quechua. Some other subjects participated out of friendship. The subjects needed to understand the objective of the study, be alert and patient, and able to pay attention to the task. A common issue with sentence-judgment tasks is that subjects provide the information they think the researcher wants to hear. It is therefore important for the researcher to stay neutral when subjects make judgments (Vaux and Cooper 1999).

The subject's attitude towards Quechua and Spanish was also important, since a negative attitude towards the non-standard variety of Spanish or Quechua could affect the judgments. Another issue could be that subjects think they are not qualified to make judgments because they have not received much formal education and their knowledge is mostly unconscious (Mithun 2001). It is important to make the subject feel at ease and to let him/her know that he/she is the expert.

Since subjects have different qualities and interests (cf. Vaux and Cooper 1999; Dimmendaal 2001; Mithun 2001), it is useful to work with multiple subjects. Some of the subjects for this study had clear judgments and took the context of the sentences in consideration, whereas other subjects were good at explaining their judgments.

Ideally, this study would be based on naturalistic data in Spanish and elicitation data in Spanish and Quechua from the same subjects. Where possible, the same subjects were selected for the naturalistic and the elicitation data and the same subjects

participated in both the Spanish and the Quechua parts of the study. For practical reasons, however, it was not always possible to get data from the same subjects. A lot of time passed between the different stages of the research. The Bolivian naturalistic data are from 2001, whereas the elicitation data are from 2006 and 2007. In 2006/2007, the researcher was not able to contact all of her previous subjects again. Also, some subjects were not able (or willing) to do the elicitation study twice (once in Spanish and once in Quechua) due to a lack of availability, a lack of concentration, or boredom. Finally, since subjects have different qualities, not all subjects were good subjects for all parts of the study. For instance, some subjects enjoyed talking but did not have clear intuitions about their language.

Several Bolivian subjects did participate in more than one part of the study. From Elena, naturalistic data in Spanish and elicitation data in Spanish and Quechua were collected. From Manuela, naturalistic data in Spanish and elicitation data in Spanish were collected. From Teresa, we have naturalistic data in Spanish, and elicitation data in Quechua. Rodolfo, Luis and Francisco, participated in the elicitation studies in Spanish and Quechua. Some of the Ecuadorian subjects also participated more than once. From Andrés and Alejandro, naturalistic data in Spanish and elicitation data in Spanish were collected. From Sofía and Rafaela, naturalistic data in Spanish, and elicitation data in Spanish and Quichua were collected. From Rufina, we have naturalistic data in Spanish and elicitation data in Quichua, and from José, we have elicitation data in Spanish and Quichua.³² Appendix A provides more information on the subjects for the different parts of the study. As with the naturalistic data, a consent form was read aloud to the subjects.

³² All the names are fictitious.

5.1.2. Monolingual Spanish speakers

To compare the data from Andean Spanish with data from Standard Spanish and to ensure that the results are not an effect of the design of the study, the same elicitation studies were conducted with a group of twelve Spanish speakers who did not speak Quechua or any other indigenous language. Monolingual Spanish speakers from the Andes were excluded from the study, because the regional variety of Spanish shows some influence from Quechua due to the long-term contact between Quechua and Spanish. The subjects for the monolingual Spanish group were six subjects from Argentina, three subjects from Colombia, one subject from Spain, one subject from Venezuela, and one subject from Mexico. The subjects in this group have Spanish as their first language, and have at least some knowledge of English. They all come from regions where no indigenous languages are spoken. All the subjects in this group live in Urbana-Champaign, and at the time of the elicitation study they had spent between two months and two years in the United States. Subjects who had spent more than two years in the United States were excluded from participation in the study to minimize the influence from English in the subject's Spanish. The subjects' ages ranged from 22 to 32 years, with a mean age of 28 years. Seven of the subjects are female and five male. They are all students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and were selected over e-mail via the university. Some of the subjects were recruited with help from the Colombian and Argentinean student organizations. Appendix A contains more information on the characteristics of these subjects. The elicitation studies were conducted in the researcher's office at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and lasted one till

two hours. The elicitation studies were carried out in the same way as the original elicitation studies and were audio-recorded. Unlike the subjects in the bilingual groups, the subjects in the monolingual group are not illiterate. These subjects read the consent form, signed it, and received a copy in case they wanted to contact the researcher.

5.1.3. Summary

Table 9 summarizes the main characteristics of the subjects in the comparison groups for the elicitation data. The elicitation studies on weak crossover, long distance movement and question-answer pairs will be explained in section 5.2.

Table 9: Characteristics of the subjects for the elicitation data (Quechua-Spanish bilinguals and Spanish monolinguals).

Type of data	Group	Place	Type of speaker	Sex	Age	Education
Spanish weak crossover long distance movement question-answer pairs	Quechua- Spanish bilingual	Bolivia 2006	7 simultaneous bilinguals	6 female	23-63,	5 professionals
			3 sequential bilinguals	4 male	mean: 45	5 non-professionals
	Spanish monolingual	Ecuador 2006	5 sequential bilinguals	2 female	21-52,	4 professionals
			12 Spanish monolinguals	3 male	mean: 36	1 non-professional
Quechua weak crossover question-answer pairs	Quechua- Spanish bilingual	Argentina, Colombia, Spain, Venezuela, Mexico 2008	4 simultaneous bilinguals	7 female	22-32,	12 professionals
			4 sequential bilinguals	5 male	mean: 28	
Quechua long distance movement	Quechua- Spanish bilingual	Bolivia 2007	4 simultaneous bilinguals	2 female	40-63,	3 professionals
			4 sequential bilinguals	2 male	mean: 53	1 non-professional
Quechua long distance movement	Quechua- Spanish bilingual	Bolivia 2007	4 simultaneous bilinguals	3 female	21-51,	2 professionals
			4 sequential bilinguals	1 male	mean: 32	2 non-professional
Quechua long distance movement	Quechua- Spanish bilingual	Bolivia 2007	4 simultaneous bilinguals	1 female	40-63,	4 professional
			4 sequential bilinguals	3 male	mean: 52	

5.2. Procedures

In this section, the stimulus materials that were used in the sentence-judgment tasks and the procedures that were followed in conducting the elicitation studies are discussed. In the discussion, the issues a researcher faces when collecting elicitation data will be addressed. One of the main problems in working with sentence-judgments is reliability, which is related to the degree of consistency among the judgments made by different subjects or by the same subject at different moments (Sorace 1996; also Labov 1972b; Cowart 1997; Vaux and Cooper 1999). In the present study, multiple subjects are used to ensure that the data are representative (cf. Cowart 1997; Dimmendaal 2001).

For this part of the study, picture-story tasks and oral sentence-judgment tasks were created. Since most of the subjects were illiterate in Quechua and/or Spanish, the mode of presentation was necessarily oral. Three traditional Andean stories (*La zorra y el gallo*, ‘The fox and the rooster’, *La lora y la zorra*, ‘The parrot and the fox’, and *La zarigüeya y el utuskuru*, ‘The opossum and the worm’ (Martínez Parra 1999)) were used, which are summarized below in section 5.2.1., and six invented short stories, which provided a clear context for the sentences under study. Appendix B contains the pictures used in the picture-based story-telling task, and Appendix C provides the original stories in Spanish and Quechua, as well as the English translation. The stories provided an explicit context for the sentence-judgment tasks. If the subjects are not provided with an explicit context, the context the subjects imagine is not under the researcher’s control. Different subjects may imagine different contexts for the same sentences, which leads to inconsistent judgments (Sorace 1996). A more structured design reduces inter-subject

variation in the judgments (Schütze 1996). An interesting semantic context for the sentences also helps to keep the subjects interested in the tasks (Vaux and Cooper 1999). In the present study, local stories with local information were used to make the sentences more interesting and relevant to the local community.

Three different stories were used with the same type of questions and possible answers, targeting the same theoretical issue. When more sentences of the same type are included in the task, the reliability increases (Sorace 1996; Cowart 1997). In general, grammaticality judgments of different sentences may be affected by a variety of factors, such as sentence length, frequency and/or familiarity with a lexical item and complexity of the sentence (Cowan and Hatasa 1994; Sorace 1996; Cowart 1997). The sentences used in this study were all relatively short and easy to parse. The lexical items used in the sentence judgment tasks were adjusted according to the subject's dialect or personal preference. For instance, some subjects used the Spanish word *zarigüeya* for the opossum in the story 'The opossum and the worm', whereas others used the word *comadreja*. Some subjects were not familiar with the animal and called it a rat (*ratón*). Since the lexical choice was not of relevance to the tasks at hand, the lexical item that the subject used in the picture-based story-telling part of the elicitation study was also employed in the sentence-judgment part.

The subjects narrated the stories, in Spanish and/or Quechua, based on the pictures, which enabled the researcher to check for understanding. The oral sentence-judgment tasks consisted of: (a)) questions and answers to check for weak crossover in questions and focus fronting (see section 4.1 of Chapter 3), (b) questions and answers to check for long distance movement with focus fronting (see section 4.2 of Chapter 3), and

(c) question-answer pairs (see section 5 of Chapter 4). Sensitivity to weak crossover effects and long distance movement are the main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish (Rizzi 1997). These two syntactic properties will be explained briefly in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 below, and more in detail in sections 4.1 and 4.2. of Chapter 3. Question-answer pairs help us determine focus structures in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish, and Quechua. The three elicitation studies together help us determine the syntactic and pragmatic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. For each question, first a spontaneous answer was elicited and then the subject was presented with several answers to the question.

As pointed out above in section 2, speakers of non-standard varieties often believe their variety is inferior, which may influence their answers to questions about their variety. It is therefore crucial that the researcher convinces the subjects that their variety is not inferior and that their contribution is valuable (cf. Vaux and Cooper 1999).

The subjects' responses may also be influenced by his/her understanding of the instructions. The researcher needs to explain the task and provide the subjects with clear instructions (cf. Samarin 1967). This is even more important when the subjects are not familiar with grammaticality judgment tasks, as in the present case. If the researcher asks the subjects to indicate whether a sentence is grammatical without explaining the term "grammatical", the judgments will be inconsistent. Subjects may judge the sentence based on, for instance, whether it is interpretable, possible in a given variety, or correct with respect to the prescribed rules (Sorace 1996). For this study, the subjects were asked if the sentences could be used in the context that was provided. The subjects were specifically told that the researcher was interested in the variety of Spanish/Quechua

spoken in their area. Questions about sentence judgments always need to be asked in a neutral way. For instance, a question such as “this is unacceptable, isn’t it?” is biased towards an affirmative answer (Vaux and Cooper 1999: 119).

A sentence may be judged acceptable or unacceptable for a variety of reasons, some of which are irrelevant for the purpose of the study (Sorace 1996; Vaux and Cooper 1999). For instance, subjects may reject a sentence based on mispronunciation or inappropriate lexical choice (Mithun 2001). Also, subjects may judge sentences based on whether they are true or not. If subjects rejected a sentence, they were asked to explain why the sentence was bad and/or to locate the ungrammaticality of the sentence. These additional tasks helped us to ensure that the reasons why the subjects rejected sentences were relevant to the issue under study (cf. Schütze 1996).

In addition, the subjects were asked to compare sentences and indicate their preferences. Subjects are generally better at making relative judgments than absolute judgments (Sorace 1996). In the present study, subjects usually compared no more than two or three sentences at a time. Ranking of all the possible answers for each question was not feasible due to memory limitations.

When there are too many judgments in one session, subjects often get bored, frustrated or tired (Schütze 1996; Cowart 1997). Repeated exposure to the sentences may also have an effect on the judgments; after a while, the sentences begin to sound alike and the subjects become confused (cf. Chelliah 2001: 159-160). In order to minimize the negative effects, the stimulus materials in this study were varied, and both sentence-judgment tasks and picture-based story-telling tasks were used. The subjects were allowed to take breaks or to do the elicitation study in several sessions. The sentence

judgments were sometimes mixed with conversations about unrelated topics (cf. Dimmendaal 2001).

All the elicitation studies were done by the researcher. The advantages were that the researcher could directly observe the language use and check for understanding. Also, when more researchers are involved in the data collection, issues of comparability may arise (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003). The sessions generally lasted an hour or an hour and a half, depending on the subject's speed and the length of his/her narration, and were audio-recorded.

Below, the designs of the elicitation studies on weak crossover effects (section 5.2.1.), long distance movement (section 5.2.2.), and question-answer pairs (section 5.2.3.) in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua are discussed.

5.2.1. Elicitation study 1: Weak crossover

To determine the nature of linguistic transfer, we must separate syntactic issues from pragmatic issues. Elicitation study 1 tests for weak crossover which is one of the main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish. We must determine whether focus fronting has the same syntactic properties in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. Section 5.2.1.1. briefly discusses weak crossover in Standard Spanish. This syntactic property is explained more in detail in section 4 of Chapter 3. Section 5.2.1.2. is concerned with the elicitation study that was designed to test for weak crossover in Spanish and Quechua. The interpretation of the data will also be discussed. The results of the elicitation study are discussed in Chapter 3.

5.2.1.1. Weak crossover in Standard Spanish

In Standard Spanish focus fronting leads to weak crossover effects (Rizzi 1997). In Standard Spanish, the sentence in (19) with focus fronting and weak crossover is not grammatical with a bound reading.

19) ?? [_F A cada niño_i] aprecia su_i madre t_i.
[_F To every child_i] appreciates his_i mother t_i.
'His mother appreciates every child.'

The sentence in (19) is an example of a weak crossover configuration. In the sentence in (19), the quantified phrase *a cada niño* ('to every child') undergoes A'-movement crossing the pronoun *su* ('his'). The quantified phrase c-commands both the pronoun and the trace. The trace does not c-command the pronoun, which makes this a weak crossover violation. The details of weak crossover are explained in section 4.1. of Chapter 3.

5.2.1.2. Weak crossover in Andean Spanish and Quechua

To find out if focus fronting in Andean Spanish and Quechua is sensitive to weak crossover effects, three different picture-based story-telling tasks and sentence-judgment tasks were created. The sentences in (21a)-(22a), which are answers to the question in

(20a), illustrate the type of sentences that were constructed to test for weak crossover with focus fronting in Andean Spanish: in these sentences a quantified phrase (*a cada perro*, ‘every dog’, in (21a) and *a ningún perro*, ‘no dog’, in (22a)) is preposed to the left-periphery of the sentence and assigned stress. In both sentences, the quantified phrase crosses the pronoun *su*, ‘his’. Weak crossover effects are generally not stable, i.e. judgments on weak crossover vary within the same language. Therefore, two types of control sentences were used in the elicitation study: questions and passive sentences. Questions (e.g. (20)) were included to determine whether there is a correlation between the judgments for weak crossover in questions and the judgments for weak crossover with focus fronting. Passive sentences were included as control sentences (see (20b), (21b) and (22b)); in passive sentences we do not expect weak crossover effects because the preposed element does not cross a pronoun. The details are further explained in section 4 of Chapter 3.

20) a. ¿A qué perro_i quiere su_i dueña?

To which dog_i loves his_i owner

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

b. ¿Qué perro_i es querido por su_i dueña?

Which dog_i is loved by his_i owner

‘Which dog is loved by his owner?’

21) a. [_F A cada perro_i] quiere su_i dueña.

To every dog_i loves his_i owner

‘His owner loves every dog.’

b. Cada perro_i es querido por su_i dueña.

Every dog_i is loved by his_i owner.

‘Every dog is loved by his owner.’

22) a. [F A ningún perro_i] quiere su_i dueña.

To no dog_i loves his_i owner

‘His owner loves no dog.’

b. Ningún perro_i es querido por su_i dueña.

No dog_i is loved by his_i owner

‘No dog is loved by his owner.’

In order to determine whether the subjects had weak crossover, the control sentences were taken into account. First, weak crossover in questions was studied. Judgments were solicited for the question with weak crossover (see (19a)) and the one with a passive construction (see (19b)). If subjects rejected the question in (19a), or showed a clear preference for the question in (19b) over the one in (19a), then that was taken as evidence for weak crossover effects in questions. A spontaneous answer to the questions was elicited, based on pictures that were shown to the subjects. The picture corresponding to the sentences in (19) shows four dogs who are petted by their owners. The picture corresponding to the sentences in (22) shows four dogs who are kicked by their owners (see Appendix B for the pictures). The subjects were asked to give judgments for the answers consisting of sentences with weak crossover (see (21a) and (22a)) and sentences with a passive construction (see (21b) and (22b)). The passive sentences functioned as control sentences: the subjects who rejected the sentences in

(21a) and (22a) or who indicated a clear preference for (21b) and (22b) had weak crossover with focus fronting. In all the cases, it was assured that the reason for rejecting a sentence was in fact the structure of the sentence. Finally, the correlation between judgments for weak crossover in questions and those for weak crossover with focus fronting was studied. If the subjects showed weak crossover in both the control sentences (the passive sentences and the questions) and the sentences with focus fronting, this was taken as evidence for weak crossover with focus fronting.

In order to check for weak crossover effects in Quechua, a similar set of questions (see (23)) and answers with focus fronting (see (24)-(25)) was constructed in Quechua. The context of the sentences (the question and the story depicted in the pictures) indicates that the fronted elements are focused. The following sentences illustrate the type of sentences used for the Bolivian variety of Quechua (see Appendix C for a complete list of questions and answers in both varieties of Quechua)³³:

23) ¿Mayqen allqu-ta-taj; dueña-n_i muna-ku-n?

Which dog-AC-Q_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

24) a. Sapa allqu-ta; dueña-n_i muna-ku-n.

Every dog-AC_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

‘His owner loves every dog.’

³³ The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: AC= accusative; CAUS= causative; DIR= direction; DE= direct experience; EV= evidential marker; INSTR= instrumental; NEG= negation; NOM= nominalizer; POS= possessive; PL= plural; PROGR= progressive; Q= question; REC= reciprocal; REFL= reflexive; SG= singular; TOP= topic.

b. Sapa allqu-ta-m_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n.

Every dog-AC-DE_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

c. Sapa allqu-ta-qa_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n.

Every dog-AC-TOP_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

25) a. Ni ima allqu-ta_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n-chu.

No dog-AC_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG-NEG

‘His owner loves no dog.’

b. Ni ima allqu-ta-m_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n-chu.

No dog-AC-EV_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG-NEG

c. Ni ima allqu-ta-qa_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n-chu.

No dog-AC-TOP_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG-NEG

As in the Spanish variant of the elicitation study, first a spontaneous answer to the question in (23) was elicited, and then the subjects were asked to give acceptability judgments for different sentences. In (24b)/(25b) and (24c)/(25c), the preposed noun phrase is marked with *-MI* or *-KA*, respectively. As explained briefly in section 5.2.3. below, *-MI* is used to mark the focus and *-KA* is used to mark the topic of a sentence. The options with *-MI* and *-KA* are included because it has been argued that most focused/topicalized elements in Quechua are morphologically marked with *-MI* and *-KA*. These morphemes are further discussed in section 3 of Chapter 3.

5.2.2. Elicitation study 2: Long distance movement

The second elicitation study is concerned with long distance movement, which is the second syntactic property of focus fronting in Standard Spanish. In section 5.2.2.1. long distance movement in Standard Spanish is explained briefly. Section 5.2.2.2. discusses the elicitation study that was designed to test for long distance movement in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.

5.2.2.1. Long distance movement in Standard Spanish

A second characteristic of focus fronting in Standard Spanish is long distance movement of the object or the subject. Example (26) shows that in Standard Spanish, long distance movement of the object is possible with focus fronting (see section 4.2. of Chapter 3 for details):

26) [_F Este libro_i] [_{CP} creo que leyó Juan t_i].

[_F This book_i] I think that read Juan t_i

‘I think Juan read this book.’

In Standard Spanish we cannot use focus fronting to focus a VP (see (27a)); focus projection is used instead (see (27b)):

27) a. * [_F Se comió un ratón] el gato (Zubizarreta 1999: 4233).

[_F Ate a mouse] the cat

‘The cat ate a mouse.’

b. El gato [_F se comió un ratón] (Zubizarreta 1999: 4230).

The cat ate a mouse

‘The cat ate a mouse.’

It needs to be determined whether these facts for long distance movement of the subject, the object and the VP are the same in Andean Spanish and Quechua.

5.2.2.2. Long distance movement in Andean Spanish and Quechua

In order to check for long distance movement in Andean Spanish, questions were constructed with corresponding answers with long distance movement of the object (see (28)), of the subject (see (29)), and of the VP (see (30)) (see Appendix B for the pictures and Appendix C for the questions and answers):

28) a. ¿Qué cree la mujer que lleva el hombre?

What thinks the woman that takes the man

‘What does the woman think that the man takes?’

b. [_F Las llamas_i] cree la mujer [_{CP} que lleva el hombre t_i].

[_F The llamas_i] thinks the woman that takes the man.

‘The woman thinks the man takes the llamas.’

29) a. ¿Quién cree el maestro que lee el libro?

Who thinks the teacher that reads the book

‘Who does the teacher think that reads the book?’

b. [F El niño_i] cree el maestro [CP que lee el libro t_i].

[F The boy_i] thinks the teacher that reads the book.

‘The teacher thinks the boy reads the book.’

30) a. ¿Qué cree la madre que hace el niño?

What thinks the mother that does the child

‘What does the mother think the child does?’

b. [F Estudia_i] cree la madre [CP que el niño t_i].

[F Studies_i] thinks the mother that the child.

‘The mother thinks the child studies.’

For this elicitation study, three different stories and sets of questions and answers were used. The stories all involved a contrast; for example, the pictures corresponding to (28) show a man taking bulls, and a woman thinking the man is taking llamas (see Appendix B for the pictures and Appendix C for the questions and answers). As in the first elicitation study, the subjects first gave a spontaneous answer to the question (e.g. (29a)), and then judged the sentence with long distance movement (e.g. (29b)).

A similar set of questions and answers was designed to check for long distance movement of the object ((31)), the subject ((32)), and the VP ((33)) in Quechua. The questions below are given in the Bolivian Quechua variety. This part of the elicitation study was conducted in Bolivia in 2007. Appendix B contains the pictures for the elicitation study, and Appendix C the complete questionnaire.

31) [F Llama-s-ta] warmi yuya-n [CP q'ari q'ati-sqa-n-ta t_i].

Llama-PL-AC woman think-3SG man take-NOM-3SG-AC

‘The woman thinks the man takes the llamas.’

32) [F Q'ari wawa] yacha-chi-q yuya-n [CP liwru(-ta) ñawi-sqa-n-ta t_i].

Boy learn-CAUS-NOM think-3SG book-AC read-NOM-3SG-AC

‘The teacher thinks the boy reads the book.’

33) [F Istudya-sqa-n-ta] mama yuya-n [CP wawa t_i].

Study-NOM-3SG-AC mother think-3SG child.

‘The mother thinks the child studies.’

5.2.3. Elicitation study 3: Question-answer pairs

For this elicitation study, three Andean stories were used: *La lora y la zorra*, ‘The parrot and the fox’, *La zorra y el gallo*, ‘The fox and the rooster’, and *La zarigüeya y el utuskuru*, ‘The opossum and the worm’ (Martínez Parra 1999). The first story, *La lora y la zorra* (‘The parrot and the fox’), is a story about a fox who wants to get to know the moon. The fox asks a condor if he can tie a rope to his foot, so that the condor can take him to the moon. The condor agrees, and together they start flying. When a parrot sees the fox flying through the sky, she starts laughing. The fox, who gets angry, starts insulting the parrot. The parrot then gets offended and cuts the rope, so that the fox falls down.

In the second story, *La zorra y el gallo* ('The fox and the rooster'), a fox runs into a rooster, who gets scared and climbs up a branch of a tree. The fox, who knows that the rooster is very vain, starts to flatter him and asks him to sing. The rooster is suspicious at first, but he feels so flattered that he starts singing. The fox then tells the rooster that his voice would sound even better when he sings with his eyes closed. The rooster, who is still a little suspicious, closes only one eye at first. But the fox keeps giving him compliments and tells him to close both his eyes. The rooster feels so flattered by all the compliments that he becomes reckless and closes both his eyes to start singing, upon which the fox grabs him and eats him.

In the third story, *La zarigüeya y el utuskuru* ('The opossum and the worm'), an opossum is walking happily in the field when he runs into a worm, who is very weak and thin, and looks sad. When the opossum asks the worm what is wrong, the worm says he cannot find anything to eat but grass. Seasons pass, and the opossum and the worm run into each other again. This time the worm is doing very well; he is stronger and bigger, and he is so proud that he does not even look at the opossum. The opossum approaches the worm to ask him where he is going. The worm stands up and responds proudly that he is going to eat corn. But when he is standing upright, a bird, who is flying nearby, sees him and eats him.

Appendix C contains the complete stories in Spanish and Quechua, as well as an English translation. The stories are adequate for the levels of literacy of my subjects, and the subjects are familiar with these or similar stories. The stories are used to create a specific context for the question-answer pairs that are used to determine focus structures in Spanish and Quechua.

The focus is the non-presupposed information, while the rest of the sentence is presupposed information, that is, information that is shared by the speaker and the listener. Question-answer pairs can be used to establish the focus-presupposition structure of a sentence. The focus of a declarative sentence is that part of the sentence that substitutes for the *wh*-phrase in the context question (Zubizarreta 1998, 1999). This will be explained more in detail in section 2.1. of Chapter 3.

In order to study focus structures in Spanish and Quechua, *wh*-questions about the three Andean stories were created. The examples below illustrate the type of questions that were used for the sentence-judgment tasks: *wh*-questions to elicit sentences with sentence focus (see (34)), with the focus on the subject (see (35)), with the focus on the VP (see (36)), and with the focus on the direct object (see (37)). Appendix C contains a complete list of questions and answers for the three stories.

Furthermore, several questions were constructed to elicit sentences with a contrastive focus on the subject (see (38)), a contrastive focus on the direct object (see (39)), or a contrastive focus on the VP (see (40)). A contrastive focus negates a value attributed to a variable by the presupposition and assigns an alternative value to the variable (Zubizarreta 1998, 199). This is further explained in Chapter 3. The picture corresponding to the question in (38) shows a little bird eating the worm. The question elicits a sentence that contradicts the presupposition: it is not the case that a condor eats the worm; the little bird eats the worm. The question thus elicits a contrastive focus on the subject.

The questions below are the ones used for the story *La zarigüeya y el utuskuru*, ‘The opossum and the worm’. A similar set of questions was used for the other two

stories. There were five sets of seven questions in total. A complete list of questions and answers is provided in Appendix C.

34) Q1: ¿Qué pasa?

‘What happens?’

35) Q2: ¿A quién come el pájaro?

‘Who does the bird eat?’

36) Q3: ¿Qué hace el pájaro?

‘What does the bird do?’

37) Q4: ¿Quién come al gusano?

‘Who eats the worm?’

38) Q5: ¿Un cóndor come al gusano?

‘Does a condor eat the worm?’

39) Q6: ¿El pájaro come a la zarigüeya?

‘Does the bird eat the opossum?’

40) Q7: ¿El pájaro saluda al gusano?

‘Does the bird greet the worm?’

First a spontaneous answer was elicited, and then the subjects were asked to give judgments for seven different sentences. The sentences below show the type of sentences for which judgments were elicited (see Appendix B for the corresponding pictures and Appendix C for the complete list of questions and answers):

41) A1: El pájaro come al gusano.

The bird eat to the worm

‘The bird eats the worm.’

42) A2: El pájaro al gusano come.

43) A3: Al gusano el pájaro come.

44) A4: Al gusano come el pájaro.

45) A5: Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘The bird eats the worm.’

46) A6: Come el pájaro al gusano.

47) A7: Come al gusano el pájaro.

To determine focus-presupposition structures in the local varieties of Quechua, we created questions that were similar to those used for the Spanish sentence-judgment tasks (see (34)-(40) above). The subjects gave a spontaneous answer to the questions, as well as judgments for eighteen different answers to each question. The answers were sentences with the six logically possible word orders, (a) without topic/focus markers, (b) with *-MI* on the focused element, and (c) with *-KA* on that element. In Quechua, focus and topic can be marked morphologically. The morpheme *-MI* is used to mark focus, whereas the morpheme *-KA* is used to mark the topic. Section 3 of Chapter 3 provides more information on focus in Quechua. The question and answers below illustrate the design of the elicitation study for the Bolivian variety of Quechua (for a complete list of the questions and answers in both varieties of Quechua see Appendix C):

48) ¿Ima-ta-taj p'isqo mikhu-sa-n?

What-AC-Q bird eat-PROGR-3SG

‘What does the bird eat?’

49) a. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta. (SVO)

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm’

b. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta-m. (SVO-*MI*)

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC-DE

c. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta-qa. (SVO-*KA*)

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC-TOP

50) a. P'isqo k'uruta mikhusan. (SOV)

Bird worm-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

‘The bird eats the worm’

b. P'isqo k'urutam mikhusan. (SO-*MI-V*)

Bird worm-AC-DE eat-PROGR-3SG

c. P'isqo k'urutaqa mikhusan. (SO-*KA-V*)

Bird worm-AC-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG

51)(....)

5.3. Analysis and interpretation

The data were transcribed orthographically by the researcher. The results of elicitation study 1 on weak crossover are discussed in detail in Chapter 3 on the syntactic properties of focus. As indicated above, the subjects were asked to judge questions and answers with a weak crossover configuration, as well as questions and sentences with passive constructions. If the subjects only accepted the passive constructions or if they indicated a preference for the passive constructions over the sentences with a weak crossover configuration, it was concluded that the subjects displayed sensitivity to weak crossover effects. The percentages of subjects who showed sensitivity to weak crossover were calculated for both questions and sentences with focus fronting. The results for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua were compared to analyze the differences and similarities between the three languages. For the bilingual speakers, a subject-by-subject analysis was performed to determine whether the factor type of speaker was relevant.

The results of elicitation study 2 on long distance movement are also used in Chapter 3 for the discussion on the syntax of focus. The percentage of subjects that allowed for long distance movement of the object, long distance movement of the subject and long distance movement of the VP was studied. As with the data on weak crossover effects, for the bilingual speakers the percentages were analyzed per region and type of speaker to ensure that these factors did not have an effect.

The results of elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs are discussed in Chapter 4 on the semantics and pragmatics of focus. For each question, the acceptance

rates of the different orders were studied. The results for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua were compared. To check for within-subject consistency, the data were carefully examined for each subject. In addition, the reasons for judging specific sentences unacceptable were examined. If a subject rejected the sentence for reasons that are not relevant to the theoretical issue his/her judgment was discarded. Subjects who were clearly not consistent or who accepted every possible order were excluded from the analysis.

As indicated above, the three elicitation studies were replicated with multiple subjects to increase the reliability. Also, the results of the sentence judgments and the picture-based story-telling tasks were combined with the results of the naturalistic data to come to a complete explanation of the phenomenon. Both data types in combination (i.e. naturalistic data and picture-based story-telling tasks/sentence-judgment tasks) are a useful way of establishing a good description and explanation of the characteristics of Andean Spanish and Quechua. The use of different data types helps us to cross-validate the results.

6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the methodology that was used for collecting the data for this study was explained. The Spanish and Quechua data were collected in Tarata in Bolivia and Juncal/Cañar in Ecuador. As explained in section 3, the two fieldwork sites share several characteristics: both places are semi-urban and characterized by a relatively high level of Quechua-Spanish bilingualism and a relatively low level of literacy. In addition

to these data from bilingual speakers, data were collected from a group of Spanish monolinguals to compare Andean Spanish with Standard Spanish and to ensure that the results are not an effect of the design of the study. For each part of the study, data from multiple subjects were collected to increase the reliability of the results. In the discussion of the methodology, several issues that a researcher faces when collecting data were addressed, and it was explained what was done to overcome those issues.

For this study, two types of data were collected: naturalistic data and elicitation data. The naturalistic data are used to study word order independently of focus, to examine the frequency of different word orders, and to establish correlations between the linguistic phenomenon under study and the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level. Some issues with naturalistic data are the low frequency of the linguistic feature, and the low level of control over the data. Naturalistic data do not give us information about sentences that cannot occur and are therefore of limited use in building a theory.

The elicitation data are used to test for sensitivity to weak crossover and long distance movement, which are the main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, and to determine focus structures in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua in a more controlled setting. The stories used for the elicitation studies provide clear semantic contexts, and the use of the same questions for the three languages allows us to compare the language varieties. There are also some issues with elicitation data. For instance, sometimes there is a mismatch between what the subjects say they use and what they actually use. For this study, both naturalistic and elicitation data are used, because both types of data together provide us with more reliable data and enable us to give a

more complete description and explanation of the phenomenon. In the following chapters, we will refer back to the two types of data.

In Chapter 3, the syntactic properties of focus fronting will be discussed. The question is whether there is a syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. To answer this question, the results of elicitation study 1 on weak crossover effects and elicitation study 2 on long distance movement will be discussed. It will be shown that in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish, focus fronting is sensitive to weak crossover effects, while in Quechua it is not. Furthermore, Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the object and the subject, but Quechua does not. In Chapter 3, the naturalistic data will be used to support the claim that Andean Spanish, like Standard Spanish, allows for long distance movement. Based on the results from the elicitation studies on weak crossover effects and long distance movement, it will be concluded that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the semantics and pragmatics of focus. The question is whether there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The results of a quantitative analysis of the naturalistic data will be used to show that sentences with preverbal objects are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. In addition, other elements that occur in preverbal position will be studied, such as adverbs, and prepositional phrases. Where possible, *chi*-square tests are performed to show that (a) Andean Spanish differs significantly from Standard Spanish, and (b) there are correlations with the factors sex and educational level. In Chapter 4, the naturalistic data will also be used to show the pragmatic use of preverbal objects. In particular, it will be shown that in Andean Spanish the order OV can be used in answer to a *wh*-question with

the focus on the direct object. To study the pragmatic uses more in detail in a more controlled setting, the results of elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs are studied. The acceptance rates of the different word orders are calculated and compared for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The results of this elicitation study provide us with information about focus structures. In particular, it will be shown that preverbal objects are used more frequently and in more contexts in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish, and that Andean Spanish patterns with Quechua and not with Andean Spanish. This strongly suggest a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

The combination of the results of the naturalistic data and the elicitation data shows that the transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish is limited to a pragmatic transfer, that is, there is no syntactic transfer.

CHAPTER 3
THE SYNTAX OF FOCUS IN STANDARD SPANISH, ANDEAN SPANISH AND
QUECHUA

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the syntax of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. In Chapter 1 it was argued that we need to separate the syntactic issues from the pragmatic issues to determine the nature of the linguistic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. In this chapter the syntactic properties of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua are studied. The next chapter is dedicated to the pragmatic issues.

Previous studies have shown that in Andean Spanish the object frequently appears in preverbal position, which results in alternative orders, such as OVS or OSV. As will be shown in this chapter, the alternative word orders are possible in Standard Spanish, but in Standard Spanish they encode topic or focus. The high frequency of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish can be explained if focus fronting is generally used. As discussed in Chapter 2, two elicitation studies were designed to test for the syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. In particular, the elicitation studies tested for the two main properties of focus fronting, sensitivity to weak crossover and long distance movement, which will be discussed in section 4. Based on the results of the elicitation studies, it will be argued that the syntactic properties of focus fronting are identical in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish, and that they differ from

the syntactic properties of focus fronting in Quechua. In other words, it will be shown that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 2 contains a discussion of the three strategies that are used to encode focus in Standard Spanish: (a) a strategy involving the nuclear stress rule (section 2.2), (b) stress strengthening (section 2.3), and (c) focus fronting (section 2.4). We then turn to a discussion of focus in Quechua in section 3. In section 4, we come back to focus fronting. Since this strategy could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects, its properties are discussed more in detail. In section 4.2., the results of the elicitation study on sensitivity to weak crossover effects in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua are presented. It will be shown that in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish focus fronting is sensitive to weak crossover but that in Quechua it is not. This shows that this property is not affected by contact with Quechua. In section 4.3., the results of the elicitation study that was designed to test for long distance movement of the object, the subject and the VP in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua are discussed. The results show convincingly that Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the object and the subject but not of the VP, whereas Quechua does not allow for long distance movement. The combined results of the two elicitation studies thus reveal that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The conclusions are presented in section 5.

2. FOCUS IN SPANISH

In Standard Spanish there are three strategies to encode focus: (a) the focus can appear at the end of the sentence where it receives nuclear stress, (b) the intonation and the place of the stress can be changed, a strategy that is called stress strengthening, or (c) the focus can appear at the beginning of the clause via focus fronting. These three strategies will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2. Prosodic prominence and the nuclear stress rule

The first strategy that is used to mark focus involves prosodic prominence and the nuclear stress rule. In what follows, we closely follow Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), who provides the most complete description of focus in Spanish. Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), following Chomsky (1971, 1976) and Jackendoff (1972), defines focus in terms of presupposition. The focus is the non-presupposed information, while the rest of the sentence is presupposed information, i.e. information that is shared by the speaker and the listener. Question-answer pairs help us determine the focus-presupposition structure of a sentence. The presupposition of a *wh*-question can be identified by replacing the *wh*-phrase with an indefinite pronoun (see the *wh*-questions in (52) and the corresponding answers in (53)). The examples in (54) show the existential quantifications for these sentences (Zubizarreta 1998, 1999: 4224-4225).

52) a. ¿Qué ocurrió?

‘What happened?’

b. ¿Qué hizo el gato?

‘What did the cat do?’

c. ¿Qué se comió el gato?

‘What did the cat eat?’

53) a. Algo ocurrió.

‘Something happened’

b. El gato hizo algo.

‘The cat did something’

c. El gato se comió algo.

‘The cat ate something’

54) a. There is an x (x = an event), x happened.

b. There is an x (x = an event), the cat did x.

c. There is an x (x = an individual), the cat ate x.

The focus of a declarative sentence is that part of the sentence that replaces the *wh*-phrase in the context question. The sentence *El gato se comió un ratón*, ‘The cat ate a mouse’, (without the phrasal prominence specified) can be an answer to the three questions in (52) (among others), that is to say that the sentence is ambiguous with respect to the scope of the focus. The focus can be on the whole sentence (see (55a)), the VP (see (55b)), or the direct object (see (55c)), depending on the context question.

Following Jackendoff (1972) and Selkirk (1984), [F] is used to mark a constituent that is focused or part of the focus. A constituent marked [-F] is the presupposition or part

of the presupposition. The examples in (4) show the possible F-structures for the sentence *El gato se comió un ratón*, ‘The cat ate a mouse’, when the nuclear stress is on *ratón*.

Example (55a) is an answer to the question in (52a), (55b) corresponds to the question in (52b), and (55c) to the one in (52c):

55) a. [_F El gato se comió un ratón].

b. El gato [_F se comió un ratón].

c. El gato se comió [_F un ratón].

‘The cat ate a mouse’.

The three possible foci (the whole sentence, the VP, and the direct object) form the focus set of the sentence *El gato se comió un ratón*. The focus set of a sentence is defined as a set of constituents that can be the focus of that sentence with a given placement of nuclear stress (Reinhart 1997, 2006; Neeleman and Reinhart 1998). More specifically, the constituents that contain the main stress of the sentence are part of the focus set. Reinhart (1997, 2006) argues that at PF one member of the focus set is selected as the real focus, based on the context.

Focus assigns a value to a variable in the presupposition. Focus-presupposition structures are associated with two ordered assertions (Zubizarreta 1998: 4, 1999: 4226): (A1) indicates the presupposition given by the context question, and (A2) indicates the relation between a variable and its value. The following assertions are associated with the F-structures of the examples in (55):

56) a. A1: There is an x (x = an event), x happened.

A2: The x (such that x happened) = the cat ate a mouse.

b. A1: There is an x (x = an event), the cat did x.

A2: The x (such that the cat did x) = ate a mouse.

c. A1: There is an x (x = an individual), the cat ate x.

A2: The x (such that the cat ate x) = a mouse.

Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) makes a distinction between neutral focus (the focus that is identified by a context question), and contrastive focus³⁴. Contrastive focus negates a value that is given to a variable by the presupposition and assigns an alternative value to that variable. The example in (57) is from Zubizarreta (1999: 4228).

57) a. [El gato se comió un canario].

‘The cat ate a canary’

b. El gato se comió [_F un ratón] (no un canario).

‘The cat ate a mouse (not a canary)’

The sentence in (57b) contradicts the sentence in (57a), and has a contrastive focus interpretation. It is not the case that the cat ate a canary; the cat ate a mouse. This interpretation is illustrated in the assertions in (58) below, which are modeled after example (15) from Zubizarreta (1998: 7):

³⁴ Rizzi (1997) makes a similar distinction, but he uses the term non-contrastive focus for neutral focus (286-287).

58) A1: There is an x such that the cat ate x.

A2: It is not the case that the x (such that the cat ate x) = a canary and the x (such that the cat ate x) = a mouse

Cinque (1993) and Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) argue that prosodic prominence is important in identifying focus in Spanish, agreeing with Chomsky (1976) and Jackendoff (1972).³⁵ Nuclear stress is the stress that is associated with the most prominent word in an intonational group (Zubizarreta 1998, 1999).

Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) argues, with Chomsky (1976) and Jackendoff (1972), that there are different phrasal stress rules for neutral and contrastive focus. Neutral focus is indicated by neutral nuclear stress, which must be on the last stressable word in the F-marked phrase. Cinque (1993) argues that the main stress falls on the most deeply embedded constituent, which is the rightmost constituent in Spanish. Contrastive focus is indicated by emphatic or contrastive nuclear stress³⁶ and is relatively free, that is, it can be on any stressable morpheme.

One strategy that is used to focus the subject is to put it at the end of the sentence where it receives nuclear stress. Sentence (59b), which has word order VOS, is an answer to the question in (59a). According to Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), this is the only way to

³⁵ Based on an analysis of Germanic, Selkirk (1995), on the other hand, argues that the distribution of pitch accents determines the focus structure of a sentence. According to Zubizarreta (1998), Selkirk's theory cannot account for the facts of Spanish, and the Romance languages in general (82).

³⁶ It can also be indicated by neutral nuclear stress: *Pedro compró el disco (no el libro)*. 'Pedro bought the cd (not the book)' (Zubizarreta 1999: 4229).

answer the question in (59a) with a full sentence. However, as we will see in section 2.3, there is another strategy available. In a sentence with VOS the subject, and only the subject, is focused, that is the subject receives narrow focus. According to Selkirk's (1995) focus projection rules, focus cannot be projected from the subject.³⁷

59) a. ¿Quién se comió un ratón?

‘Who ate a mouse?’

b. Se comió un ratón [_F el gato].

‘The cat ate a mouse’

The VOS order is derived from either SVO (see (60a)) or VSO (see (60b)) via movement (Zubizarreta 1999)³⁸:

60) a. El gato se comió un ratón (SVO)

b. Se comió el gato un ratón (VSO)

³⁷ The relevant focus projection rules are as follows (Selkirk 1995):

- i. F-marking of the head of a phrase licenses the F-marking of the phrase.
- ii. F-marking of an internal argument of a head licenses the F-marking of the head (Selkirk 1995: 561).

The subject, *gato*, is not an internal argument, and therefore it cannot project any further.

³⁸ Zubizarreta uses the facts of VOS order in Spanish as an argument against Selkirk's analysis. It is not immediately clear how Selkirk could account for VOS (Zubizarreta 1998).

If SVO is the basic word order, VOS is derived by reordering [S] and [VO], as shown in (61a), where VO moves leftward over the subject. If VSO is the basic word order, then VOS is derived by reordering [S] and [O], as shown in (61b), where the object moves leftward over the subject (Zubizarreta 1999: 4233):

- 61) a. $[[F S] [VO]] \rightarrow [[VO] [F S]]$
 b. $[[V [F S][O]] \rightarrow [[V [O] [F S]]$

This movement is a prosodically-motivated movement, i.e. p-movement (Zubizarreta 1998). P-movement occurs when the nuclear stress rule (NSR) and the focus prominence rule (FPR), which are stated in (62) and (63) respectively, lead to contradictory results³⁹:

62) (C-)NSR⁴⁰:

Given two sister nodes C_i and C_j , the one lower in the asymmetric c-command ordering is more prominent.

³⁹ For an optimality theoretic analysis of the conflict between prosodic and syntactic well-formedness as in the case of VOS see Féry and Samek-Lodovici (2006). For optimality theoretic analyses see also Costa (1998, 2001), Schwarzschild (1999), Samek-Lodovici (2005).

⁴⁰ Zubizarreta (1998) proposes a revision of Cinque's (1993) nuclear stress rule to account for differences between Germanic and Spanish. She distinguishes between the S-NSR, which is defined in terms of selectional ordering ("Given two sister nodes C_i and C_j , if C_i and C_j are selectionally ordered, the one lower in the selectional ordering is more prominent" (Zubizarreta 1998: 156)) and the C-NSR, which is determined in terms of asymmetric c-command (see (11) in the main text). For Germanic both the S-NSR and the C-NSR are relevant. For Spanish, however, only the C-NSR is relevant.

63) *Focus Prominence Rule (FPR)*:

Given two sister nodes C_i (marked [+F]) and C_j (marked [-F]), C_i is more prominent than C_j (Zubizarreta 1998: 88).

In example (64) with the order VSO the focus prominence rule assigns stress to *gato*, whereas the nuclear stress rule assigns stress to *ratón*:

64) [_F Se comió el gato] [_{-F} un ratón].

[_F Ate the cat] [_{-F} a mouse]

‘the cat ate a mouse.’

The focus prominence rule and the nuclear stress rule are thus in conflict. P-movement resolves this contradictory situation⁴¹; the object moves leftward across the subject, and the focused subject comes in a position where it can receive neutral stress via the nuclear stress rule, that is, it becomes the lowest constituent in the asymmetric c-command ordering.

2.3. Stress strengthening

A second strategy to encode focus is changing the intonation and the place of the nuclear stress. Example (65b) is an answer to the question in (65a). In (65b) the word

⁴¹ P-movement in Spanish is a last resort movement (Zubizarreta 1998: 123).

order SVO is used, but the intonation and the place of the nuclear stress are changed: the stress is on the subject.

65) a. ¿Quién se comió un ratón?

‘Who ate a mouse?’

b. [_F El gato] se comió un ratón.

‘The cat ate a mouse’

This strategy corresponds to what Cinque (1993), Reinhart (1997, 2006) and Neeleman and Reinhart (1997) call stress strengthening. Reinhart and Neeleman (1998) and Reinhart (1997, 2006) argue that when the desired focus is not part of the focus set, the main stress is relocated via a stress-shifting operation. In this case, an element that does not have the main stress is strengthened.⁴² Example (65b) above sounds natural as an answer to the question in (65a), that is the focus does not receive a contrastive interpretation (contra Zubizarreta 1998, 1999). Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) argues that the order SVO cannot be used as an answer to the question in (65a). In her view, the subject necessarily receives a contrastive focus interpretation (Zubizarreta 1998: 20, 76). We will

⁴² This stress is called marked stress (Reinhart and Neeleman 1998: 334; Reinhart 1997, 2006: 140), because it is the result of a special shift operation that cancels the results of the NSR. Cinque (1993) and Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) (among others) make this distinction between neutral and marked stress, but this distinction has frequently been criticized. It has been argued that the main stress can fall anywhere (given the right context), and that it is almost impossible to distinguish marked intonation from neutral intonation (for a critique of the distinction see Selkirk 1984; Rochemont 1986; Lambrecht 1994).

come back to this issue in Chapter 4 where the results of the elicitation study on *wh*-question/answer pairs are discussed.

Examples (66) and (67) show that stress strengthening creates a focus that is not in the focus set. A sentence with word order SVO and neutral nuclear stress on *ratón* has the focus set specified in (66b). The IP, the VP and the object are in the focus set, but the subject is not. Stress strengthening is applied in order to focus the subject. In (67b) the focus set contains the IP and the subject:

66) a. El gato se comió un ratón.

b. *Focus set*: {IP, VP, Object}

67) a. El gato se comió un ratón.

b. *Focus set*: {IP, Subject}

According to Williams (1997) the previous focus structure still exists, which means that there is a secondary stress on *ratón*.

2.4. Focus fronting

A third strategy to mark focus is focus fronting. An element can be preposed to the left-periphery of the sentence and assigned contrastive stress (see (68) and (69)):

68) [_F Manzanas] compró Pedro.

[_F Apples] bought Pedro

‘Apples bought Pedro’

69) [F A Juan] le regaló María un libro.

[F To Juan] CLITIC gave Mary a book

‘To Juan Mary gave a book.’

(Zubizarreta 1999: 4239).

In example (68) above, the direct object *manzanas*, is displaced from its position in the VP and preposed to the left periphery. In example (69), the indirect object is preposed to the left periphery.

In Standard Spanish, focus fronting is similar to a construction with a left-dislocated topic. Topic is what the sentence is about, whereas comment is what is said about the topic (Rizzi 1997; Zubizarreta 1998, 1999). The topic-comment structure in Spanish also involves the left periphery of the sentence⁴³, as is illustrated in example (70) from Zubizarreta (1999: 4220):

70) *A una amiga*, Pedro la invitó a bailar.

To a friend, Pedro CLITIC invited to dance

‘A friend, Pedro invited her to dance.’

One of the differences between topic and focus is that in Spanish the topic is compatible with a resumptive clitic, whereas focus is not. If the topic is the direct object

⁴³ Elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs, which is discussed in Chapter 4, includes an option with a resumptive clitic (O-CLITIC-VS).

of the sentence, a resumptive clitic in the comment is obligatory (see (71a) and (71b)). Focus, on the other hand, is not compatible with a resumptive clitic (see (72a) and (72b)) (Contreras 1976; Cinque 1990: 63; Rizzi 1997):

71) a. Tu libro, lo he comprado.

Your book, CLITIC I have bought

‘Your book, I bought it.’

b. *Tu libro, he comprado t.

Your book, I have bought

‘Your book, I bought.’

72) a. *[_F Tu libro] lo he comprado

[_F Your book] CLITIC I have bought

‘[_F Your book] I bought it’

b. [_F Tu libro]_i he comprado t_i.

[_F Your book]_i I have bought t_i

‘[_F Your book] I bought.’

In Spanish, the preposed focal element must be adjacent to the verb (Zubizarreta 1999: 4241)⁴⁴. The sentences in (73) with the subject in between the preposed object and the verb are ungrammatical:

⁴⁴ CLLD does not require adjacency to the verb, as is illustrated by the following examples from Zubizarreta (1999: 4241):

- i. El diario, Pedro lo compró.
The newspaper, Pedro CLITIC bought.

73) a. *[_F El diario] Pedro compró.

‘[_F The newspaper] Pedro bought.’

b. *[_F El diario] Pedro cree que compramos.

‘[_F The newspaper] Pedro thinks we bought.’

There can be more than one topic in a sentence (see (74a)), but there can only be one focus per sentence, that is to say that there is a unique structural focus position in Spanish (Cinque 1990: 63; Rizzi 1997, 2004; Zubizarreta 1999: 4241). The sentence with two focused elements in (74b)⁴⁵ is ungrammatical:

74) a. El libro, a Juan, el domingo, se lo daré.

‘The book, to Juan, Sunday, I will give it to him.’

b. *[_F A Juan] [_F el libro] daré.

[_FTo Juan] [_F the book] I will give

‘To Juan the book I will give.’

A focused element can be combined with one or more topics (Rizzi 1997). In Spanish, the topic precedes the focus, as in (75):

‘The newspaper, Pedro bought it.’

ii. El diario, Pedro cree que lo compramos.

The newspaper, Pedro thinks that CLITIC we bought

‘The newspaper, Pedro thinks we bought it.’

⁴⁵ The examples in (26) are modeled after the Italian examples from Rizzi (1997: (21)-(22)).

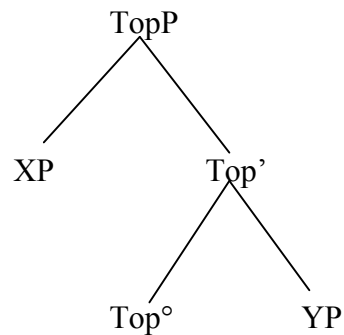
75) A Juan, [_F el libro] le daré.

To Juan, [_F the book] I will give

‘To Juan, the book I will give.’

According to Rizzi, the topic and the fronted focused element form part of the complementizer system^{46 47}. The topic-comment articulation has the structure that is shown in (76) (Rizzi 1997: 286):

76) Topic-comment structure:



XP= Topic

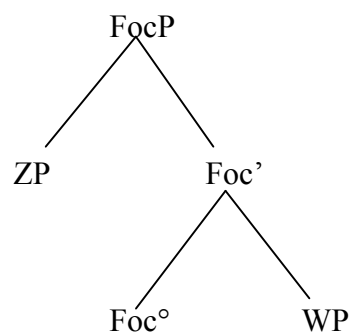
YP= Comment

⁴⁶ According to Zagona (2002), (among others), CLLD does not involve movement; she analyses the CLLD construction as an adjunct instead (Zagona 2002: 226). Erteschik-Shir (2007) argues that topic and focus features are optionally assigned to lexical items (63).

⁴⁷ According to Zubizarreta (1998), in Spanish topic and focus (among other elements) move to the specifier of T(ense) to check features and form a syncretic category with T (103-107).

In the structure above, a Top[°] head takes the topic as its specifier, and the comment as its complement. Similarly, the specifier of a Foc[°] head is the focus, and its complement is the presupposition, as is shown in the structure in (77) (Rizzi 1997: 287):

77) Focus-presupposition structure:



ZP= Focus

WP= Presupposition

The constituent that is the topic or focus has to be in a specifier/head relation with Top or Foc, respectively. Rizzi (1997) proposes that there are topic and focus criteria, and that topic and focus move to satisfy these criteria. Topic and focus movement are thus last resort (Rizzi 1997: 287).

According to Rizzi (1997), the topic and focus systems are located in the CP domain, in between force and finiteness (see (78) below) (Rizzi 1997: 288). Force provides information about the clausal type, whereas Fin IP hosts information about

finiteness. The representation below is adapted for Spanish, where the topic always precedes the focus. The asterisk indicates that topic is recursive (that is, there can be more than one topic):

78) ... Force ... (Topic)* ... (Focus) ... Fin IP^{48 49}

Of the three strategies to mark focus, focus fronting is the most relevant to the present study, since it could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish. In section 4, we examine whether focus fronting in Andean Spanish has the same syntactic properties as in Standard Spanish. The main syntactic properties of focus fronting are sensitivity to weak crossover effects and long distance movement (see sections 4.1. and 4.2.). In order to determine whether focus fronting in Andean Spanish has the same syntactic properties as focus fronting in Standard Spanish, elicitation studies were designed to test for weak crossover effects and long distance movement. The same elicitation studies were conducted in Quechua to determine whether there is a transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. Section 4 contains a detailed discussion of the

⁴⁸ The structure here is adapted from Rizzi (1997) for Italian:

- i. Force (Top)* Foc (Top)* Fin IP.

In Italian, topics can precede or follow focus, whereas in Spanish topics always precede focus.

⁴⁹ Rizzi (2004) proposes the following revised version of the fine structure of the C-domain (for Italian) (Rizzi 2004: 242):

- i. Force Top* Int Top* Focus Mod* Top* Fin IP

Mod indicates Modifier, and hosts adverbs that are not topic or focus. Int is the position for *wh*-elements such as *perché* in Italian.

elicitation studies on weak crossover and long distance movement. Before discussing the study, however, focus in Quechua is discussed in section 3.

3. FOCUS IN QUECHUA

In this section, word order, topic and focus in Quechua are discussed. In Quechua there are two strategies to encode focus: (a) a focused element can be fronted (focus fronting), and (b) a focused element can remain *in situ*. In most varieties of Quechua, the focused element is morphologically marked with *-MI*. Stress does not play a role in focus marking in Quechua (Sánchez, to appear).

As we saw in Chapter 2, the Quechua variety spoken in Juncal/Cañar in Ecuador belongs to the QIIB dialects, whereas the Quechua variety spoken in Tarata in Bolivia belongs to the QIIC dialects. It should be noted that the discussion below, which is based on existing studies on Quechua and some of the findings from this study, concern different dialects of Quechua.

3.1. Introduction

The basic word order of Quechua is *subject-object-verb* (SOV)⁵⁰, but in main clauses the word order is relatively free (i.a. Cerrón-Palomino 1987, 1994; Van de Kerke 1996; Weber 1996).⁵¹ The following orders are possible:⁵²

⁵⁰ SOV is the preferred word order when there is no Spanish influence (Cerrón-Palomino 1994).

79) a. Luwis tanta-ta miku-yka-n (SOV)

Luis bread-AC eat- DUR-3SG

‘Luis is eating bread’

b. Tanta-ta-m Luwis miku-yka-n (OSV)

bread- AC-DE⁵³ Luis eat- DUR-3SG

c. Tanta-ta-m miku-yka-n Luwis (OVS)

bread- AC-DE eat- DUR-3SG Luis

d. Luwis miku-yka-n tanta-ta-m (SVO)

Luis eat- DUR-3SG bread- AC-DE

e. Miku-yka-n-mi Luwis tanta-ta (VSO)

eat- DUR-3SG-DE Luis bread- AC

f. Miku-yka-n-mi tanta-ta Luwis (VOS)

eat- DUR-3SG-DE bread- AC Luis

(Cerrón-Palomino 1987: 289)

⁵¹ In subordinate clauses, Quechua has a more rigid SOV word order (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, 1994; Weber 1996).

⁵² The glosses in the examples are mine. The following abbreviations are used: AC = accusative; DE = direct experience; DIR = directional; DUR = durative; I = inclusive; LOC = locative; NEG = negation; NOM = nominalizer; PAST = past tense; PL = plural; POS = possessive; PROGR = progressive aspect; Q = question marker; SG = singular; TOP = topic marker.

⁵³ Following Muysken (1995), I use DE (= direct experience) as a gloss for *-MI*, which can be an evidential marker or a focus marker.

According to Calvo-Pérez (1993), however, VSO and VOS orders are restricted to yes/no questions. In example (80), the verb appears in sentence initial position:

80) ¿Hamu-nki-chu llaqta-y-ta paqarin? (VO-Adv)

Come-2SG-Q town-1POS-AC tomorrow

‘Will you come to my town tomorrow?’ (Calvo-Pérez 1993: 82).

In Quechua, topic and focus can be morphologically marked. The suffix $-KA^{54}$ is used to mark the topic of the sentence or of the discourse, whereas focused elements are marked by the suffix $-MI^{55}$, which also has an evidential use. In its evidential use, $-MI$ expresses direct experience or direct information (i.a. Wölck 1972; Muysken 1995; Weber 1996; Faller 2002). It appears at the end of a phonological word and cannot be combined with a topic marker within the same word. According to Muysken (1995), “although other particles can contribute to focus, the evidentials are most directly involved in marking focus” (Muysken 1995: 378). The fact that $-MI$ marks the element that substitutes for a *wh*-phrase in a question supports the claim that $-MI$ is used to mark focus (cf. Weber 1996). In the elicitation studies used for the present study, all sentences were presented with and without morphological marking. A complete list of all the

⁵⁴ I use $-KA$ here to refer to the morpheme that is used to mark topic. The realization of this morpheme is subject to dialectal variation. The different realizations are $-ca$, $-ga$, $-ka$, and $-qa$.

⁵⁵ I use $-MI$ to refer to the morpheme that is used to indicate focus or direct experience. In some varieties of Quechua, $-MI$ is realized as $-m$ or $-n$ when it is preceded by a vowel, and as $-mi$ when it is preceded by a consonant, e.g. *wasi-n* (house-DE, ‘the house’) versus *wasi-n-mi* (house-3POS-DE, ‘his house indeed’) (Muysken 1995: 379).

questions and answers in Bolivian Quechua and Ecuadorian Quechua is given in Appendix C. Below, the properties of *-MI* and *-KA* are discussed.

In the elicitation studies designed to test for focus structures, weak crossover and long distance movement in Quechua, the sentences were presented with and without morphological markers. The results of the elicitation study show that there is a difference between the Bolivian and Ecuadorian data with respect to the use of *-MI* and *-KA*. In Bolivia, the suffix *-MI* is practically obsolete, that is the subjects for this study recognize the suffix but do not use it. Most of the subjects use neither *-MI* nor *-KA*, arguing that both are archaic suffixes. In Ecuador, both suffixes are used. The data confirm Albó's (1960) claim that *-MI* is not frequently used in the Bolivian dialects of Quechua, and that it is used more in Peruvian and Ecuadorian dialects (Albó 1960: 351).

3.2. Morphological marking, movement and *in situ*

In this section, the main characteristics of *-MI* and *-KA* are discussed, as well as movement. The suffix *-MI* appears mainly with adverbs and nouns, and less frequently with verbs (Wölck 1972; Muysken 1995). *-KA* occurs with elements of all syntactic categories, but mostly with nouns (i.a. Wölck 1972; Cerrón- Palomino 1994; Weber 1996). In some Quechua varieties, finite verbs can appear with *-MI*, but not with *-KA* (Soto 1978; Cole 1982), as shown in example (81):

81) Juzi Marya-ta juya-n-mi/*-ka.

José María-AC thinks of-3SG-DE/*TOP

‘José thinks of María.’ (Cole 1982)

Example (82b), which is an answer to the question in (82a), indicates that *-MI* appears with verbs in the Ecuadorian data collected for the present study:

82) a. ¿Ima-ta-tac atuc ruwa-shca?

What-AC-Q fox do-PROGR

‘¿What is the fox doing?’

b. Atuc micu-shca-mi galluta-ca (SV-*MI-O-KA*).

Fox eat-PROGR-DE rooster-AC-TOP

‘The fox is eating the rooster.’

In some other varieties of Quechua, *-KA* can be used with finite verbs, but this use of *-KA* is limited (Albó 1960; Adelaar 1986; Weber 1996). Weber (1996) argues that *-KA* can be used with finite verbs when the action of the verb has been referred to before (see (83)):

83) a. Papa-ta muru-nči abril kiła.

Potato-AC sow-1PL(I) April month.

b. Nirkur čakma-nči.

Then cultivate-1PL(I)

c. čakma-nči:-qa ma:yu.

Cultivate-1PL(I)-TOP May.

‘... we sow potatoes in the month of April. Then we cultivate them. We cultivate them in May.’ (Weber 1996: 542).

The suffix *-MI* can appear on the focused constituent or on the first constituent of a sentence. Muysken (1995) argues that when *-MI* appears on a constituent other than the first one, it is interpreted as a focus marker, that is, the constituent receives a focus interpretation (see (84) and (85)):

84) Pidru wasi-ta-n ruwa-n.

Pedro house-AC-DE make-3SG

‘It is a house that Pedro builds.’

85) Pidru kunan-mi wasi-ta ruwa-sha-n

Pedro now-DE house make-PROGR-3SG

‘It is now that Pedro is building the house’ (Muysken 1995: 380).

When *-MI* appears on the first constituent, however, it is ambiguous between focus marker and evidential marker (Muysken 1995: 381). A sentence like (86) is thus ambiguous between the meaning in (86a) and the one in (86b):

86) Pidru-n wasi-ta ruwa-n.

Pedro-DE house-AC make-3SG

a. ‘It is Pedro that builds a house.’

b. ‘Pedro builds a house’ (Muysken 1955: 381)

The analysis of my data indicates that in the answers to questions that elicit a contrastive focus, the element that forms the contrastive focus is often marked with *-MI*. Example (87) from my data from Ecuador illustrates this for a sentence with a contrastive focus on the subject. In example (88) (from my data from Ecuador) the direct object is the contrastive focus, and in example (89) the VP forms the contrastive focus:

87) a. ¿Ucucha-chu quihua-ta micu-shca?

Mouse-Q grass-AC-eat-PROGR

‘Does the mouse eat the grass?’

b. Mana ucucha-chu quihua-ta micu-shca. Curu-mi quihua-ta micu-shca.

not mouse-NEG grass-AC eat-PROGR, worm-DE grass-AC eat-PROGR

‘The mouse does not eat the grass. The worm eats the grass.’

88) a. ¿Curu chujllu-ta-chu micu-shca?

Worm corn-AC-Q eat-PROGR

‘Does the worm eat corn?’

b. Mana. Curu quihua-ta-mi micu-shca.

No. Worm grass-AC-DE eat-PROGR

‘No. The worm eats grass.’

89) a. ¿Curu quihua-ta sarunacu-shca-n-chu?

Worm grass-AC stamp on-PROGR-3SG-Q

Does the worm stamp on the grass?

b. Mana. Curu-ca quihua-ta micu-shca-mi.

No. Worm-TOP grass-AC eat--PROGR-DE

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

There can only be one *-MI* in a sentence. The suffix *-KA*, however, can occur more than once in a sentence (Parker 1969; Wölck 1972; Weber 1996). This is shown in example (90) from Parker (1969: 84):

90) Ačka-m warma-kuna-qa čay iskwela-pi-qa.

Many-DE boy-PL-TOP that school-LOC-TOP

‘There are many boys in that school’ (lit. ‘many are the boys in that school’)

(Parker 1969: 84).

The example in (91) (from my data from Ecuador) demonstrates that *-KA* can be used more than once in the Ecuadorian variety of Quechua under study:

91) a. ¿Ima-tac tucu-shca?

What-Q happen-PROGR

‘What is happening?’

b. Cundur-ca curu-ta-ca micu-shca-mi.

Condor-TOP worm-AC-TOP eat-PROGR-DE

‘The condor is eating the worm.’

Cerrón-Palomino (1987) argues that in Quechua fronting is possible for topicalization or focus, as is shown in (92):

92) Alpa-ta-mi/qa ñuka tayta yapun.

Land-AC-DE/TOP I father plow-3SG

‘My father plows the land’ (Cerrón-Palomino 1987)

However, fronting is not necessary to focus an element (Cerrón-Palomino 1994); a focused element can also appear *in situ*, as we saw above.

Sánchez (to appear) argues that in question-answer pairs the topic can be fronted and morphologically marked with *-KA*, as is shown in (93b). Example (93c) shows that the topic can also appear *in situ*.

93) a. Pi-n wasi-ta ruwa-rqa-n?

Who-EV house-AC build-PAST-3SG

‘Who built the house?’

b. [Wasi-ta-qa] Pidru-m ruwa-rqa-n

House-ACC-TOP Pidru-EV build-PAST-3SG

‘The house, Pedro built’

c. Pidru-m [wasi-ta-qa] ruwa-rqa-n

Pidru-EV house-AC-TOP build-PAST-3SG

‘It was Pedro who built the house.’ (Sánchez, to appear: 14)

According to Sánchez (to appear), fronted elements have to be marked morphologically. In her view, example (95) without morphological marking is ungrammatical in answer to the question in (94), whereas example (96) with morphological marking is grammatical:

94) Ima-na-sqa-ta?

What-NOM-PAST-AC

‘What happened?’

95) *Qaparimun warmi.

Yelled woman

‘The woman SCREAMED.’

96) Qaparimun-mi warmi.

Yelled-EV woman

‘The woman SCREAMED.’

In my data, however, morphological marking is not necessary. As we saw above, in Bolivian Quechua *-MI* is not frequently used.

Movement to a postverbal position is only possible for topics (Cerrón-Palomino 1987; Muysken 1995; Sánchez, to appear), as is shown in (97) below:

97) Alpa-ta yapu-n ñuka tayta -ka/*-mi.

Land-AC plow-3SG I father-TOP/*DE

‘My father plows the land’ (Cerrón-Palomino 1987)

Noun phrases that appear in postverbal subject or object position are usually marked with *-KA* (Weber 1996: 518), especially when the noun phrase is a dislocated subject (Albó 1960).

According to Muysken (1995), *-MI* generally does not appear on a postverbal constituent. Example (98a) indicates that a noun phrase is allowed to appear in postverbal position. Example (98b), however, shows that a postverbal noun phrase cannot be marked with the suffix *-MI*:

98) a. Mariya Xwana-man qu-n libru-ta.

María Juana-to give-3SG book-AC

‘María gives the book to Juana.’

b. *Mariya Xwana-man qu-n libru-ta-n.

María Juana-to give-3SG book-AC-DE (Muysken 1995)

The analysis of my data suggests that *-MI* cannot appear in postverbal position in the Bolivian and Ecuadorian Quechua varieties under study. Example (79d) above, however, shows that in some varieties of Quechua *-MI* can appear on postverbal constituents. The examples in (99b) and (100b), which are answers to the questions in (99a) and (100a), respectively, show that *-KA* can occur in postverbal position in the Bolivian and Ecuadorian varieties of Quechua studied in the present thesis:

99) a. ¿Ima-ta-taj k’uru ruwa-sha-n?

What-AC-Q worm do-PROGR-3SG

‘What is the worm doing?’

b. Mikhu-sha-n qhora-ta-qa k’uru-qa .

Eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC-TOP worm-TOP

‘The worm is eating the grass’ (Bolivia)

100) a. ¿Ima-tac tucu-shca?

What-Q happen-PROGR

‘What is happening?’

b. Micu-shca atuc-ca cari huallpa-ta.

Eat-PROGR fox-TOP rooster-AC

‘The fox is eating the rooster’ (Ecuador)

As shown in (101), the suffix *-MI* can co-occur with *-KA* in a sentence:

101) Ñuka tayta-ka alpa-ta-mi yapu-n.

I father-TOP land-AC-DE plow-3SG

‘My father plows the land.’ (Cerrón-Palomino 1987)

The interaction between the evidential marker *-MI* and the topic marker *-KA* follows the specific pattern illustrated in (102) (Muysken 1995, adapted):

102) {X-*KA*⁰⁻²} {V/XP} -EVI ... {Z-*KA*⁰⁻³}

The pattern in (102) indicates that there can be zero to two phrases marked by *-KA* at the beginning of the sentence. The *-KA* phrase(s) can be followed by a verb or a constituent marked with *-MI*, which in turn can be followed by zero to three other *-KA* phrases (Muysken 1995: 385)⁵⁶. The sentences in (103) and (104) illustrate this pattern:

103) Chay runa-qa Ayakucho-ta-n ri-n
 That man-TOP Ayacucho-AC-DE go-3SG
 ‘That man is going to Ayacucho.’

104) Mama-y-qa Qusqu-ta-n ri-ra-n.
 Mother-1POS-TOP Cuzco-AC-DE go-PAST-3SG
 ‘My mother went to Cuzco’.
 (Muysken 1995: 385)

The sentences with *-KA* and *-MI* in my Ecuadorian data follow the same pattern. The sentences in (105b) and (106b), which are answers to the questions in (105a) and (106a) respectively, illustrate this. In (105b) two *-KA* phrases precede the verb, which is marked with *-MI*. In (106b), the subject noun phrase marked with *-MI* precedes the object noun phrase, which is marked with *-KA*:

105) a. ¿Ima-tac tucu-shca?
 What-Q happen-PROGR

⁵⁶ The pattern presented in Weber (1996) is slightly different in that there can be between zero and *n* *-KA*'s at the beginning of the sentence, and between zero and two *-KA*'s at the end (Weber 1996: 554).

‘What is happening?’

b. Cundur-ca curu-ta-ca micu-shca-mi.

Condor-TOP worm-AC-TOP eat-PROGR-DE

‘The condor is eating the worm.’ (Ecuador)

106) a. ¿Cundur-chu huasca-ta piti-shca?

Condor-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR

‘Does the condor cut the rope?’

b. Mana. Pishcu-mi huasca-ta-ca piti-shca.

No. Bird-DE rope-AC-TOP cut-PROGR

‘No. The bird cuts the rope.’ (Ecuador)

Wölck (1972) argues that although in sentences like the one in (107) the subject, which is marked with *-KA*, receives some emphasis, the verb is more important because it is marked with *-MI*:

107) Tayta-n-qa qu-n-mi wasi-ta churi-n-man.

Father-3POS-TOP give-3SG-DE house-AC son-3POS-to

‘The father gives a house to his son’ (Wölck 1972: 3).

To summarize, in Quechua there are two strategies to encode focus. An element can be preposed to the left-periphery of the sentence (focus fronting), or it can remain *in situ*. The focused element is often marked morphologically.

4. FOCUS FRONTING IN STANDARD SPANISH, ANDEAN SPANISH AND QUECHUA

In this section the results of the elicitation studies on weak crossover (section 4.1) and long distance movement (section 4.2) are discussed. Weak crossover and long distance movement are the main syntactic properties of focus fronting. The purpose of the elicitation studies was to study the syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. It will be shown that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

4.1. Elicitation study 1: Weak crossover

In this section, weak crossover, one of the main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Spanish, is discussed. In section 4.1.1., the weak crossover configuration in questions and in focus fronting is explained with examples from Spanish. In 4.1.2., the elicitation study that was designed to test for weak crossover in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua is discussed; section 4.1.2.1. is concerned with the design of the study and section 4.1.2.2. with the results. The purpose of the elicitation study was to determine if focus fronting leads to weak crossover in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua and if there is a transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. It will be shown that in Standard Spanish and in Andean Spanish focus fronting leads to weak crossover effects, but not so in Quechua. Andean Spanish is syntactically identical to

Standard Spanish in this respect, and different from Quechua. This shows that as far as weak crossover goes, there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

4.1.1. Weak crossover in Standard Spanish

A crossover configuration arises when a quantified phrase (including *wh*-phrases) undergoes A'-movement across a coindexed pronoun. The example in (108) illustrates the crossover configuration:

108) $QP_i \dots \text{pronoun}_i \dots t_i$

The quantified phrase (QP) c-commands the pronoun and the trace, that is, both are interpreted as variables bound by the quantified phrase. The trace does not c-command the trace, giving rise to a crossover violation.

In Standard Spanish, *wh*-questions and focus fronting lead to weak crossover effects (see Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997 for Italian). The *wh*-question in (109) and the sentence with focus fronting in (110) illustrate this:

109) ??¿[A qué niño]_i aprecia(su)_j madre t_i?

[To which boy]_i appreciates his_j mother

‘Which boy does his mother appreciate?’

110) ?? [F A cada niño]_i aprecia(su)_j madre t_i.

[F To every child]_i appreciates his_j mother t_i.

‘His mother appreciates every child.’

In (109) the *wh*-phrase *a qué niño* (‘to which boy’) undergoes A’-movement crossing the coindexed pronoun *su* (‘his’), as is indicated by the arrow. In (110) it is the quantified phrase *a cada niño* (‘to every child’) that undergoes A’-movement and crosses a coindexed pronoun. In both sentences, the pronoun does not c-command the trace, which means that these are weak crossover violations.⁵⁷ These sentences typically lead to (weak) ungrammaticality, with variation among speakers.

In the elicitation study on weak crossover effects, passive constructions are used as control sentences. The sentence in (111) is used as a control to test for weak crossover in questions, and the sentence in (112) is used as a control to test for weak crossover in focus fronting.

111) ¿Qué niño_i fue apreciado por su_i madre?

‘Which child was appreciated by his mother?’

112) Cada niño_i fue apreciado por su_i madre.

‘Every child was appreciated by his mother.’

⁵⁷ If the pronoun does c-command the trace, there is a strong crossover violation, as in

i. *¿A quién_i aprecia él_i t_i?

To who_i appreciates he_i t_i?

‘Who_i does he_i appreciate?’

Strong crossover violations give rise to strong ungrammaticality. Weak crossover leads to weaker ungrammaticality, with variation among speakers.

The *wh*-phrase in (111) and the quantified phrase in 112) are coindexed with the pronoun *su* ('his'). In these passive constructions, the *wh*-phrase (in (111)) and the quantifier phrase (in (112)) also move to a preverbal position, but since they do not cross a pronoun these sentences do not display weak crossover.

4.1.2. Elicitation study on weak crossover in Spanish and Quechua

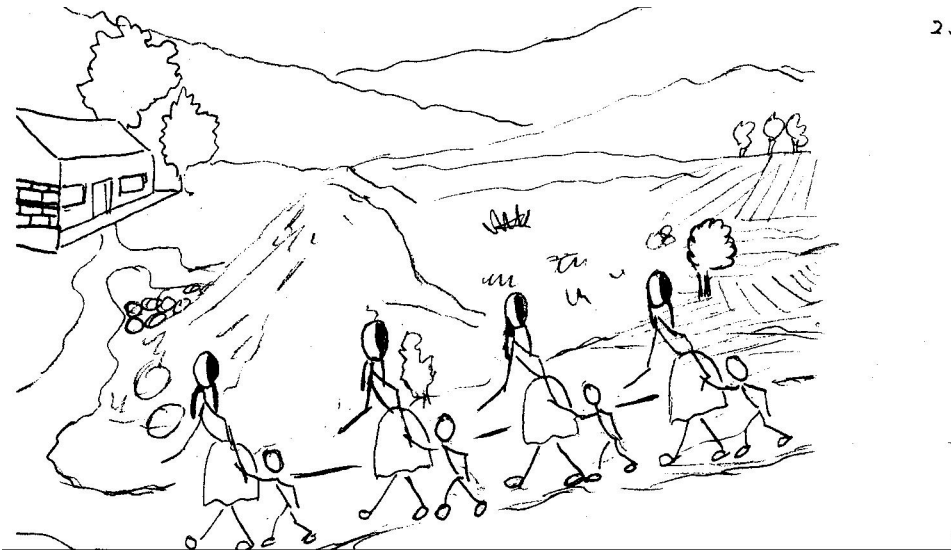
In this section, the elicitation study on weak crossover in Spanish and Quechua is discussed. Section 4.1.2.1. is concerned with the design of the study (e.g. the type of questions and answers and the control sentences), and 4.1.2.2. with the results. The data were analyzed for every speaker and per group. It will be shown that in both Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish focus fronting leads to weak crossover effects, but that in Quechua it does not lead to weak crossover effects. This shows that there is no syntactic influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

4.1.2.1. Design of the study

To determine if focus fronting in Andean Spanish and Quechua is sensitive to weak crossover effects, three different picture-story and sentence-judgment tasks were created. Chapter 2 contains more information about the procedures used for the elicitation study. Appendix B contains the pictures used for this elicitation study, and Appendix C provides a complete list of the questions and answers used in the Spanish version and the Quechua versions of the elicitation study.

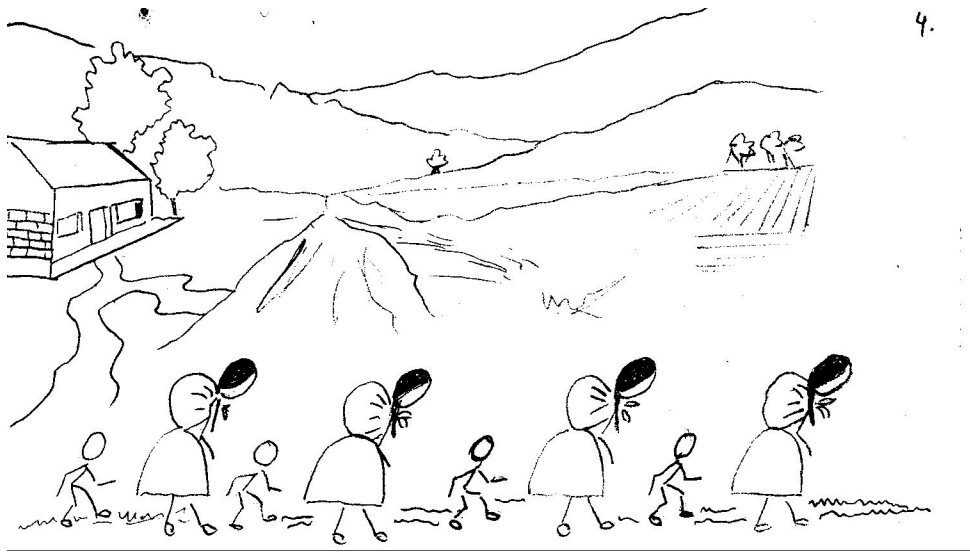
The following pictures illustrate the elicitation study. The first picture shows four mothers and their children going to school (the building on the left in the picture is a school), that is every mother takes her child to school.

Picture 2



In the second picture, all the mothers and their children go in the opposite direction. In other words, no mother takes her child to school.

Picture 3



The subjects looked at these pictures and were asked to provide an answer to the questions in (113) as well as to judge the questions in (113) and the answers in (114) (for picture (2)) and (115) (for picture (3)). The sentences in (114a)-(115a), which are answers to the question in (113a), illustrate the type of sentences that were constructed to test for weak crossover with focus fronting in Spanish. In these sentences a quantified phrase (*a cada niño*, ‘every child’, in (114a) and *a ningún niño*, ‘no child’, in (115a)) is preposed to the left-periphery of the sentence and assigned stress. In both sentences, the quantified phrase crosses the pronoun *su*, ‘his’. Weak crossover effects are generally not stable, i.e. judgments on weak crossover vary within the same language. Therefore, two types of control sentences were used in the elicitation study: questions and passive sentences. Questions (e.g. (113)) were included to determine whether there is a correlation between the judgments for weak crossover in questions and the judgments for weak crossover with focus fronting. Passive sentences were included as control sentences

(see (113b), (114b) and (115b)); as explained above, in passive sentences we do not expect weak crossover effects because the preposed element does not cross a pronoun.

- 113) a. ¿A qué niño_i trajo su_i madre a la escuela?
To which child_i brought his_i mother to the school
'Which child did his mother bring to school?'
- b. ¿Qué niño_i fue traído a la escuela por su_i madre?
Which child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother
'Which child was brought to school by his mother?'
- 114) a. [_F A cada niño_i] trajo su_i madre a la escuela.
[_F To every child_i] brought his_i mother to the school.
'His mother brought every child to school.'
- b. Cada niño_i fue traído a la escuela por su_i madre.
Every child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother
'Every child was brought to school by his mother.'
- 115) a. [_F A ningún niño_i] trajo su_i madre a la escuela.
[_F To no child_i] brought his_i mother to the school.
'His mother brought no child to school.'
- b. Ningún niño_i fue traído a la escuela por su_i madre.
No child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother
'No child was brought to school by his mother.'

When subjects do not accept questions with focus fronting (as in (113a)) or when they prefer questions with a passive construction (as in (113b)) over questions with focus fronting then that is taken as evidence of sensitivity to weak crossover effects in questions. Similarly, when subjects reject sentences with focus fronting (as the ones in (114a) and (115a)), or when they prefer the options with a passive construction (as in (114b) and (115b)), then that is taken as evidence for sensitivity to weak crossover effects with focus fronting. There were three sets of questions and answers to test for weak crossover in Spanish. All subjects were administered the same sentences.

In order to check for weak crossover effects in Quechua, a similar set of questions (see (116)) and answers with focus fronting (see (117) and (118)) was constructed in Quechua. The following sentences illustrate the type of sentences used for the Bolivian variety of Quechua⁵⁸:

116) Q1: ¿Mayqen wawa-ta-taj_i mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man?

Which child-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

‘Which child does his mother bring to school?’

117) A1: [_F Sapa wawa-ta-ta_i] mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man.

[_F Every child-AC_i] mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

‘His mother brings every child to school.’

A2: [_F Sapa wawa-ta-m_i] mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man.

[_F Every child-AC-DE_i] mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

A3: [_F Sapa wawa-ta-qa_i] mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man.

⁵⁸ For a complete list of questions and for the version used for the Ecuadorian variety, see Appendix C.

- [_F Every child-AC-TOP_i] mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR
- 118) A1: [_F Ni pi wawa-ta_i] mama-n_i pu-sa-n-chu yachay wasi-man.
 [_F No child-AC_i] mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG-NEG school-DIR
 ‘His mother brings no child to school.’
- A2: [_F Ni pi wawa-ta-m_i] mama-n_i pu-sa-n-chu yachay wasi-man.
 [_F No child-AC-DE_i] mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG-NEG school-DIR
- A3: [_F Ni pi wawa-ta-qa_i] mama-n_i pu-sa-n-chu yachay wasi-man.
 [_F No child-AC-TOP_i] mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG-NEG school-DIR

As in the Spanish variant of the elicitation study, first a spontaneous answer to the questions in (116) was elicited, and then the subjects were asked to give acceptability judgments for different sentences. For the Quechua part of the study, there were also three sets of questions and answers, which were administered to all subjects.

As we saw in section 3 on focus in Quechua, focused elements in Quechua are often morphologically marked with *-m* or *-mi*. During the elicitation study, each sentence was presented with and without the focus marker *-MI* on the fronted element (see (A2) in (117) and (118)), and with and without the topic marker *-KA* on the fronted element (see (A3) in (117) and (118)). In Bolivia, the suffix *-MI* is practically obsolete, i.e. the subjects of this study recognized the suffix but did not use it. In Ecuador, the suffix is still in use. The data from this study confirm Albó’s (1960) claim that *-MI* is not frequently used in the Bolivian dialects of Quechua, and that it is more frequent in (Peruvian and) Ecuadorian dialects (Albó 1960: 351). Some of the subjects in Ecuador indicated a preference for the sentences with *-MI*, but they also accepted the same sentences without

the focus marker. What is important for the discussion of the results (see the next section) is that the absence or presence of the suffix *-MI* did not have an effect on the judgment, except in the case of some Ecuadorian subjects who showed a slight preference for the sentences with *-MI*.

4.1.2.2. Results elicitation study on weak crossover

Table 10 below shows the results (in number and percentages) for the elicitation study on weak crossover effects in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The data show the number and percentage of subjects who show weak crossover effects, that is N refers to the number of subjects who show weak crossover. As is shown in the table, the data are based on data from 12 subjects for Standard Spanish, 15 subjects for Andean Spanish, and 8 subjects for Quechua.

A number of subjects showed weak crossover effects in some sentences, but not in others. As indicated in the previous section, there were three sentences to test for weak crossover in questions and three to test for weak crossover in focus fronting. If the subjects showed weak crossover effects in two out of the three sentences, then these subjects were counted as having weak crossover effects. If they showed weak crossover effects in only one out of the three sentences or if there were unclear cases, the subjects were counted as not having weak crossover effects.

Table 10: Results of the elicitation study on weak crossover (WCO) effects in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua⁵⁹

	Standard Spanish		Andean Spanish		Quechua	
	(Spanish monolinguals)		(Quechua-Spanish bilinguals)		(Quechua-Spanish bilinguals)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
WCO in questions	10/12	83.3	10/15	66.7	0/8	0
WCO in FF	12/12	100	11/15	73.3	0/8	0

The data on Standard Spanish show that 83.3% of the subjects (10 out of 12) show weak crossover effects in questions. If the subjects did not accept the question in (113a) or if they preferred the question with the passive construction in (113b) over the question in (113a), then this was taken as evidence for weak crossover effects. All subjects for Standard Spanish (100%, or 12 out of 12) show sensitivity to weak crossover effects in focus fronting (as in examples (114a) and (115a)). Typically there is variability within the same language or dialect with respect to weak crossover effects, which explains that the percentage for weak crossover in questions is not 100%. What is important is the correlation between weak crossover effects in questions and focus fronting. All subjects who have weak crossover effects in questions also have weak crossover effects in focus fronting (10 out of 10).

⁵⁹ Unfortunately we do not have sufficient data for a chi-square test.

The results of the Andean Spanish data reveal that 66.7% of the subjects (10 out of 15) show sensitivity to weak crossover effects in questions, and 73.3% (11 out of 15) show sensitivity to weak crossover effects in focus fronting. Eighty percent (8 out of 10) of the subjects for Andean Spanish who have weak crossover in questions also have weak crossover in focus fronting. We can thus conclude that focus fronting in Andean Spanish, as focus fronting in Standard Spanish, is sensitive to weak crossover effects.

The percentages for Andean Spanish are somewhat lower than those for Standard Spanish, which is in need of an explanation. As explained in the previous section, the elicitation study included sentences with focus fronting and sentences with a passive construction. It has been argued that passive constructions are more frequent in formal styles of Spanish, as in for example newspapers (i.a. King and Suñer 2004: 41). The subjects for Standard Spanish were generally graduate students, who are familiar with formal registers of Spanish. The subjects for Andean Spanish, who are from Bolivia and Ecuador, however, have received less education than the subjects for Standard Spanish and are less in contact with formal registers than the subjects in the Standard Spanish group. The subjects from Bolivia and Ecuador generally do not read newspapers. It could be that the subjects from Bolivia and Ecuador are less familiar with passive constructions and therefore provided more inconclusive answers, that is without indicating a preference for either the passive constructions or the constructions with focus fronting. Two of the subjects for Standard Spanish specifically mentioned that the passive constructions are more formal and the constructions with focus fronting more informal, which indicates that this could have been a factor.

As explained in Chapter 2 and Appendix A, the data for this elicitation study come from two different types of bilingual speakers: simultaneous bilingual speakers from Bolivia and sequential bilingual speakers from Ecuador. To check whether the type of bilingual speaker had an effect on the results for Andean Spanish, a subject-by-subject analysis was conducted. The results are shown in Table 11 below, where N again refers to the number of subjects who have weak crossover.

Table 11: Weak crossover in Andean Spanish- subject by subject results

	Simultaneous bilinguals (Bolivia)		Sequential bilinguals (Ecuador)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
WCO in questions	6/10	60	4/5	80	10/15	66.7
WCO in FF	8/10	80	3/5	60	11/15	73.3

Sixty percent (6 out of 10) of the simultaneous bilingual subjects from Bolivia and 80% (4 out of 5) of the sequential bilingual subjects from Ecuador showed sensitivity to weak crossover effects in questions. Eighty percent of the simultaneous bilingual subjects from Bolivia (8 out of 10), and 60% (3 out of 5) of the sequential bilingual subjects from Ecuador had weak crossover in focus fronting. These data indicate that both groups of bilingual speakers (simultaneous bilinguals from Bolivia and sequential bilinguals from Ecuador) show weak crossover effects, that is, there is no correlation

between weak crossover effects and type of bilingual speaker. These results show that the factor bilingual speaker is irrelevant. We will come back to the two groups of bilingual speakers in Chapter 4.

The data clearly show that in Quechua focus fronting is not sensitive to weak crossover effects, since none of the 8 subjects show weak crossover in questions or focus fronting (see Table 10). This means that the sentences of the types in examples (116)-(118) above were accepted by all subjects.

As explained in section 3 of this chapter, in some varieties of Quechua the morphological marking of preverbal elements is preferred. The Bolivian subjects here dispreferred the options with *-MI* on the focused element; this morphological marker is practically obsolete in Tarata. In general, the Bolivian subjects preferred the options without morphological topic/focus marking on the fronted element. Only one of the subjects indicated a preference for the option with *-KA* in answer to one of the questions. The Ecuadorian subjects accepted the options with and without *-MI*. One of the subjects preferred the options with *-MI* on the fronted element. None of the Ecuadorian subjects accepted the *-MI* with a negative quantified phrase (option A2 in (118) above).

To summarize the findings, the data reveal that focus fronting in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish is sensitive to weak crossover effects, whereas focus fronting in Quechua is not. This shows that there is no transfer of this syntactic property from Quechua into Andean Spanish. In the next section, the second syntactic property of focus fronting, long distance movement, is examined.

4.2. Elicitation study 2: Long distance movement

In this section, long distance movement, the second syntactic property of focus fronting in Standard Spanish, is studied. In section 4.2.1, long distance movement in Standard Spanish is explained. In section 4.2.2., the elicitation study that was designed to test for long distance movement in Spanish and Quechua is discussed. Section 4.2.2.1. is concerned with the design of the study, and section 4.2.2.2. with the results. It will be shown that Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the object and the subject, whereas Quechua does not. We will reach the same conclusion for long distance movement as for weak crossover: there is no transfer of that syntactic property from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

4.2.1. Long distance movement in Standard Spanish

A second characteristic of focus fronting in Standard Spanish is long distance movement of the object or the subject. Examples (119) and (120) show that in Standard Spanish, long distance movement of the object is possible with focus fronting. The object is displaced from its position in the VP of the subordinate clause (as is indicated by the coindexed trace that is left behind) and preposed to the left periphery of the main clause. In (119) the preposed element is the direct object of the verb *leyó* in the subordinate clause. In (120) the preposed element is the direct object of the verb *compró* in the subordinate clause.

- 119) [_F Este libro_i] [_{CP} creo que leyó Juan t_i].
 [_F This book_i] I think that read Juan
 ‘I think Juan read this book.’
- 120) [_F Manzanas] me aseguran que dijo María que compró Pedro t_i (Zubizarreta 1999)
 [_F Apples] they assure me that Maria said that Pedro bought.
 ‘They assure me that María said that Pedro bought apples.’

In Standard Spanish we cannot use focus fronting to focus a VP. The sentence in (121a) with the focus on the VP is ungrammatical. To focus a VP, focus projection is used instead. In (121b) the focus projects from the direct object to the VP.

- 121) a. *_F Se comió un ratón] el gato (Zubizarreta 1999: 4233).
 [_F Ate a mouse] the cat
 ‘The cat ate a mouse.’
- b. El gato [_F se comió un ratón]. (Zubizarreta 1999: 4230).
 The cat [_F ate a mouse]
 ‘The cat ate a mouse.’

An elicitation study was created to test for long distance movement of the object, the subject and the VP in Spanish and Quechua. The design of the study and the results of the elicitation study are discussed in the next section.

4.2.2. Elicitation study on long distance movement in Spanish and Quechua

In this section, the elicitation study on long distance movement in Spanish and Quechua is discussed. Section 4.2.2.1 is concerned with the design of the study, and section 4.2.2.2. with the results. The purpose of the elicitation study is to test for long distance movement of the object, the subject and the VP in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua and to determine if there is a linguistic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. It will be demonstrated that in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish long distance movement of the object and the subject is possible, but long distance movement of the VP is not. The facts are thus the same for Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish. Furthermore, it will be shown that in Quechua long distance movement of the object, the subject and the VP is not possible. The conclusion we will reach is that there is no syntactic influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish with respect to this property.

4.2.2.1. Design of the study

In order to check for long distance movement in Andean Spanish, three questions were constructed with corresponding answers with long distance movement of the object (see (122)), of the subject (see (123)), and of the VP (see (124)):

- 122) a. ¿Qué cree la mujer que lleva el hombre?
What thinks the woman that takes the man

‘What does the woman think that the man takes?’

b. [_F Las llamas_i] cree la mujer [_{CP} que lleva el hombre t_i].

[_F The llamas_i] thinks the woman that takes the man t_i.

‘The woman thinks the man takes the llamas.’

123) a. ¿Quién cree el maestro que lee el libro?

Who thinks the teacher that reads the book

‘Who does the teacher think that reads the book?’

b. [_F El niño_i] cree el maestro [_{CP} que lee el libro t_i].

[_F The boy_i] thinks the teacher that reads the book t_i

‘The teacher thinks the boy reads the book.’

124) a. ¿Qué cree la madre que hace el niño?

What thinks the mother that does the child

‘What does the mother think the child does?’

b. [_F Estudia_i] cree la madre [_{CP} que el niño t_i].

[_F Studies_i] thinks the mother that the child t_i

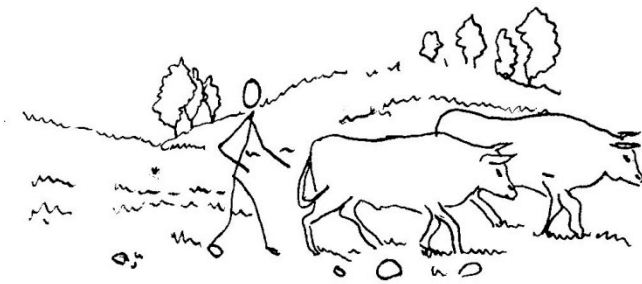
‘The mother thinks the child studies.’

For this elicitation study, three different stories and sets of questions and answers were used. Chapter 2 provides more information on the procedures used for the elicitation study. Appendix B contains the pictures used for the study, and Appendix C the complete list of questions and answers. The stories all involved a contrast; for example, the pictures

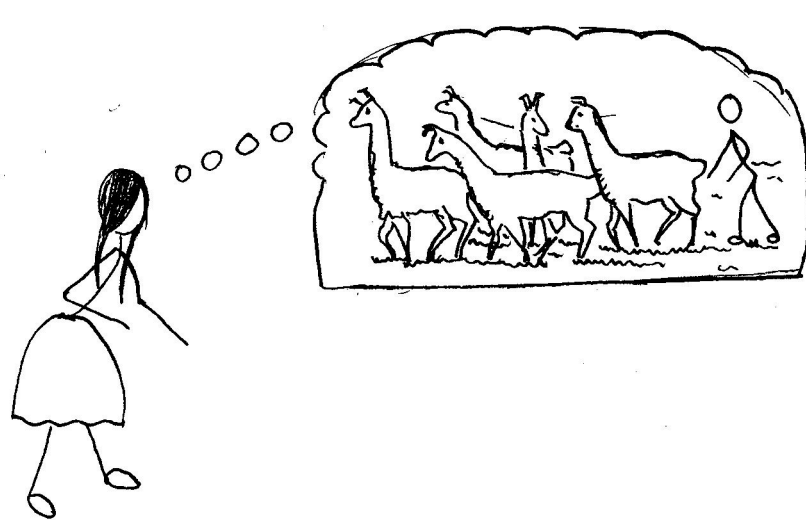
corresponding to (122) show a man taking bulls (picture 4 below), and a woman thinking the man is taking llamas (picture 5 below). This situation of confusion was created as a context for the sentence with long distance movement of the object in (122b).

Picture 4

2.



Picture 5



The first picture corresponding to the question-answer pair in (123) shows a teacher who gives a book to a little boy. The second picture shows a little girl reading the book, and two little boys playing football, and the third picture shows that the teacher thinks the little boy is reading the book. The pictures corresponding to the question-answer pair in (124) show a child playing football, and his mother thinking he is studying. All the created short stories involve some confusion about who receives the action (in (122)), who does the action (in (123)), or which action is done (in (124)). As in the other elicitation study, the subjects first gave a spontaneous answer to the question (e.g. (122a)), and then judged the sentence with long distance movement (e.g. (122b)).

A similar set of questions and answers was designed to check for long distance movement of the object ((125)), the subject ((126)), and the VP ((127)) in Quechua:

125) [F Llama-s-ta_i] warmi yuya-n [CP runa q'ati-sqa-n-ta t_i].

[_F Llama-PL-AC_i] woman think-3SG man take-NOM-3SG-AC t_i

‘The woman thinks the man takes the llamas.’

126) [_F Q’ari wawa_i] yacha-chi-q yuya-n [_{CP} liwru ñawi-sqa-n-ta t_i].

[_F Boy_i] learn-CAUS-NOM think-3SG [_{CP} read-NOM-3SG-AC t_i]

‘The teacher thinks the boy reads the book.’

127) [_F Istudya-sqa-n-ta_i] mama yuya-n [_{CP} wawa t_i].

[_F Study-NOM-3SG-AC_i] mother think-3SG [_{CP} child t_i]

‘The mother thinks the child studies.’

The judgments for the above sentences were collected in Tarata, Bolivia (see Table 12 of the next section). The sentences were presented without morphological markers, with *-MI* on the fronted element, and with *-KA* on the fronted element. The sentences were discussed at length with and among the subjects. The subjects were also asked to locate the ungrammaticality of the sentence and to suggest how the sentence could be made acceptable. The use of morphological markers had no effect on the judgments for the sentences. The results of the study are discussed in the next section.

4.2.2.2. Results elicitation study on long distance movement

Table 12 shows the number and percentage of subjects who accepted long distance movement of the object, of the subject, and of the VP, in Standard Spanish,

Andean Spanish and Quechua. N refers to the number of subjects who accepted long distance movement. The data are based on data from 12 subjects for Standard Spanish, 12 subjects for Andean Spanish, and 4 subjects for Quechua.⁶⁰ The data on long distance movement in Quechua were collected in Tarata, Bolivia, in 2007.

Table 12: Long distance movement in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua

	Standard Spanish		Andean Spanish		Quechua	
	(Spanish monolinguals)		(Quechua-Spanish bilinguals)		(Quechua-Spanish bilinguals)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LD mvt object	6/12	50	6/12	50	0/4	0
LD mvt subject	3/12	25	4/12	33.3	0/4	0
LD mvt VP	0/12	0	0/12	0	0/4	0

The results of the elicitation study confirm that in Standard Spanish long distance movement of the object and the subject is possible (for 50% and 25% of the subjects, respectively). Long distance movement of the VP is clearly not possible: none of the subjects accepted long distance movement of the VP.

⁶⁰ The data of three subjects for the Andean Spanish had to be discarded because these subjects accepted all options.

The data for Andean Spanish are similar to those for Standard Spanish. Table 12 shows that 50% of the subjects (6 out of 12) accepted long distance movement of the object and 33.3% (4 out of 12) accepted long distance movement of the subject. Long distance movement of the VP is not acceptable in Andean Spanish: 0 out of 12 subjects accepted long distance movement of the VP. For these subjects, sentences like the one in (124) above are unacceptable. A subject-by-subject analysis further shows that the type of bilingual speaker does not affect the results (see Table 13 below).

Table 13: Subject-by-subject results for long distance movement in Andean Spanish

	Simultaneous bilinguals		Sequential bilinguals		Total	
	(Bolivia)		(Ecuador)			
	N	%	N	%	N	%
LD mvt object	3/8	38	3/4	75	6/12	50
LD mvt subject	2/8	25	2/4	50	4/12	33.3
LD mvt VP	0/8	0	0/4	0	0/12	0

The facts for Andean Spanish thus correspond to those of Standard Spanish, that is the syntactic properties of focus fronting in Andean Spanish are identical to those of focus fronting in Standard Spanish. These results are further corroborated by cases of long distance movement in the naturalistic data. The sentences in (128), (129) and (130)

below show naturally occurring cases of long distance movement of the object and the subject:

128) Un casete creo que tenemos.

A cassette I think that we have

‘I think we have a cassette’

129) Algunas cosas dicen que no entienden.

Some thing they say that not they understand

‘They say they don’t understand some things’

130) Los hijitos de papá creo que mayormente se quedan con las becas.

The children of father I think that mainly they stay with the fellowships

‘I think the children usually get the fellowships’

The results of the elicitation study for Quechua convincingly show that in Quechua long distance movement is not possible; none of the subjects accepted long distance movement of the object, the subject or the VP. This means that the sentences in (125)-(127) above were rejected.

Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) show that case marking is strongly preferred in the case of extractions out of embedded contexts. However, although Lefebvre and Muysken (1988) included data from Ecuadorian Quechua and consulted published materials on other dialects, the focus of their work is on Cuzco Quechua. The subjects of the present study did not indicate a preference for case marking.

It should be noted that the Quechua sentences are different from the ones in Spanish in the sense that the Quechua cases of long distance movement involve extraction from a nominalized subordinate clause, whereas the Spanish ones involve extraction from a tensed clause. The type of Quechua sentences seems to block long distance movement. There are Quechua varieties in which extraction from a nominalized clause is possible (Hermon 1985; Lefebvre and Muysken 1988; Muysken 1989). There thus seem to be dialectal differences, which are in need of an explanation.

To sum up, the results of the elicitation study on long distance movement show conclusively that Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the object and the subject (but not of the VP), and that Quechua does not allow for long distance movement. This shows that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter focus in Spanish and Quechua was discussed. Three strategies to mark focus in Standard Spanish were presented and, it was argued that of those strategies focus fronting is particularly relevant for the present study. The syntactic properties of focus fronting were discussed more in detail and the elicitation studies that were designed to test for the main syntactic properties of focus fronting (weak crossover and long distance movement) in Spanish and Quechua were presented. The objective was to determine whether there is a syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The results of the elicitation studies revealed that focus fronting in Standard Spanish and

Andean Spanish is sensitive to weak crossover effects, while in Quechua it is not.

Furthermore, Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the object and the subject (but not of the VP), whereas Quechua does not allow for long distance movement in any of the cases. Interestingly, the study on weak crossover tested for ungrammatical sentences, whereas the study on long distance movement tested for grammatical sentences. The fact that the subjects showed weak crossover effects and accepted long distance movement of the subject and the object confirms that the subjects did what they were supposed to do.

From the data discussed in this chapter can be concluded that syntactically focus fronting in Andean Spanish is identical to focus fronting in Standard Spanish. In other words, there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. What at first sight might have seemed a syntactic change is in fact not a syntactic change.

In Chapter 4 the frequency and use of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish will be discussed on the basis of the naturalistic data and the elicitation study on question/answer pairs. It will be shown that in Andean Spanish the use of preverbal object is less constrained than in Standard Spanish. The conclusion we will reach is that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

CHAPTER 4

THE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF FOCUS IN STANDARD SPANISH, ANDEAN SPANISH AND QUECHUA

1. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the syntax of focus was studied. The main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish were presented, which are sensitivity to weak crossover and long distance movement. The results of the elicitation studies that were designed to test for these properties in Spanish and Quechua showed that in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish focus fronting leads to weak crossover effects, but not so in Quechua. Also, the data revealed that Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the subject and the object (but not of the VP), whereas Quechua does not allow for long distance movement. The results of the elicitation studies on weak crossover and long distance movement thus showed conclusively that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The results lend support to Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) argument that syntax is relatively impermeable to crosslinguistic influence.

Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) argues that what at first sight seems to be syntactic transfer often turns out to be pragmatic or lexical transfer. Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) also argues that pragmatic transfer is much more common than

syntactic transfer. In this chapter the pragmatics of focus is studied to determine whether there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

First, word order is studied independently of focus. In section 2, the frequency of different word orders in the naturalistic data will be studied. The results will be compared to data from Ocampo's (1994) study on word order in Argentinean Spanish (see section 2.1.). The goal of the comparison is to demonstrate that sentences with preverbal objects are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. Chi-square tests are performed to determine whether the difference between the groups is significant. The frequency of preverbal adverbs and prepositions will also be studied. Chi-square tests are used to show that there are significant differences between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish. Furthermore, the frequency of the orders OV, AdvV and PPV will be compared to the frequency found for these orders in previous studies on Andean Spanish. It will be shown that the results are very similar.

The naturalistic data will also be analyzed per group to determine whether there is a correlation with certain sociolinguistic variables (see section 2.2.). As discussed in Chapter 2, the naturalistic data come from two types of bilingual speakers from two areas: simultaneous bilingual speakers from Bolivia and sequential bilingual speakers from Ecuador. It will be shown that there is no significant difference between the two groups. In other words, the type of bilingual speaker turned out to be an irrelevant factor. Furthermore, the subjects in each fieldwork site were divided in four groups according to sex and educational level: professional women, non-professional women, professional men and non-professional men (see Chapter 2). The hypothesis is that sentences with preverbal objects are more frequent among women than among men, and more frequent

among non-professionals than among professionals. In general women and non-professionals are more in contact with Quechua and less in contact with Spanish than men and professionals due to their level of education, occupation, patterns of interaction, and mobility. Therefore, if there is an influence from Quechua OV word orders are expected to be more frequent in the speech of women and non-professionals than in that of men and professionals. In fact, it will be shown that there are correlations between OV orders and the factors sex and educational level.

The naturalistic data suggest a relation with focus: focus fronting could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects. Therefore, in sections 3 till 5 word order will be studied taking into account focus. Section 3 is dedicated to Rooth's (1992, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics of focus. It will be shown that there is a correlation between *wh*-questions and answers.

In section 4, the pragmatic uses of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish will be studied. In particular, *wh*-questions with the focus on the object and their answers in the naturalistic data will be examined. It will be shown that in Andean Spanish *wh*-questions with the focus on the object are frequently answered with the order OV.

Since question-answer pairs do not occur frequently in the naturalistic data, an elicitation study on question-answer pairs was designed. The elicitation study provides a more controlled setting and allows us to study the same question-answer pairs in the bilingual groups (for Quechua and Andean Spanish) and the Spanish monolingual group (for Standard Spanish). The results of the elicitation study on question-answer pairs will be discussed in section 5. It will be shown that the percentages for OV orders are higher for Andean Spanish than for Standard Spanish. Furthermore, it will be shown that in

Standard Spanish there is a correlation between preverbal objects and focus, whereas in Andean Spanish there is not. Preverbal objects in Andean Spanish are used in more contexts than in Andean Spanish. The percentages of OV orders are very similar for Andean Spanish and Quechua. In Quechua there is also no correlation between the order OSV and focus.

The conclusion that will be reached in section 6 is that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The data lend support to Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) proposals that pragmatic transfer is possible. The implications and the correlation with studies in the field of second language acquisition will be discussed.

In addition, it will be shown that SVO is commonly accepted in answer to *wh*-questions with a focus on the subject, even in the control group of Standard Spanish speakers, which contradicts statements made by Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), who argues that a preverbal subject with main stress necessarily receives a contrastive interpretation.

2. FREQUENCY OF PREVERBAL OBJECTS

In this section, word order is studied independently of focus, based on the naturalistic data. The methodology for collecting and analyzing these data is explained in detail in section 3.3 of Chapter 2. The first objective is to show that there are statistically significant differences between Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish. Therefore, in section 2.1., the frequencies of the different orders for all subjects of Andean Spanish are studied and compared to the frequencies that are reported by Ocampo (1994) for

Argentinean Spanish. It will be shown that sentences with preverbal objects (OV), with preverbal adverbs (AdvV) and preverbal prepositional phrases (PPV) are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. Where possible, chi-squares are performed to determine the statistical significance of the differences.

The second objective is to demonstrate that there is a correlation between the frequency of sentences with a preverbal object and the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level (see section 2.2.). In general, women and non-professionals are more exposed to Quechua and less exposed to Spanish than men and professionals (see below for details). The frequencies of the different word orders are studied per group (professional women, non-professional women, professional men and non-professional men). It will be shown that OV orders are more frequent in the data for women than in those for men, and more frequent in those for non-professionals than in those for professionals. The differences between these groups are statistically significant. These correlations are expected if there is an influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish (see below for details). The factor type of bilingual speaker is also taken into account, but it will be shown that this factor is not relevant: no statistically significant differences are found between simultaneous bilingual speakers and sequential bilingual speakers.

2.1. Frequency of different word orders

First, sentences with a verb, a subject and an object or predicate were studied. Table 14 below shows the frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in sentences with a subject, a verb and an object or predicate in the naturalistic data

from sixteen subjects from Bolivia and seventeen subjects from Ecuador. The methodology used for analyzing the data is given in section 4.3 of Chapter 2. The last two columns contain the numbers and percentages for the subjects from the two regions combined.

Table 14: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador (Andean Spanish).⁶¹

	Bolivia		Ecuador		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
SVO	357	77.6	269	80.5	626	78.8
SOV	4	0.9	5	1.5	9	1.1
OSV	6	1.3	4	1.2	10	1.3
OVS	38	8.3	22	6.6	60	7.6
VSO	4	0.9	8	2.4	12	1.5
VOS	51	11.1	26	7.8	77	9.7
	460		334		794	

The order SVO clearly is the most frequent order in both the data from Bolivia and the data from Ecuador. This order is 77.6% in the data from Bolivia and 80.5% in the data from Ecuador. The data reveal that other orders are also frequent, in particular the orders VOS and OVS. The order VOS accounts for 11.1% of the sentences in the data

⁶¹ To be able to compare the data from Andean Spanish to Ocampo's (1994) data from Argentinean Spanish, personal pronouns are excluded from the analysis.

from Bolivia and for 7.8% of the sentences in the data from Ecuador. The order OVS accounts for 8.3% of the data from Bolivia and for 6.6% of the data from Ecuador. This indicates a relatively high frequency of preverbal objects. The order SOV, which corresponds to the basic word order of Quechua, however, is not very frequent; this order accounts for only 0.9% of the data from Bolivia and for 1.5% of the data from Ecuador. The low frequency of SOV is in line with Muysken's (1984) results for Spanish in contact with Quechua in Ecuador and lends support to his argument that there is no direct influence from Quechua. His study was discussed in section 3 of Chapter 1.

The patterns in the data from Bolivia and Ecuador are very similar. A chi-square test shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the simultaneous bilinguals from Bolivia and the sequential bilinguals from Ecuador ($\chi^2(5, N=33) = 6.76, p = .2387$), which indicates that the type of bilingual speaker is not a relevant factor and does not affect the results. This corroborates the results from elicitation studies 1 and 2 (see Chapter 3), for which we did not find a difference between the two groups.

As indicated above, the objective was to compare the frequency of sentences with preverbal objects for Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish. Ocampo (1989, 1994, 1995) studied the frequency of OV/VO in Argentinean Spanish. For comparison, the frequency of sentences with a verb and an object or predicate in the data for the present study were studied. Table 15 below shows the frequency of the orders VO and OV in sentences with

only a verb and an object or a predicate⁶² in the naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador.

Table 15: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador (Andean Spanish)

	Bolivia		Ecuador		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
VO	1166	82.6	896	80.1	2062	81.5
OV	245	17.4	223	19.9	468	18.5
	1411		1119		2530	

As is shown in Table 15, the order OV is relatively frequent in both the data from Bolivia (17.4%) and the data from Ecuador (19.9%). A chi-square test shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the subjects from Bolivia and those from Ecuador for these data ($\chi^2(1, N=33) = 2.72, p = .0988$), which confirms that the type of bilingual speaker is not a relevant factor.

The data for Andean Spanish are compared to the data that are reported for Standard Spanish in Ocampo (1994). In addition to the frequencies of the orders OV/VO, the frequencies for AvdV/VAdv and PPV/VPP were calculated to determine if preverbal elements in general are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. The

⁶² In the analysis presented here objects and predicates are combined to make a comparison with the data from Ocampo (1989, 1994) possible. If predicates and objects are separated, the tendencies are still the same as the ones presented here.

Andean Spanish data from this study are also compared to the Andean Spanish data from Ecuador reported in Muysken (1984) and the Andean Spanish data from Peru reported in Klee (1996). Table 16 below shows the frequency of the orders VO/OV, VAdv/AdvV, and VPP/PPV for the present study on Andean Spanish (column 2), Ocampo's (1994) study on Standard Spanish (column 3), Klee's (1996) study on Andean Spanish (column 4), and Muysken's (1984) study on Andean Spanish (column 4).

Table 16: Frequency of VO/OV, VAdv/VAdv, VPP/PPV for three studies on Andean Spanish (the present study, Klee (1996) and Muysken (1984)) and one study on Standard Spanish (Ocampo (1994))

	This study	Ocampo (1994)	Klee (1996)	Muysken (1984)
	Bilinguals from Bolivia and Ecuador	Monolinguals from Buenos Aires	Bilinguals from Calca, Peru	Bilinguals from Ecuador
VO	81.5	92.1	81.7 (81.2)	80 (77.8)
OV	18.5	7.9	18.3 (18.8)	20 (22.2)
V Adv	39.1	51.1	40.5	22
Adv V	60.9	48.9	59.5	78
V PP	73.5	87.8	71.8	66
PP V	26.5	12.2	28.2	34

It should be noted that whereas the present study followed the methodology used in Ocampo (1994, 1995), the methodology used in Muysken (1984) and Klee (1996) is slightly different. More specifically, Muysken (1984) and Klee (1996) differentiate between objects and predicates, while the present study combines the two, following Ocampo (1994, 1995). The frequencies for VO/OV and CopPred/PredCop combined are 81.2% VO and 18.8% OV for Klee (1996), and 77.8% VO and 22.2% OV for Muysken (1984) (see Table 16).

Clearly, the order OV is more frequent among the Andean Spanish speakers in this study than among the Standard Spanish speakers studied in Ocampo (1994). This order accounts for 18.5% of the sentences with a verb and an object or predicate in the Andean Spanish data collected for this study, and for 7.9% of sentences with a verb and an object or predicate in the Standard Spanish data collected by Ocampo (1994).⁶³ A chi-square test shows that the difference between the Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish speakers is statistically significant ($\chi^2(1, N=54) = 40.79, p < .0001$). It can thus be concluded that preverbal objects are relatively frequent in Andean Spanish.

The results confirm those of previous studies on word order in Andean Spanish. As shown in Table 16, the percentage of OV in the Andean Spanish data from the present study is very similar to that reported for the bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish from Calca (Peru) in Klee (1996) (18.5% versus 18.8%). Muysken (1984) reports a

⁶³ The order OV accounted for only 6% of the sentences with a verb and an object in the data of Ocampo's (1989) study of the speech of 19 middle-class speakers from Buenos Aires (cited in Ocampo and Klee 1995).

slightly higher percentage of OV (22.2%) for bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish from Ecuador (see section 3 of Chapter 1 for more details on those studies).

Table 16 reveals that the order AdvV is also more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. This order accounts for more than sixty percent (60.9%) of the sentences with a verb and an adverb in the Andean Spanish data, and for less than fifty percent (48.9%) of the sentences with a verb and an adverb in the Standard Spanish data. According to a chi-square test, the difference between the Andean Spanish subjects and the Standard Spanish subjects is significant ($\chi^2(1, N=54) = 8.62, p = .0033$).

Finally, the order PPV occurs more frequently in the Andean Spanish data than in the Standard Spanish data (26.5 % versus 12.2%). A chi-square test shows that this difference between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish is significant ($\chi^2(1, N=54) = 21.33, p < .0001$). From the contrast between the Andean Spanish data and the Standard Spanish data we can conclude that preverbal adverbs and preverbal prepositional phrases are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish.

As is shown in Table 16, the percentages for the Andean Spanish data from the present study and the Andean Spanish data from Klee (1996) are very similar. Klee (1996) reports that 59.5% of the sentences with a verb and an adverb in her data follow the order AdvV (versus 60.9% in the current study) and that 28.2% of the sentences with a verb and a prepositional phrase follow the order PPV (versus 26.5% in the present study). The percentages reported by Muysken (1984) are slightly higher; Muysken (1984) reports that 78% of the sentences with a verb and an adverb in his data have the order AdvV and 34% of the sentences with a verb and a prepositional phrase have the order

PPV. We can thus conclude that the tendencies found in this study are identical to those found in previous studies on Andean Spanish.

Luján, Minaya and Sankoff (1984) also found a high frequency of preverbal objects in bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers. The data from that study were not included in Table 16 and the discussion above, because that study is concerned with the acquisition of word order in children, whereas the present study (and the other studies reported above) concern adults. Chapter 1 gives more information about Luján, Minaya and Sankoff's (1984) study.

Sánchez (2003) also studied word order in bilingual children, but unlike the other studies Sánchez (2003) did not find a high frequency of OV. It has to be noted, though, that her results are based on a picture-based story-telling task and not on naturalistic data. We will come back to Sánchez's (2003) study in section 5 of this chapter.

2.2. Correlations with the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level

Previous studies on word order variation in Andean Spanish showed that the relative frequencies of the different word orders were not uniform across different groups of speakers. In particular, several studies demonstrated that the least proficient speakers of Spanish used more sentences with preverbal objects (i.a. Luján, Minaya and Sankoff 1984; Muysken 1984; Ocampo and Klee 1995). More specifically, Luján, Minaya and Sankoff (1984) showed that the order OV is more frequent in younger bilingual children than in older bilingual children. Muysken (1984) showed that that order is more frequent in the speech of incipient bilinguals and Quechua-dominant bilinguals than in that of

Spanish-dominant bilinguals, and more frequent in the speech of lower class monolingual speakers than in that of middle class speakers. Similarly, Ocampo and Klee (1995) demonstrated that the order OV occurs more frequently in the Spanish of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals than in that of Spanish monolinguals, and more frequently in the Spanish of speakers from the middle class (professionals) than in that of speakers from the lower class. These studies were discussed more in section 3 of Chapter 1.

The subjects in the present study were divided in four groups according to sex and level of education (professional women, non-professional women, professional men and non-professional men), with four subjects per group for the data from Bolivia, and four or five subjects per group for the data from Ecuador. More information about the characteristics of the subjects is given in section 3 of Chapter 2 and Appendix A. The studies mentioned above showed already that class and level of education are important factors. Furthermore, they indicated that OV is more frequent in the speech of speakers who are more in contact with Quechua and less in contact with Spanish. For the present study, the hypothesis is that the order OV is more frequent in the Spanish of non-professionals than in that of professionals, and more frequent in the Spanish of women than in that of men. The rationale for these hypotheses is that non-professionals and women are more in contact with Quechua and less in contact with Spanish than professionals and men, due to factors such as their level of education, their literacy rates, their occupation and daily interactions. It will be shown below that these hypotheses are in fact borne out.

We begin with the naturalistic data from the four groups of subjects from Bolivia, and then turn to the naturalistic data from the four groups of subjects from Ecuador.

Table 17 below shows the frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in sentences with a subject, a verb and an object/predicate for the four groups of subjects from Bolivia.

Table 17: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in sentences with a subject, a verb and an object/predicate, per group (Bolivia).

	Professional women (N=4)		Non-professional women (N=4)		Professional men (N=4)		Non-professional men (N=4)	
	N⁶⁴	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
SVO	86	76.1	56	60.9	114	87	101	81.5
SOV	0	0	3	3.3	1	0.8	0	0
OSV	1	0.9	3	3.3	1	0.8	1	0.8
OVS	9	8	19	20.7	5	3.8	5	4
VSO	1	0.9	1	1.1	0	0	2	1.6
VOS	16	14.2	10	10.9	10	7.6	15	12.1
Total	113		92		131		124	

The results reveal that the order SVO is less frequent in the group of non-professional women than in the other groups. The order SVO accounts for only 60.9% of the data in the group of non-professional women, whereas it accounts for 76.1% of the data in the group of professional women, for 81.5% of the data in the group of non-professional men, and for 87% of the data in the group of professional men. The order

⁶⁴ N refers to the tokens.

OVS is clearly most frequent in the group of non-professional women (20.7%), and less frequent in the group of professional women (8%), in the group of non-professional men (4%) and in the group of professional men (3.8%). The fact that OVS is more frequent among the women and the non-professionals suggests a correlation between the use of preverbal objects and the sociolinguistic variables sex and level of education.

Unfortunately we do not have sufficient data to perform a chi-square test to determine if the differences are statistically significant.

To study the correlation between preverbal objects and the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level, the frequency of OV versus VO were also studied for these four groups. Table 18 below shows the frequency of the orders VO and OV in sentences with a verb and an object or predicate per group for the data from Bolivia.

Table 18: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in sentences with a verb and an object or predicate, per group (Bolivia).

	Professional women (N=4)		Non-professional women (N=4)		Professional men (N=4)		Non-professional men (N=4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
VO	307	87.2	233	67.5	301	88.5	325	86.9
OV	45	12.8	112	32.5	39	11.5	49	13.1
	352		345		340		374	

The order OV is noticeably more frequent in the group of non-professional women than in the other groups: this order accounts for more than thirty percent (32.5%)

of the data in the group of non-professional women, whereas the percentages are slightly more than ten percent for the other groups: the order OV accounts for 13.1% of the data in the group of non-professional men, for 12.8% of the data in the group of professional women, and for 11.5% of the data in the group of professional men.

Chi-square tests were carried out to determine whether the factors sex and educational level are relevant. To study the relevance of the factor sex, the data from the professional women and the non-professional women were combined, as well as those from the professional men and the non-professional men. To examine the relevance of the factor educational level, the data from the professional women and the professional men were combined, as well as those from the non-professional women and the non-professional men. The difference between the women and the men is highly significant ($\chi^2(1, N=16) = 25.58, p < .0001$), as is the difference between the professionals and the non-professionals ($\chi^2(1, N=16) = 25.84, p < .0001$). Appendix D contains more detailed statistics comparing professional women with non-professional women, and professional men with non-professional men.

To summarize, the data confirm our hypothesis that preverbal objects are more frequent in women and non-professionals. Since these speakers are more in contact with Quechua and less in contact with Spanish, this correlation suggests a transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

The tendencies are similar for the data from Ecuador. Table 19 describes the frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OSV, VSO and VOS in sentences with a subject, a verb and an object or predicate, per group for the data from Ecuador.

Table 19: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OSV, VSO and VOS in sentences with a subject, a verb and an object, per group (Ecuador).

	Professional women (N=4)		Non-professional women (N=5)		Professional men (N=4)		Non-professional men (N=4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
SVO	67	79.8	67	75.3	93	91.2	42	71.2
SOV	0	0	2	2.2	1	1	2	3.4
OSV	0	0	2	2.2	0	0	2	3.4
OVS	3	3.6	10	11.2	2	2	7	11.9
VSO	4	4.8	1	1.1	2	2	1	1.7
VOS	10	11.9	7	7.9	4	3.9	5	8.5
	84		89		102		59	

As is shown in Table 19, the order SVO is less frequent in non-professionals and women: this order is 71.2% in the data of non-professional men, 75.3% in the data of non-professional women, 79.8% in the data of professional women, and 91.25% in the data of professional men. The order OVS is more frequent in the group of non-professional men (11.9%) and in the group of non-professional women (11.2%) than in the group of professional women (3.6%) and professional men (2%).

Table 20 below indicates the frequency of the orders VO and OV in sentences with a verb and an object or predicate per group for the data from Ecuador.

Table 20: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in sentences with a verb and an object or predicate, per group (Ecuador).

	Professional		Non-professional		Professional		Non-professional	
	women (N=4)		women (N=5)		men (N=4)		men (N=4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
VO	249	89.9	216	68.8	244	84.7	187	77.9
OV	28	10.1	98	31.2	44	15.3	53	22.1
	277		314		288		240	

As is shown in Table 20, the order OV is more frequent in the group of non-professional women (31.2%) than in the groups of non-professional men (22.1%), professional men (15.3%) and professional women (10.1%). A chi-square test shows that the difference between the women and the men is not statistically significant ($\chi^2(1, N=17) = 1.53, p < .2179$), whereas the difference between the professionals and the non-professionals is ($\chi^2(1, N=17) = 36.93, p < .0001$) (see Appendix D for more details). For these data, the factor level of education is more important than the factor sex.

2.3. Summary

To summarize, the data revealed that preverbal objects are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish, as was shown by a comparison between the Andean Spanish data and Ocampo's (1994) data from Buenos Aires. The analysis of sentences with a verb and an adverb or a verb and a prepositional phrase revealed that

adverbs and prepositional phrases also appear more frequently in preverbal position in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. Chi-square tests showed that the differences between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish are significant. It was also shown that the results from this study are similar to those of previous studies on Andean Spanish, which also demonstrated a high frequency of preverbal elements (objects, adverbs and prepositional phrases).

Furthermore, chi-square tests showed that there are significant differences among the Andean Spanish subjects according to their sex and educational level. The orders OVS and OV are more frequent in the women and the non-professionals. Importantly, these are the groups that are more in contact with Quechua and less in contact with Spanish. The high frequency of preverbal objects could be explained by the contact with Quechua. The results of the quantitative analysis are in tune with the results of studies by Luján, Minaya and Sankoff (1984), Muysken (1984) and Ocampo and Klee (1995), which showed that the least proficient speakers of Spanish use more XV word orders (see above and section 3 of Chapter 1 for more details on those studies).

In this section, word order was studied independently of focus. The results showed that preverbal objects are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. The high frequency of preverbal objects could be explained by focus fronting, which is a strategy that is also available in Standard Spanish. In Chapter 3 it was established that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, that is, the syntactic properties of focus fronting are identical in Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish. In this chapter, it will be shown that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. In section 3, Rooth's (1992, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics for

focus is discussed to show the semantics and pragmatics of focus in Standard Spanish and to present the relation between questions and answers. In section 4, the semantics and pragmatics of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish will be examined. As will be shown, there is a difference between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish.

3. THE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF FOCUS: *WH*-QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

As seen in Chapter 3, focused phrases are F-marked in the syntactic representation. The syntactic feature has a phonology (in the form of prosodic prominence, see Chapter 3) and a semantics and pragmatics. In this section, the semantics and pragmatics of focus are discussed, concentrating on *wh*-questions and answers. This discussion will be important for interpreting the results from the elicitation study on question-answer pairs.

The two main approaches that have been proposed for the semantics of focus are the structured meaning approach (i.a. Von Stechow 1990; Krifka 2001, 2006, 2008) and Rooth's (1992, 1995, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics of focus.^{65 66} The discussion

⁶⁵ Rooth's (1992, 1995, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics of focus is part of the proposition set approach (i.a. Hamblin 1973; Karttunen 1977; Groenendijk and Stokhof 1984). For different proposals for the semantics and pragmatics of focus see Vallduví (1990), Vallduví and Engdahl (1996), Schwarzschild (1999), Erteschik-Shir (1997), and Geurts and Van der Sandt (2004).

⁶⁶ Krifka's (2001, 2006, 2008) provides separate explanations for different phenomena. Rooth (1992, 1996, 2008) on the other hand, attempts to give a unifying account for focus by introducing a focus interpretation operator. Some issues with Rooth's approach are that it cannot always predict the right focus in the answer

here will be limited to Rooth's (1992, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics for focus. In section 3.1. the relation between questions and answers and Rooth's (1992, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics of focus are discussed. Section 3.2. is concerned with Rooth's (1992, 1996) focus interpretation operator, and section 3.3. contains the conclusion.

3.1. Rooth's (1992, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics of focus

There is a relation between the meaning of questions and that of answers. In particular, the focused phrase in the answer replaces the *wh*-phrase in the question. In the following examples, which are modeled after Rooth (1992, 1996), answer (Aa) is an appropriate answer to the question in (131), but not to the question in (132), and answer (Ab) is an appropriate answer to the question in (132) but not to the question in (131).

131) Q: ¿Quién leyó el Quijote?

‘Who read el Quijote?’

Aa: [Juan]_F leyó el Quijote.

[Juan]_F read el Quijote.

Ab: *Juan leyó [el Quijote]_F.

Juan read [el Quijote]_F.

and that it cannot account for yes/no answers (Von Stechow 1990; Kratzer 1994; Krifka 2001, 2006). One of the issues with the structured meaning approach is that it gives access to too much information and is thus not sufficiently restrictive (Rooth 1996). Another issue that has been mentioned is that the structured meaning approach cannot account for embedded questions (but see Krifka (2001) for a possible solution). These issues are not of concern to the present study.

- 132) Q: ¿Qué leyó Juan?
 ‘What did Juan read?’
 Aa: *[Juan]_F leyó el Quijote.
 [Juan]_F read el Quijote.
 Ab: Juan leyó [el Quijote]_F.
 Juan read [el Quijote]_F.

According to Rooth (1992, 1996), the function of focus is to introduce alternatives. In his analysis, he makes a distinction between the ordinary semantic value of a phrase $\| \cdot \|^\circ$, and its focus semantic value $\| \cdot \|^\text{f}$. The ordinary semantic value of the sentence $[_\text{S Juan leyó el Quijote}]$ is ‘Juan leyó el Quijote’ (‘Juan read el Quijote’). The focus semantic value of a sentence is a set of alternatives, and is derived from the ordinary semantic value by replacing the element in the position of the focused phrase (Rooth 1992: 76). For instance, $[_\text{S [Juan]}_\text{F leyó el Quijote}]$, with the focus on the subject, denotes a set of propositions of the form ‘ x leyó el Quijote’. $[_\text{S Juan leyó [el Quijote]}_\text{F}]$, with the focus on the direct object, indicates a set of propositions of the form ‘Juan leyó y ’.⁶⁷ Example (133) below gives the set abstraction notation for the focus semantic values of these sentences (modeled after Rooth 1992: 76):

- 133) a. $\| [_\text{S [Juan]}_\text{F leyó el Quijote}] \|^\text{f} = \{\text{leer}(x, \text{eq}) \mid x \in E\}$
 b. $\| [_\text{S Juan leyó [el Quijote]}_\text{F}] \|^\text{f} = \{\text{leer}(j, y) \mid y \in E\}$

⁶⁷ The forms ‘ x leyó el Quijote’ and ‘Juan leyó y ’ are the “focus skeletons” according to Rooth (2008).

The ordinary semantic value is one of the alternatives, that is, it is an element of the focus semantic value (Rooth 1992).

Rooth (1992, 1996, 2008) uses Hamblin's (1973) semantics for questions to explain the relation between questions and answers. According to Hamblin (1973), the semantic value of a question is a set of propositions, specifically a set of possible answers, which can be true or false.⁶⁸ The ordinary semantic values for the questions in (131) and (132) above are shown in (134) and (135) below (modeled after Rooth 1992: 85):

- 134) ¿Quién leyó el Quijote? {LEYÓ(x , eq) | $x \in E \wedge \text{PERSON}(x)$ }
 'Who read el Quijote?'
- 135) ¿Qué leyó Juan? {LEYÓ(j , y) | $y \in E \wedge \text{THING}(y)$ }
 'What did Juan read?'

The interrogative pronoun *quién* ('who') determines that in (134) x must be a person. Similarly, the interrogative pronoun *qué* ('what') requires that in (135) y is a thing. The ordinary semantic value of the question in (134) is a set of propositions of the form ' x leyó el Quijote'. Since it is a subset of the focus semantic value of the answer (Aa) in (131)-(132), that sentence is a possible answer to the question in (134). Since

⁶⁸ According to Hamblin (1973), the meaning of a question is a set of both true and false propositions in answer to the question. In Karttunen's (1977) approach, the meaning of a question is a set of only true answers. According to Groenendijk and Stokhof (1984) the meaning of a question is the set of exhaustive answers. Rooth (1992, 1996, 2008) follows Hamblin (1973) in assuming that the set includes both true and false answers.

(134) is not a subset of the focus semantic value of the answer (Ab) in (131)-(132), that sentence is not an acceptable answer to the question in (134).

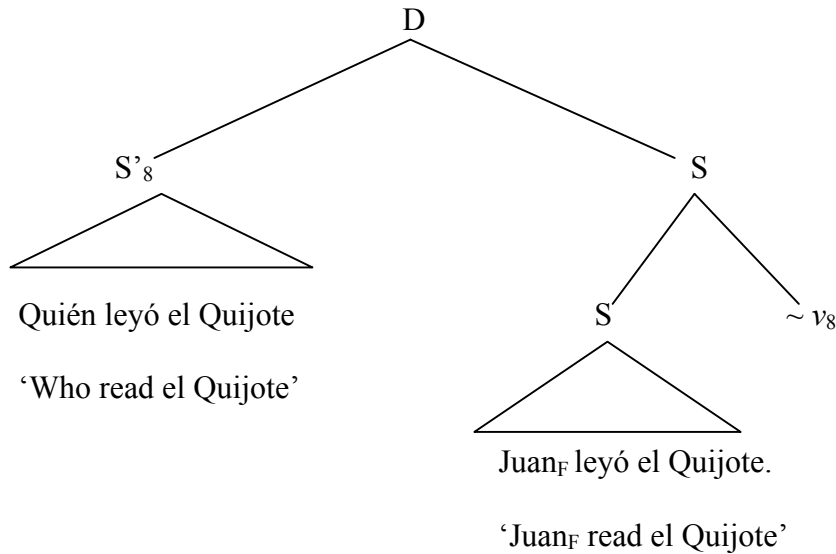
3.2. Rooth's focus interpretation operator

Rooth (1992, 1996) proposes a focus interpretation operator \sim ,⁶⁹ which introduces a free variable and constrains what can be an antecedent for the variable. For instance, we need to rule out that '[s Juan leyó [el Quijote]_F]' ('Juan read [el Quijote]_F') can be an answer to the question '¿Quién leyó el Quijote?' ('Who read the Quijote?').

In a question-answer pair $\langle \emptyset, \alpha \rangle$ focus is interpreted at the level of the answer α . The representation in (136) below illustrates the interpretation of focus in a question-answer pair (modeled after Rooth 1996: 279):

⁶⁹ The focus interpretation operator is proposed to give a unifying account of a range of focus phenomena (e.g. focusing adverbs, contrasting phrases, scalar implicatures and question-answer pairs). It introduces the constraints on the different constructions.

136)



In this representation, the question and the answer are constituents of the discourse node D . v_8 is the variable introduced by the focus interpretation and indicates that focus is interpreted at the level of the answer. As is shown in the representation, the ordinary semantic value of the question and the variable v_8 are coindexed, that is, the ordinary semantic value of the question is the antecedent for the variable (Rooth 1992, 1996). The ordinary semantic value of the question here is a set of propositions of the form ‘ x leyó el Quijote’, such as *Juan leyó el Quijote*, *María leyó el Quijote*, *Pedro leyó el Quijote*. The operator introduces a constraint that v_8 must be a set of propositions of the form ‘ x leyó el Quijote’, which contains the ordinary semantic value of the sentence (‘Juan leyó el Quijote’) and something else. In (136) the ordinary semantic value of the question is a subset of the focus semantic value of the answer, and thus the constraint is satisfied and the representation is licensed. If the answer had been ‘Juan leyó [el Quijote]_F’, with the focus on the object, the focus interpretation operator would have

determined a set of alternatives of the form ‘Juan leyó y’. The focus semantic value of the answer would not have been a subset of the ordinary semantic value of the question, and thus the constraint would not have been satisfied (Rooth 1996: 279). The focus interpretation operator thus rules out that [_S Juan leyó [el Quijote]_F] is an acceptable answer to the question ‘¿Quién leyó el Quijote?’.

3.3. Conclusion

To summarize, in this section the semantics and pragmatics of focus, were examined concentrating on *wh*-questions and answers. According to Rooth’s (1992, 1996, 2008) alternative semantics of focus, focus introduces a set of alternatives. The focus interpretation operator constrains what can be an antecedent for the question. The following sections are concerned with question-answer pairs in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.

4. THE PRAGMATICS OF PREVERBAL OBJECTS IN ANDEAN SPANISH

In section 2, word order was studied independently of focus. The results showed that preverbal objects are frequent in Andean Spanish. Since focus fronting could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects, in this section word order is studied taking into account focus. In section 3, we studied the semantics and pragmatics of focus in Standard Spanish. In this and the following sections, the pragmatics of preverbal objects in Andean Spanish is studied. It will be shown that there are differences between Andean Spanish

and Standard Spanish with respect to the semantics and pragmatics of focus. In particular, in Andean Spanish *wh*-questions with the focus on the object can be answered with the order OV (see section 4.1.). A quantitative analysis was performed to determine if this is a common strategy to answer a *wh*-question with the focus on the object (see section 4.2.).

4.1. *Wh*-questions and answers in the naturalistic data: qualitative analysis

A qualitative analysis of the naturalistic data shows that preverbal objects in Andean Spanish are used in more contexts than in Standard Spanish. In Standard Spanish, the order OV is not frequently used in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the object. In Andean Spanish, however, the orders OV and OVS can be used in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the object, as is shown in examples (137)-(140) below:

137) Researcher: ¿Cuántos años tiene usted?

‘How old are you?’

Julio: Cuarenta y cinco años tengo (Julio: 2).

Forty five years I have.

‘I am 45 years old’

138) Researcher: ¿Qué tipo de instrumento toca?

‘What type of instrument does he play?’

Beatriz: Clarinete toca. (Beatriz: 15)

Clarinet he plays.

‘He plays the clarinet.’

139) Andrea: [...] y también hace un poco de música.

and also makes a bit of music

‘... and he also plays some music.’

Researcher: ¿Qué tipo de música hace?

‘What type of music does he play?’

Andrea: Música folclórica hace. (Andrea: 3)

Folkloric music makes

‘He plays folkloric music.’

140) Researcher: ¿Qué toca?

‘What does he play?’

Andrea: El piano, el piano toca él. (Andrea: 3)

The piano, the piano plays he

‘Piano. He plays the piano.’

4.2. *Wh*-questions and answers in the naturalistic data: quantitative analysis

To determine if the use of the order OV in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the object is a common strategy, all occurrences of *wh*-questions and answers with the focus on the object in the naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador were counted. The results of the quantitative analysis reveal that more than fifty percent (51.5%) of the *wh*-questions with the focus on the object were answered with the order OV (see Table 21).

Table 21: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the direct object in the naturalistic data.

	N	%
VO	16	48.5
OV	17	51.5
Total	33	

Since the subjects also used other orders (e.g. SVO, AdvVO, OVS), the percentages for preverbal objects versus postverbal objects were also calculated. The results show that in 45.8% of the cases the object appears in preverbal position (see Table 22 below).

Table 22: Frequency of sentences with a postverbal object and sentences with a preverbal object in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the direct object in the naturalistic data.

	N	%
Postverbal object	26	54.2
Preverbal object	22	45.8
Total	48	

4.3. Conclusion

To summarize, the data indicate that in Andean Spanish preverbal objects are used in different contexts than in Standard Spanish. Specifically, sentences with preverbal objects appear in answer to *wh*-questions with the focus on the object. This suggests that preverbal objects in Andean Spanish are less restricted than in Standard Spanish.

The results reported in this section are based on the analysis of twenty nine tape recordings. The number of cases of answers to *wh*-questions reported above is relatively low for several reasons. First, *wh*-questions with the focus on the direct object do not occur frequently in the data, and second, the subjects answered the questions in different ways, for example with one word. This shows an important limitation of naturalistic data: some linguistic features do not occur frequently in naturalistic data due to the nature of the interview situation (see also Chapter 2).

In order to study question-answer pairs in a more controlled setting, an elicitation study on question-answer pairs was designed to study focus structures in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The elicitation study allowed us to get judgments for all the sentences we were interested in and to get comparable data for the three languages. The elicitation study consisted of questions to elicit sentence focus, focus on the subject, focus on the VP, focus on the object, contrastive focus on the subject, contrastive focus on the object and contrastive focus on the VP. The elicitation study is discussed in section 5 below.

5. ELICITATION STUDY 3: QUESTION-ANSWER PAIRS

In this section, elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs is discussed. The purpose of this elicitation study, which consists of a picture-based story-telling task and a sentence-judgment task, is to examine in detail focus structures in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. One of the advantages of elicitation studies is that they allow us to control the setting and to collect the same type of material for several languages. In this study, the same stories and the same questions and answers were used for the elicitation studies in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. In section 5.1., the design of the study is briefly discussed. Section 5.2.1. of Chapter 2 gives more information about the methodology used for this part of the study.

Section 5.2. contains the results of the elicitation study in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The acceptance rates of different word orders in response to seven questions are calculated, and the results for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua are compared. The data reveal a clear difference between Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish. Furthermore, it will be shown that the results for Andean Spanish and Quechua are very similar. The conclusion we will reach in section 5.3. is that there is a pragmatic influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

5.1. Design of the study

In the picture-based story-telling task, the subjects were shown a series of pictures and narrated the story depicted. Appendix B contains the pictures used for this elicitation study. In the sentence-judgment task, the subjects were presented with (*wh*-) questions and answers about one (or several) of the pictures. Appendix C provides the stories and the complete list of questions and answers in Spanish, Bolivian Quechua and Ecuadorian Quechua. The following picture was used for the questions and answers about the story *La Lora y la Zorra*, ‘The parrot and the fox’:

Picture 6



The following *wh*-questions and answers, which correspond to the picture above, elicit an answer with the focus on the sentence (question 1 in (141)), with the focus on the

subject (question 2 in (142)), with the focus on the VP (question 3 in (143)), and with the focus on the object (question 4 in (144)):

- 141) Q1: ¿Qué pasa? (sentence focus)
‘What happens?’
- 142) Q2: ¿Quién corta la sogá? (focus on the subject)
‘Who cuts the rope?’
- 143) Q3: ¿Qué hace el loro? (focus on the VP)
‘What does the parrot do?’
- 144) Q4: ¿Qué corta el loro? (focus on the object)
‘What does the parrot cut?’

After giving a spontaneous answer, the subjects judged the acceptability of the following sentences as an answer to each of the questions:

- 145) A1: El loro corta la sogá. (SVO)
The parrot cuts the rope
‘The parrot cuts the rope’
- 146) A2: El loro la sogá corta. (SOV)
- 147) A3: La sogá el loro corta. (OSV)
- 148) A4: La sogá corta el loro. (OVS)
- 149) A5: La sogá, la corta el loro. (O CLITIC VS)
The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘The parrot cuts the rope.’

150) A6: Corta el loro la sogá. (VSO)

151) A7: Corta la sogá el loro. (VOS)

In addition to the *wh*-questions, three other questions were included to elicit a contrastive focus on the subject (question 5 in (152)), a contrastive focus on the object (question 6 in (153)) and a contrastive focus on the VP (question 7 in (154)). According to Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) and Rizzi (1997), sentences with focus fronting necessarily receive a contrastive interpretation. In this study, questions were designed to test for contrastive focus in order to determine whether preverbal objects always receive a contrastive interpretation in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua and to check if preposing is the only strategy for contrastive focus.

152) Q5: ¿El cóndor corta la sogá? (contrastive focus on the subject)

‘Does the condor cut the rope?’

153) Q6: ¿El loro corta la cola del zorro? (contrastive focus on the object)

‘Does the parrot cut the fox’s tail?’

154) Q7: ¿El loro coge la sogá? (contrastive focus on the VP)

‘Does the parrot grab the rope?’

The information given in these questions was false. The answers to the questions negate a value and provide another value for the variable, as in the answers in examples (155)-(161) below:

- 155) A1: No. El loro corta la sogá. (SVO)
 No. The parrot cuts the rope.
 ‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’
- 156) A2: No. El loro la sogá corta. (SOV)
- 157) A3: No. La sogá el loro corta. (OSV)
- 158) A4: No. La sogá corta el loro. (OVS)
- 159) A5: No. La sogá, la corta el loro. (O CLITIC VS)
 No. The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.
 ‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’
- 160) A6: No. Corta el loro la sogá. (VSO)
- 161) A7: No. Corta la sogá el loro. (VOS)

The elicitation study was conducted in both Spanish and Quechua. The following *wh*-questions are the ones used for Bolivian Quechua. Appendix C gives the same questions and answers in Ecuadorian Quechua:

- 162) Q1: ¿Ima-taj pasa-sa-n? (sentence focus)
 What-Q happen-PROGR-3SG
 ‘What happens?’
- 163) Q2: ¿Ima-taj waska-ta k’utu-sa-n? (focus on the subject)
 What-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR-3SG
 ‘What cuts the rope?’

- 164) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-taj q'echichi ruwa-sa-n? (focus on the VP)
 What-AC-Q little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG
 'What does the little parrot cut?'
- 165) Q4: ¿Ima-ta-taj q'echichi k'utu-sa-n? (focus on the object)
 What-AC-Q little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG
 'What does the little parrot cut?'

As in the Spanish elicitation study, the subjects were presented with sentences with the six logically possible word orders in answer to these questions:

- 166) A1: Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta. (SVO)
 Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC
 'The little parrot cuts the rope.'
- 167) A2: Q'echichi waskata k'utusan. (SOV)
- 168) A3: K'utusan q'echichi waskata. (OSV)
- 169) A4: K'utusan waskata q'echichi. (OVS)
- 170) A5: Waskata q'echichi k'utusan. (VSO)
- 171) A6: Waskata k'utusan q'echichi. (VOS)

In Chapter 3 we saw that focused elements are often morphologically marked in Quechua. Therefore, in addition to the options presented in (166)-(171), sentences with the morphological markers *-MI* and *-KA* were added. A complete list of all the options is given in Appendix C.

The Quechua elicitation study also included questions to elicit a contrastive focus on the subject (see (172)), a contrastive focus on the object (see (173)), and a contrastive focus on the VP (see (174)):

- 172) Q5: ¿Kundur-chu waska-ta k'utu-sa-n? (contrastive focus on the subject)
Condor-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR-3SG
'Does the condor cut the rope?'
- 173) Q6: ¿Q'echichi atoj chupa-chu k'utu-sa-n? (contrastive focus on the object)
Little parrot fox tail-Q cut-PROGR-3SG
'Does the little parrot cut the fox's tail?'
- 174) Q7: ¿Q'echichi waska-ta h'api-sa-n-chu? (contrastive focus on the VP)
Little parrot rope-AC grab-PROGR-3SG-Q
'Does the little parrot grab the rope?'

Examples (175)- (180) contain the answers to these questions, in which a value in the question is negated and another value is provided instead:

- 175) A1: Mana-m. Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta. (SVO)
No-EV. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC
'No. The little parrot cuts the rope.'
- 176) A2: Manam. Q'echichi waskata k'utusan. (SOV)
- 177) A3: Manam. K'utusan q'echichi waskata. (OSV)
- 178) A4: Manam. K'utusan waskata q'echichi. (OVS)

179) A5: Manam. Waskata q'echichi k'utusan. (VSO)

180) A6: Manam. Waskata k'utusan q'echichi. (VOS)

For this part of the elicitation study, sentences with the morphological focus and topic markers *-MI* and *-KA* were also added.

5.2. Results and discussion

In elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs the subjects were asked the seven types of questions discussed in the previous section: questions that elicit a sentence focus (Q1), questions that elicit a focus on the subject (Q2), questions that elicit a focus on the VP (Q3), questions that elicit a focus on the object (Q4), questions that elicit a contrastive focus on the subject (Q5), questions that elicit a contrastive focus on the object (Q6), and questions that elicit a contrastive focus on the VP (Q7). After giving a spontaneous answer, the subjects were asked to judge sentences with the word orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, O CLITIC VS, VSO and VOS in answer to these seven questions. The results for Spanish are shown below. Table 23 shows the acceptance rates for the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, O CLITIC VS, VSO and VOS in answer to each of the seven questions for Standard Spanish, in percentages. In other words, the table indicates that in answer to a question that elicits the focus on the subject (e.g. *¿Quién corta la soga?* 'Who cuts the rope?') the subjects accepted the order SVO (e.g. *La lora corta la soga.* 'The parrot cuts the rope.') in 100% of the cases. The subjects were twelve speakers of monolingual

varieties of Spanish. More information about the subjects is given in Chapter 2 and Appendix A.

Table 23: Acceptance rate of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, O_{CL}VS, VSO and VOS in answer to seven questions in Standard Spanish.

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
	sentence	focus	focus	focus	contrastive	contrastive	contrastive
	focus	on	on	on	focus on	focus on	focus on
		subject	VP	object	subject	object	VP
SVO	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SOV	11.7	6.7	18.3	11.7	8.3	8.3	13.3
OSV	3.3	11.7	8.3	15	8.3	18.3	6.7
OVS	8.3	6.7	6.7	41.7	8.3	40	3.3
O_{CL}VS	53.3	86.7	31.7	48.3	88.3	31.7	58.3
VSO	48.3	43.3	33.3	30	46.7	25	31.7
VOS	41.7	51.7	60	55	48.3	48.3	46.7

Table 24 below shows the results of elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs for Andean Spanish. The subjects were fifteen bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish. Chapter 2 and Appendix A give more information about the subjects.

Table 24: Acceptance rate of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, O_{CL}VS, VSO and VOS in answer to seven questions in Andean Spanish.

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
	sentence	focus	focus	focus	contrastive	contrastive	contrastive
	focus	on	on	on	focus on	focus on	focus on
		subject	VP	object	subject	object	VP
SVO	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SOV	43.9	49.1	45.6	50.9	54.4	51.8	55.4
OSV	47.4	56.1	54.4	54.4	57.9	56.1	60.7
OVS	49.1	84.2	71.9	64.9	84.2	67.9	78.9
OCLVS	52.6	87.7	75.4	75.4	87.5	78.6	71.4
VSO	49.1	56.1	66.7	68.4	73.2	69.6	67.9
VOS	59.6	70.2	75.4	64.9	66.1	69.6	66.1

The results for Standard Spanish (Table 23) and Andean Spanish (Table 24) show that the subjects accept the order SVO in answer to all of the questions, including in answer to questions that elicit a focus on the subject (Q3). This contradicts what Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) states for Standard Spanish. According to Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), in Standard Spanish the only appropriate answer to a question with a focus on the subject is VOS with the subject in sentence-final position, where it receives nuclear stress. She argues that SVO is not an acceptable order in answer to *wh*-questions with the focus on the subject. In her view, the preverbal subject necessarily receives a contrastive interpretation when it is assigned main stress (Zubizarreta 1998: 76-77). The data from

the present study show that SVO is accepted as an answer to *wh*-questions with the focus on the subject, even in the control group (see Table 23). This order in answer to a *wh*-question on the subject can be explained by a strategy of stress strengthening. The data show that a preverbal subject does not necessarily receive a contrastive interpretation (in contra Zubizarreta 1998, 1999). Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) argues that in Standard Spanish VOS is the only acceptable order in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the subject. However, the data examined in the present study show that for question 3 with the focus on the subject the acceptance rate for SVO is a hundred percent, whereas that for VOS is slightly more than fifty percent (51.7%) in the Standard Spanish group (see Table 23).

The order SOV is not accepted frequently by the Standard Spanish speakers, as is shown in Table 23. This order is more frequently accepted in Andean Spanish: the Andean Spanish speakers accept this order in between 43.9% and 55.4% of the cases in answer to the seven questions.

In Standard Spanish, the orders OSV and OVS are most frequent in answer to questions with the focus on the object (Q4) and in answer to questions with a contrastive focus on the object (Q6). The acceptance rate of OVS is 41.7% for question 4 and 40% for question 6. In these sentences, the focus is preposed to the beginning of the sentence. The fact that the order OVS is accepted frequently in answer to question 4 with a focus on the object shows that the object does not necessarily receive a contrastive interpretation (in contra Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) and Rizzi (1997)). The percentages for OSV are lower (15% for question 4, and 18.3% for question 6). In these sentences the focused object does not appear adjacent to the verb.

In Andean Spanish, the orders OSV and OVS are accepted more frequently than in Standard Spanish. Interestingly, for Andean Spanish no correlation is found between these orders and a (contrastive) focus on the object; that is, unlike in Standard Spanish, these orders are not more frequent in answer to questions with a (contrastive) focus on the object. We will return to this issue in the next section.

In the Standard Spanish data, the order O-CLITIC-VS is most frequent in answer to question 2 with the focus on the subject (86.7%) and in answer to question 5 with a contrastive focus on the subject (88.3%). In these sentences the object is topicalized and the subject receives focus via the nuclear stress. In the Andean Spanish data, O-CLITIC-VS is frequently used with the other questions too (see Table 24), which means that there is no correlation with focus on the subject or the object.

The order VSO is a neutral word order in Spanish; in the Standard Spanish data this order is most frequent in answer to question 1 with sentence focus (48.3%). In the Andean Spanish data, this order is frequent in answer to all the questions.

Finally, in Standard Spanish the acceptance rate for VOS is more than fifty percent in answer to question 2 with the focus on the subject (51.7%); the subject is in a position to receive nuclear stress. This order is also frequently accepted in answer to question 4 with the focus on the object (55%). This can be explained if there is a pause between the object and the subject. In the Andean Spanish data the acceptance rate for VOS is high in answer to all the questions. There is no clear correlation with a focus on the subject via nuclear stress.

Table 25 shows the results for the Quechua data. The subjects were eight bilingual speakers of Quechua and Spanish. For more information about the subjects see Chapter 2 and Appendix A.

Table 25: Acceptance rate of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in answer to seven questions in Quechua.

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
	sentence	focus	focus	focus	contrastive	contrastive	contrastive
	focus	on	on VP	on	focus on	focus on	focus on
		subject		object	subject	object	VP
SVO	100	100	100	96.2	96	100	95.8
SOV	100	96.2	100	96.2	100	87.5	83.3
OSV	53.8	57.7	52	57.7	52	54.2	45.8
OVS	50	50	64	65.4	48	41.7	50
VSO	100	92.3	92	80.8	80	75	83.3
VOS	61.5	73.1	68	61.5	48	58.3	62.5

Table 25 shows that both SVO and SOV are accepted frequently in these varieties of Quechua. For SVO, the acceptance rates range from 95.8% to a hundred percent, whereas for SOV they range from 83.3% to a hundred percent. The high acceptance rates for SOV show that these varieties of Quechua differ from the varieties discussed in Sánchez (2003). Sánchez (2003) found a strong preference for the order SVO in her

Quechua data from bilingual children from Ulcumayo and Lamas.⁷⁰ In her data, which were obtained in a picture-based story-telling task, she found high frequencies for SVO, but low frequencies for SOV. The order SVO accounted for almost thirty percent (29.6%) of the sentences in the Ulcumayo data, and more than fifty percent (51.2%) of the sentences in the Lamas data. For SOV, these percentages were 9.9% for Ulcumayo and 5.7% for Lamas. Sánchez (2003) argues that SVO and SOV coexist at present, that is, there are two competing strategies for basic word order in Quechua in contact with Spanish. However, Sánchez (2003) maintains that there is a change in the basic word order of Quechua from SOV towards SVO, as in Spanish. It should be noted that Sánchez (2003) used a different methodology for calculating the percentages of SVO and SOV than is used in the present study. Specifically, she included other orders with fewer constituents, such as VO and OV. Taking into account only sentences with a subject, a verb and an object (as in the present study), the percentages for SVO are 71.5% for Ulcumayo and 84.5% for Lamas. The percentages for SOV are 24.1% for Ulcumayo and 9.4% for Lamas. This demonstrates that there clearly is a difference between the Quechua varieties studied in Sánchez (2003) and the varieties studied here, since in the present study SOV is also highly frequent, as is shown in Table 25.

Turning to the order OSV, the Quechua data in Table 25 reveal that there is no correlation between OSV and a focus on the object. The acceptance rates range from 45.8% to 57.7%. As shown before, in Standard Spanish there is a correlation between sentences with preverbal objects and focus on the direct object (see Table 23). In the

⁷⁰ The Quechua dialect spoken in Ulcumayo belongs to Quechua I, whereas the Quechua dialect spoken in Lamas is part of Quechua II (Sánchez 2003: 68).

Andean Spanish data there is no correlation (see Table 24), which strongly suggests that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

As explained in section 5.1., the subjects for the Quechua part of the elicitation study were also asked to judge sentences with the morphological markers *-MI* and *-KA*. In Chapter 3, it was explained that *-MI* is almost obsolete in Tarata. The morphological marker *-KA* is used very infrequently. The Bolivian subjects showed a clear preference for sentences without the morphological marker *-KA*. In their spontaneous answers they generally did not use morphological topic and focus markers either. In the Ecuadorian variety the morphological marking was not obligatory either. The Ecuadorian subjects also accepted sentences without morphological marking. In their spontaneous answers the subjects produced options with and without *-MI* and *-KA*. In general, the use of *-MI* was more common in answer to questions with a contrastive focus. In sum, in these varieties of Quechua, the use of the morphological markers *-MI* and *-KA* is not obligatory.

5.3. Preverbal objects

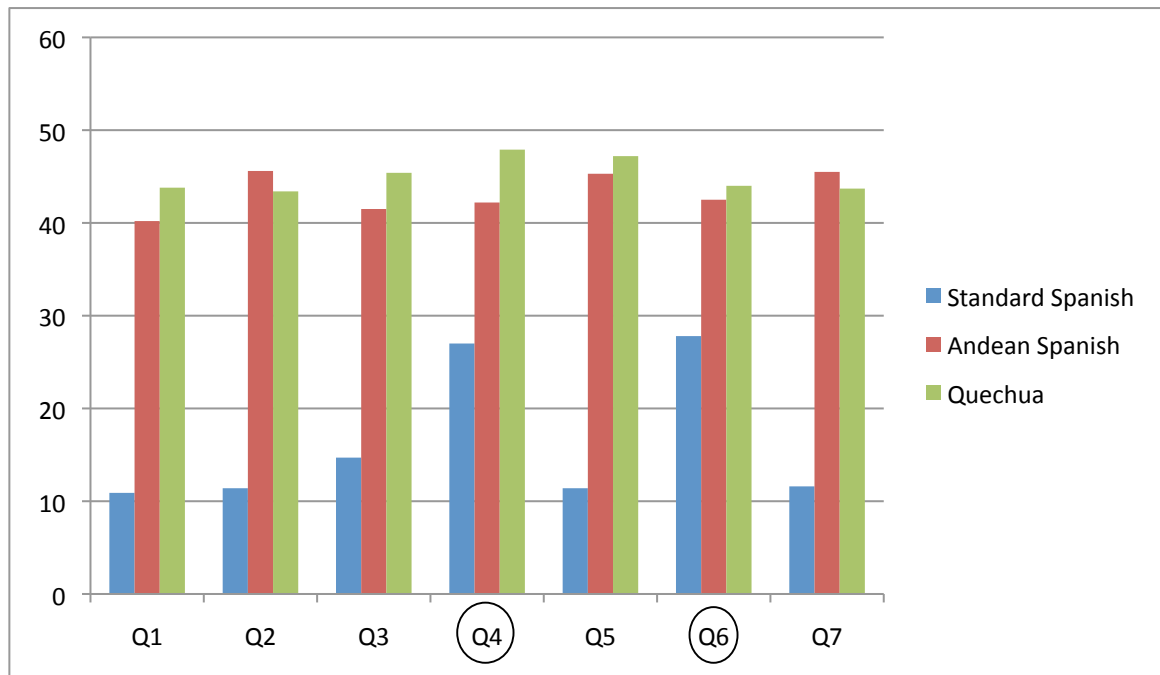
The data in Tables 23-25 above showed that the acceptance rate for answers with a preverbal object is higher for Andean Spanish and Quechua than for Standard Spanish. The sentences with preverbal objects (SOV, OSV and OVS) were examined more in detail. Table 26 and Figure 1 below show the acceptance rates (in percentages) of answers with OV order for the elicitation study in Standard Spanish, in Andean Spanish, and in Quechua. The data reported below include SOV, OSV and OVS. The goal is to compare the data for the order OV in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.

Since in Quechua there is no construction with a clitic, the order O-CLITIC-VS was excluded from the analysis.

Table 26: Percentages of OV orders (SOV, OSV, OVS) for questions 1-7 in elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs, in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.

	Standard Spanish	Andean Spanish	Quechua
Q1: Sentence focus	10.9	40.2	43.8
Q2: Focus on subject	11.4	45.6	43.4
Q3: Focus on VP	14.7	41.5	45.4
Q4: Focus on object	27	42.2	47.9
Q5: Contr focus on subject	11.4	45.3	47.2
Q6: Contr focus on object	27.8	42.5	44
Q7: Contr focus on VP	11.6	45.5	43.7

Figure 1: Percentages of OV orders (SOV, OSV, OVS) in answer to the 7 types of questions in elicitation study 3 on question-answer pairs in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.



The results presented in Table 26 and Figure 1 show that overall the acceptance rate for sentences with preverbal objects (SOV, OSV and OVS) is considerably higher in Quechua and in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. For Standard Spanish, the acceptance rates of sentences with preverbal objects are clearly higher for question 4 (27%), which elicits a focus on the object, and question 6 (27.8%), which elicits a contrastive focus on the object, than for the other questions. The percentages for the other orders range between 10.9% and 14.7% percent. This demonstrates that in Standard Spanish there is a correlation between preverbal objects and focus on the object.

In Quechua and Andean Spanish there is no correlation between preverbal objects and focus on the object. In Quechua and Andean Spanish, sentences with preverbal

objects are also used when the object is not focused. For Quechua, the acceptance rates for sentences with preverbal objects are in between 43.4% and 47.9% for all sentences. For Andean Spanish, the acceptance rates range between 40.2% and 45.6% for all sentences. This clearly shows that the patterns found for Andean Spanish and Quechua are very similar.

From these results, we can conclude that in Andean Spanish fronting of objects is not as restricted as in Standard Spanish. In other words, OV word order has a more general use in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. This change can be interpreted as a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

To summarize, the data for the orders SOV, OSV and OVS show that in Standard Spanish there is a correlation between preverbal objects and focus, whereas in Quechua and Andean Spanish there is not. The percentages found for Andean Spanish are similar to the ones found for Quechua, which can be interpreted as a result of contact with Quechua.

6. CONCLUSION

This section summarizes the main findings of the study regarding the semantics and pragmatics of focus in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua (see section 6.1.), and discusses the implications of the study for the field of language contact (see section 6.2.) and (second) language acquisition (see section 6.3.)

6.1. Summary of the results

In this chapter, it was argued that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. In the first section word order was studied independently of focus. An analysis of the naturalistic data and a comparison with the data reported in Ocampo (1994) for Standard Spanish showed that preverbal objects are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. A chi-square test showed that the difference was statistically significant.

In the next sections, focus was taken into account. First, question-answer pairs in the naturalistic data were studied. An elicitation study was designed to study question-answer pairs more in detail and to compare the results for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The results showed that preverbal objects are more frequent and are used in more contexts in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. In Standard Spanish, there is a correlation between preverbal objects and focus, as was shown by the fact that the percentages of OVS were higher for questions with a (contrastive) focus on the object in elicitation study 3. In Andean Spanish sentences with preverbal objects are used in more contexts. The naturalistic data showed that OV order is used in answer to *wh*-questions with the focus on the direct object. The data revealed that in Quechua there is also no correlation between OSV and focus. The conclusion we reached, based on the results from the naturalistic data and the elicitation data, is that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. This is supported by the correlations found in the naturalistic data between preverbal objects and the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level. Preverbal objects are significantly more frequent in women and non

professionals than in men and professionals. These speakers are more in contact with Quechua and less in contact with Spanish, which lends support to the hypothesis that there is an influence from Quechua.

In contra Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), it was shown that preverbal elements do not necessarily have a contrastive interpretation. For instance, SVO was accepted in answer to any of the questions in elicitation study 3, including in answer to questions with the focus on the subject. Moreover, the percentage of SVO was higher than that of VOS in answer to questions with the focus on the subject.

6.2. Implications for studies on language contact

This study is in line with studies in language contact by Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008), which have shown a transfer of pragmatic uses. Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) argue that pragmatic transfer is more common than syntactic transfer. Moreover, they maintain that syntax is resistant to influence from another language.

The results of the present study are particularly similar to Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) study (see section 2.2. of Chapter 1 for a detailed discussion of her study). Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) argues that what at first seems to be a syntactic transfer often turns out to be a lexical or pragmatic transfer. Two structures in the languages in contact are analyzed by bilingual speakers as syntactically equivalent, and then the pragmatic functions are transferred from one language to another. Importantly, the structures are similar on a superficial level, that is, the bilingual speakers consider some

differences irrelevant. The bilingual Quechua-Spanish speakers in the present study analyzed sentences with preverbal objects in Spanish as equivalent to sentences with preverbal objects in Quechua. Both Spanish and Quechua have preverbal objects, but in Spanish there is a correlation with focus, whereas in Quechua preverbal objects are not necessarily focused. In terms of string order the structures in Spanish and Quechua are the same, but as we saw in Chapter 3, the syntactic structure is different in the two languages. The Quechua-Spanish speakers studied in the present study interpreted this difference as irrelevant and analyzed the sentences as syntactically identical. The pragmatic use of preverbal objects is transferred from Quechua into Andean Spanish and associated with sentences with preverbal objects in Andean Spanish. The question that arises is why the pragmatic uses are transferred but the syntactic structure is not.

6.3. Implications for studies in (second) language acquisition

The results of this study concur with studies in (second) language acquisition. Research on bilingual L1 and L2 acquisition has shown that properties that involve the syntax-pragmatics interface are permeable to crosslinguistic influence. Hulk and Müller (2000), for example, argue that the syntax-pragmatics interface needs to be involved in order for crosslinguistic influence to occur in bilingual acquisition. Other studies in L1 acquisition, bilingual L1 and adult L2 acquisition have confirmed that interfaces, and in particular the syntax-pragmatics interface, are sensitive to crosslinguistic influence and/or cause delays in language acquisition (Sorace 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005; Platzack 2001; Müller and Hulk 2001; Montrul 2004; Serratrice *et al.* 2004; Tsimpli *et al.* 2004; Sorace

and Filiaci 2006; Valenzuela 2006; Argyri and Sorace 2007; Rothman 2009).⁷¹ These studies show that there are more problems with interfaces between syntax and other cognitive systems than with narrow syntax. According to Sorace (2005), narrow syntactic properties can be completely acquired in L2 acquisition and not affected by L1 attrition, but interface properties may not be fully acquired and may be sensitive to L1 attrition. It has been argued for adult L2 acquisition that even advanced learners cannot overcome the difficulties at the syntax-pragmatics interface, which means that these difficulties lead to fossilization (e.g. Sorace and Filiaci 2006; Valenzuela 2006). Other studies, however, show that advanced learners can overcome difficulties at the syntax-pragmatics interface (e.g. Rothman 2009).

The question is why properties that involve interfaces are more problematic than narrow syntactic properties. One of the explanations that have been proposed is that properties at the interfaces are more complex than narrow syntactic properties, since the properties at the interfaces require integration of information from syntax and other cognitive systems. It may be that the difficulties are caused by limited processing or computational abilities (Sorace 2004, 2005; see also Rothman 2009). These processing or computational difficulties reinforce the effects of crosslinguistic influence.

It has been shown that some interfaces are more vulnerable than others. For instance, the syntax-pragmatics interface is more vulnerable than the syntax-semantics interface. The question that arises is why the syntax-pragmatics interface is more

⁷¹ The syntax-pragmatics interface also causes problems in other domains, such as Agrammatic Aphasia (Ahlsén and Dravins 1990; Hamann, Penner and Lindner 1999; Grodzinsky 2000; Platzack 2001) and Specific Language Impairment (Hakansson and Nettelbladt 1993; Hansson and Nettelbladt 1995; Bottari et al. 1998).

vulnerable than, for instance the syntax-semantics interface. Sorace and Filiaci (2006) (among others) relate this issue to the difference between internal interfaces and external interfaces. Difficulties at internal interfaces (e.g. the syntax-semantics interface) involve computational operations, whereas difficulties at the external interfaces (e.g. the syntax-pragmatics interface) involve processing difficulties. External interfaces are more complex, because at these interfaces syntactic and pragmatic information needs to be integrated (cf. Rothman 2009).

The claim that the syntax-pragmatics interface itself poses problems is supported by studies that show that the difficulties at the interfaces do not depend on language pairings. For instance, Sorace and Filiaci (2006) argue that L2 Spanish speakers whose L1 is English and L2 Spanish speakers whose L1 is Italian experience similar difficulties with pronominal subjects in Spanish.

To summarize, language contact seems to follow the same pattern with problems at the syntax-pragmatics interface as studies in other domains of language development. The present study suggests not only that the syntax-pragmatics interface is involved, but it also shows that the nature of the transfer is not syntactic but pragmatic.

As shown above, both studies in second language acquisition and language contact show that the syntax-pragmatics interface is sensitive to crosslinguistic influence. This correlation between second language acquisition and language contact studies is expected, because contact varieties are often the result of a massive second language acquisition by adult speakers.⁷² Quechua-Spanish bilinguals acquired the syntax of

⁷² Winford (2007, 2008) also argues that we should try to bring together areas such as language contact, second language acquisition, and attrition.

Spanish, but not the pragmatics. The result of this incomplete acquisition became the input for the next generations.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

In language contact, there has been a discussion about the degree of permeability of the subsystems of a language to influence from another language. As we saw in Chapter 1, there are two opposing views. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2000, 2001, 2007, 2008) argue that any linguistic feature can be transferred from one language to another, including syntactic features, whereas Prince (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) argue that direct syntactic transfer is very rare; what at first seems to be syntactic transfer often turns out to be pragmatic or lexical transfer.

This thesis was a case study on Andean Spanish word order. Previous studies on Andean Spanish showed that the object frequently appears in preverbal position, giving rise to alternative word orders, such as OVS. These previous studies attributed the phenomenon to an influence from Quechua, where the object typically precedes the verb. They have suggested the role of pragmatic factors, but they have not investigated the nature of the transfer in detail. The research questions of this study were: (a) is there an influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish word order, and (b) what is the nature of the transfer? To answer these questions the syntactic issues were separated from the pragmatic issues.

In this chapter the main findings and contributions of this study are summarized. Section 2 contains a summary of the methodology. Section 3 is concerned with syntax and pragmatics in language contact. Section 4 is dedicated to the implications of the study for the debate on linguistic transfer in language contact and (second) language acquisition in general, and for the debate on transfer of word order in Andean Spanish in particular. The contributions of the study to syntactic theory and other areas of linguistics are also discussed.

2. METHODOLOGY

In Chapter 2 the methodology used for collecting the data for this study was discussed. The two fieldwork sites for this study were Tarata in Bolivia and Juncal/Cañar in Ecuador. The subjects from Tarata were adult simultaneous bilingual speakers and those from Ecuador were adult sequential bilingual speakers.

To answer the research questions, two types of data were used: naturalistic data and elicitation data. The naturalistic data were used to study word order independently of focus and to examine correlations between the frequency of preverbal objects and the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level (see Chapter 4). The naturalistic data allowed us to study the use of different word orders, but they did not show us what is *not* possible. Also, some linguistic phenomena, such as *wh*-questions and answers are not very frequent in naturalistic data because of the nature of the interview setting. Therefore, three elicitation studies were designed to study focus in Andean Spanish, Standard Spanish and Quechua: (1) a study to test for weak crossover effects, (2) a study to test for

long distance movement, and (3) a study on question-answer pairs. Weak crossover and long distance movement are the main syntactic properties of focus fronting (see Chapter 3). The elicitation studies allowed us to study word order taking into account focus. The subjects who participated in the elicitation studies bilingual speakers and monolingual Spanish speakers. The elicitation studies allowed us to study word order in a more controlled setting and to collect comparable data for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua.

The elicitation studies on weak crossover and long distance movement were used to test for these syntactic properties in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The elicitation study on question-answer pairs was used to study focus structures in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua, and to study the pragmatic use of different word orders in particular.

3. SYNTAX AND PRAGMATICS IN LANGUAGE CONTACT

Chapter 3 was concerned with the syntax of focus. The three strategies to encode focus in Standard Spanish are (a) a strategy involving the nuclear stress rule, (b) stress strengthening, and (c) focus fronting. Of these three strategies, focus fronting was particularly relevant to the present study since this strategy could explain the high frequency of preverbal objects. In Quechua, there are two strategies to encode focus: the focused element can be preposed to the left periphery (focus fronting) or it can remain *in situ*. Moreover, focused elements can be morphologically marked.

In order to determine whether there is a syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, the syntactic structure of focus fronting was carefully examined. The main syntactic properties of focus fronting in Standard Spanish are weak crossover and long distance movement. Two elicitation studies were designed to test for these properties in Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. The results revealed that in Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish focus fronting is sensitive to weak crossover, whereas in Quechua it is not. Furthermore, both Standard Spanish and Andean Spanish allow for long distance movement of the object and the subject (but not of the VP), whereas Quechua does not allow for long distance movement. The results thus showed convincingly that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

In Chapter 4, the pragmatics of focus was studied to determine whether there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. The argument consisted of two steps: first, word order independently of focus was studied, and then word order taking into account focus was examined. First, the frequency of different word orders in the naturalistic data was studied. The data were compared to Ocampo's (1994) data on Argentinean Spanish, which is a monolingual variety of Spanish. The goal of the comparison was to show that preverbal objects are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. The results showed convincingly that the orders OV, AdvV, and PPV are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. Chi-square tests were performed to show that the differences between Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish are significant. It was also shown that the Andean Spanish data from this study are similar to data from previous studies on Andean Spanish (e.g. Muysken 1984; Klee 1996).

The high frequency of preverbal objects could be explained by a strategy of focus fronting. Therefore, word order was studied taking into account focus. The naturalistic data were used to study *wh*-questions and answers. It was shown that in Andean Spanish sentences with the focus on the direct object can be answered with the order OV. Question-answer pairs, however, do not occur frequently in the naturalistic data because of the nature of the sociolinguistic interview situation. Therefore, the elicitation study on question-answer pairs mentioned above was designed. The elicitation study contained *wh*-questions with sentence focus, the focus on the subject, the focus on the object, and the focus on the VP, and questions to elicit a contrastive focus on the subject, a contrastive focus on the object and a contrastive focus on the VP. The sentences with contrastive focus were added because Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) argues that preverbal elements that carry main stress always receive a contrastive interpretation. The elicitation study provided us with comparable data for Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish, and Quechua.

In contra Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), the data showed that SVO is possible in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the subject. The preverbal subject does not receive a contrastive interpretation. The subjects of our study, even the monolingual Spanish speakers, always accepted this order in answer to a *wh*-question with the focus on the subject. In fact, this order was more frequent in answer to *wh*-questions with the focus on the subject than the order VOS, which according to Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) is the only acceptable answer to these questions.

The data furthermore showed that in Standard Spanish, preverbal objects are correlated with focus: the order OVS for instance is more frequent in answer to questions

with a (contrastive) focus on the object. Interestingly, for Andean Spanish no correlation between preverbal objects and focus was found. In Andean Spanish, sentences with preverbal objects are used in more contexts, that is, not only in answer to a question with the focus on the object. For Quechua no correlation between preverbal objects and focus was found either. The percentages we found for OV orders for Quechua and Andean Spanish were very similar, and clearly different from the percentages found for Standard Spanish. It was concluded that in Andean Spanish the use of preverbal objects is not as restricted as in Standard Spanish. The data strongly indicate that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish.

The claim that there is an influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish is further supported by the correlation between the use of preverbal objects and the sociolinguistic variables of sex and educational level that were found in the naturalistic data. The analysis of the naturalistic data per group revealed that women use more OV word orders than men, and non-professionals use more OV word orders than professionals. Chi-square tests were performed to show that the differences are statistically significant. These correlations can be explained if the high frequency of OV orders is due to an influence from Quechua. In general, women and non-professionals are the least proficient Spanish speakers. They are more exposed to Quechua and less exposed to Spanish than men and professionals because of their literacy rates, education, occupation, and patterns of daily interaction. The results are in tune with previous studies on Andean Spanish that showed that OV orders are more frequent in the least proficient Spanish speakers (e.g. Luján, Minaya and Sankoff 1984; Muysken 1984; Ocampo and Klee 1995).

To summarize, the present study shows that OV orders are more frequent in Andean Spanish than in Standard Spanish. The results from the elicitation study on weak crossover and long distance movement revealed that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish word order. The results from the analysis of the naturalistic data and the elicitation study on question-answer pairs showed convincingly that there is a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish word order.

4. IMPLICATIONS

The study has implications for studies in language contact, second language acquisition and syntactic theory. In section 4.1., the implications of the study for the debate on linguistic transfer in language contact and (second) language acquisition are discussed. Section 4.2. is concerned with the implications of this study for the debate on transfer of word order in Andean Spanish. In section 4.3., some further implications are discussed.

4.1. Implications for the debate on linguistic transfer

This study contributes to the debate on linguistic transfer in the areas of language contact and second language acquisition. It is in tune with previous studies in language contact on pragmatic change and the idea that syntax is relatively impermeable to influence from another language (cf. Prince 1988, 1992, 1998, 2001; Silva-Corvalán 1993, 1994, 1998, 2008). The present study also involves parallel structures in Quechua

and Spanish. It is thus in tune with Prince's (1988, 1992, 1998, 2001) and Silva-Corvalán's (1993, 1994, 1998, 2008) claim that parallel structures facilitate crosslinguistic transfer (cf. Weinreich 1968). The study does not support Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) and Thomason's (2000, 2001, 2007, 2008) proposal that anything can be transferred. The Quechua-Spanish language contact situation discussed here involves long-term contact, strong cultural pressure and extensive bilingualism, yet there is no evidence for syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish. It does not prove, however, that syntactic transfer can never occur.

The theoretical contribution of this study furthermore has implications for the debate on the vulnerability of interfaces, in particular of the syntax-pragmatic interface: in second language acquisition (Serratrice *et al.* 2004; Argyri and Sorace 2007), agrammatic aphasia (Ahlsén and Dravins 1990; Hamann, Penner and Lindner 1999; Grodzinsky 2000; Platzack 2001), and specific language impairment (Hakansson and Nettelbladt 1993; Hansson and Nettelbladt 1995; Bottari *et al.* 1998). These studies show that the syntax-pragmatics interface causes problems in several domains of language development (cf. Platzack 2001; Tsimpli *et al.* 2004). Interestingly, language contact seems to follow the same pattern with errors at the syntax-pragmatics interface as the studies in second language acquisition, agrammatic aphasia and specific language impairment. The present study suggests not only that the syntax-pragmatics interface is involved, but it also shows that the nature of the transfer is pragmatic and not syntactic.

4.2. Implications for the debate on transfer of word order in Andean Spanish

The study also contributes to the debate on the transfer of word order in Andean Spanish. Previous studies on word order in Andean Spanish used only one type of data: naturalistic data or data from a picture-based story-telling task in Sánchez's (2003) study. The use of naturalistic data alone did not allow these studies to separate syntactic issues from pragmatic issues. Some of the studies (e.g. Muysken 1984) suggested that there was a pragmatic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish, but the type of data used in those studies did not allow the authors to make conclusive statements. In the present study both naturalistic data and elicitation data were used, which allowed us to study transfer of word order in a more controlled setting and to separate syntactic issues from pragmatic issues. The combination of naturalistic data and elicitation data gave us a more complete picture of the nature of the transfer in Andean Spanish word order. In particular, the naturalistic data showed us the high frequency of preverbal objects. The elicitation data showed us that there is no syntactic transfer from Quechua into Andean Spanish and that there is a pragmatic transfer. The elicitation data showed us an influence from Quechua into Andean Spanish, which was further confirmed by the correlation between the frequency of preverbal objects and the sociolinguistic variables of sex and educational level found in the naturalistic data. The two types of data together thus gave us a better understanding of the phenomenon.

The majority of the previous studies on word order in Andean Spanish are based exclusively on data from Andean Spanish. These studies did not do a systematic analysis of Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua. Only Sánchez (2003) collected data

from Quechua, but she did not carry out an elicitation study on word order; her conclusions are based on the data from a picture-based story-telling task. The majority of the previous studies did not involve a control group of Spanish speakers. Ocampo and Klee (1995) compared their data on Andean Spanish word order to Ocampo's (1989) data on Argentinean Spanish word order, but they did not perform a statistical analysis to determine the significance of the difference between Andean Spanish and Argentinean Spanish. In the present study, elicitation data from Standard Spanish, Andean Spanish and Quechua were analyzed. The same elicitation study was conducted in the three languages, which allowed us to get comparable data. The use of a group of Standard Spanish speakers also ensured that the results were not an artifact of the design of the study.

The present study showed a correlation between the use of OV orders and the sociolinguistic variables sex and educational level. Previous studies (e.g. Muysken 1984; Ocampo and Klee 1995) showed differences between groups of subjects depending on their Spanish proficiency, language dominance and/or social class. However, these studies did not perform a statistical analysis to determine if the differences were significant. In the present study, chi-square tests were performed to show that the differences between women and men, and professionals and non-professionals are significant.

Previous studies were generally limited to sentences with two constituents. In the present study, sentences with three constituents (e.g. a subject, a verb and an object) were examined, which gave us a more complete picture of word order in Andean Spanish and Quechua.

Furthermore, previous studies concentrated on one variety of Andean Spanish, generally a variety spoken in Peru. Only Muysken (1984) included a comparison between Ecuador and Peru. There are very few studies on the Andean Spanish of Bolivia; Mendoza's (1991, 1992) studies are an exception. The present study focused on the Andean Spanish from Bolivia and Ecuador. The data allowed us to make comparisons between Bolivia and Ecuador. For word order, no significant differences were found between the Andean Spanish of Bolivia and Ecuador. Some differences were found, however, between the varieties of Quechua studied with respect to the morphological marking of focus. Specifically, it was shown that the morphological markers *-MI* and *-KA* are practically obsolete in the Quechua variety spoken in Tarata, Bolivia.

There are some differences between the varieties of Quechua studied in this study and the varieties studied in Sánchez (2003). Sánchez (2003) found that there is a convergence towards SVO word order in some Quechua varieties among simultaneous bilinguals in Peru. Sánchez (2003) found a low percentage of SOV word order in her bilingual data (9.9% in the data from Ulcumayo (Quechua I), and 5.7% in the data from Lamas (Quechua II)) (102). Although SVO word order was found in the data for this study, the subjects frequently used SOV word order and always accepted this word order in the elicitation study on question-answer pairs. Sánchez's (2003) data also show an absence of the accusative marker *-ta*, and the emergence of indefinite articles. The subjects for this study, however, used *-ta* as in monolingual Quechua, and did not use indefinite articles. These facts show that there are significant differences between the Quechua varieties spoken by Sánchez's (2003) subjects and the ones spoken by the subjects of this study. More specifically, the Quechua varieties spoken by the subjects of

this study did not exhibit as much influence from Spanish as the Quechua spoken by Sánchez's (2003) subjects. Importantly, no evidence was found for a change towards SVO word order.

4.3. Further contributions

The study also contributes to the theory of focus and word order in Spanish. Against Zubizarreta (1998, 1999), it was shown that the order SVO is used in answer to *wh*-questions with the focus on the subject. In fact, this order was more frequent than VOS, which according to Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) is the only possible order in this context. According to Zubizarreta (1998, 1999) a preposed focal element always receives a contrastive focus interpretation (see also Rizzi 1997). However, it was shown in the present study that this is not necessary. Zubizarreta's (1998, 1999) claims are not based on elicitation data. These facts thus also show the importance of using elicitation data.

Another important contribution of the present study is that it brings together several theoretical approaches: theoretical linguistics (syntax and semantics), language contact, sociolinguistics, and second language acquisition. Important insights from theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics and second language acquisition helped us in designing the elicitation studies and collecting the data. Studies in syntax and semantics provided the theoretical framework for focus. Language contact and second language acquisition provided a background for linguistic transfer. Furthermore, a sociolinguistic methodology was used to show correlations between the frequency of preverbal objects

and the sociolinguistic variables of sex and educational level. The combination of these different areas in linguistics gave us a better understanding of the phenomenon.

As was shown in Chapter 3, focus in Spanish is also indicated by intonation. The present study was limited to the study of the syntax and semantics/pragmatics of focus. Future research on Andean Spanish and Standard Spanish is needed to show whether there are differences in intonation (see O'Rourke (2005) for a study on the intonation of Andean Spanish).

The present study showed that there are some differences between the Quechua varieties spoken in Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru. Further (elicitation) studies on Quechua are needed to determine the nature of the differences.

REFERENCES

- Adelaar, W. and Muysken, P. 2004. *The languages of the Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adelaar, W. 1986. *Morfología del quechua de Pacaraos*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. Instituto de Lingüística Aplicada.
- Ahlsén, E. and Dravins, C. 1990. 'Agrammatism in Swedish: Two case studies' In Menn, L and Obler, L. (eds.) *Agrammatic Aphasia: A cross-language narrative sourcebook*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 545-622.
- Aikhenvald, A. 2002. *Language contact in Amazonia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, A. 2003. 'Language contact and language change in Amazonia' In Blake, B. and Burridge, K. (eds.) *Historical linguistics 2001: selected papers from the 15th international conference of historical linguistics, Melbourne, 13-17 August 2001*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-20.
- Aikhenvald, A. 2006. 'Grammars in contact: a cross-linguistic perspective' In Aikhenvald, A. and Dixon, R. (eds.) *Grammars in contact: a cross-linguistic typology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-66.
- Albó, X. 1960. *El Quechua a su alcance*. Vol 1 and 2. Instituto de Cultura Indígena.
- Albó, X. 1970. *Social constraints on Cochabamba Quechua*. Dissertation, Cornell University.
- Argyri, E. and Sorace, A. 2007. 'Crosslinguistic influence and language dominance in older bilingual children' *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 10(1): 79-99.

- Benavente, S. 1988. 'Algunos rasgos sintácticos del castellano en alumnos universitarios puneños.' In López, L. (ed.) *Pesquisas en lingüística andina*. Lima: CONCYTEC/GTZ/Universidad Nacional del Altiplano, 237-252.
- Bottari, P., Cipriani, P, Chilosi, A. and Pfanner, L. 1998. 'The determiner system in a group of Italian children with SLI' *Language acquisition* 7(2-4): 285-315.
- Bradshaw, J. 1979. 'Causative serial constructions and word order change in Papua New Guinea.' Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America, Los Angeles.
- Brody, J. 1995. 'Lending the "unborrowable": Spanish discourse markers in indigenous American languages.' In Silva-Corvalán, C. (ed.) *Spanish in four continents: Studies in bilingualism and language contact*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 132-147.
- Büttner, T. 1993. *Uso del quichua y del castellano en la sierra ecuatoriana*. Quito: P.EBI (MEC-GTZ) and Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Büttner, T. and Haboud, M. 1993. *Uso de las lenguas en la sierra ecuatoriana: informe preliminar*. Unpublished manuscript, Quito: EBI.
- Calvo-Pérez, J. 1993. *Pragmática y gramática del quechua cuzqueño*. Centro de estudios regionales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas, Cuzco, Peru.
- Camacho, J. 1999. 'From SOV to SVO: the grammar of interlanguage word order' *Second Language Research* 15(2): 115-132.
- Campbell, L. 1987. 'Syntactic change in Pipil' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 53(3): 253-80.

- Campbell, L. 1993. 'On proposed universals of grammatical borrowing.' In Aertsen, H. and Jeffers, R. *Historical Linguistics 1989*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 91-109.
- Cerrón-Palomino, R. 1972. 'Enseñanza del castellano: deslindes y perspectivas' In Escobar, A. (ed.) *El reto del multilingüismo en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 143-166.
- Cerrón-Palomino, R. 1987. *Lingüística quechua*. Centro de estudios rurales andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Cerrón-Palomino, R. 1990. 'Aspectos sociolingüísticos y pedagógicos de la motosidad en el Perú' In Cerrón-Palomino, R. and Solís Fonseca, G. (eds.) *Temas de Lingüística Amerindia*. Lima: CONCYTEC/GTZ, 153-180.
- Cerrón-Palomino, R. 1994. *Quechumara: estructuras paralelas de las lenguas quechua y aimara*. Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Campesinado. La Paz, Bolivia.
- Chelliah, S. 2001. 'The role of text collection and elicitation in linguistic fieldwork' In Newman, P. and Ratliff, M. (eds.) *Linguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge University Press, 152-165.
- Chomsky, N. 1971. 'Deep structure, surface structure and semantic interpretation.' In Steinberg, D. and L. Jakobovits (eds.) *Semantics: an interdisciplinary reader in philosophy, linguistics and psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 183-217.
- Chomsky, N. 1976. 'Conditions on rules of grammar' *Linguistic Analysis* 2: 303-351.
- Cinque, G. 1990. *Types of \bar{A} -Dependencies*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, G. 1993. 'A Null Theory of Phrase and Compound Stress', *Linguistic Inquiry* 24 (2): 239-297.

- Cole, P. 1982. *Imbabura Quechua*. Amsterdam. North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Contreras, H. 1976. *A theory of word order with special reference to Spanish*. North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Costa, J. 1998. 'Parameters vs. soft constraints in the analysis of discourse-configurationality' *Chicago Linguistics Society*, 34(2): 17-30.
- Costa, J. 2001. 'The Emergence of Unmarked Word Order', In Legendre, G., Grimshaw, J. and Vikner, S. (eds.) *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 171-203.
- Cowan, R. and Hatasa, Y. 1994. 'Reliability and Validity of L2 judgments.' In Tarone, E., Gass, S. and Cohen, A. (eds.). *Research methodology in second-language acquisition*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 287-302.
- Cowart, W. 1997. *Experimental syntax: applying objective methods to sentence judgments*. Sage publications.
- Dimmendaal, G. 2001. 'Places and people: field sites and informants', In Newman, P. and Ratliff, M. (eds.). *Linguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge University Press, 55-75.
- Emeneau, M. 1962. *Brahui and Dravidian comparative grammar* (University of California Publications in Linguistics 27) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Erteschik-Shir, N. 1997. *The dynamics of focus structure*. Cambridge University Press.
- Erteschik-Shir, N. 2007. *Information structure: the syntax-discourse interface*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Escobar, A. 1978. *Variaciones sociolingüísticas del castellano en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.

- Escobar, A.M. 1990. *Los bilingües y el castellano en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Escobar, A.M. 2000. *Contacto social y lingüístico. El español en contacto con el quechua en el Perú*. Lima: PUCP, Fondo Editorial.
- Faller, M. 2002. *Semantics and pragmatics of evidentials in Cuzco Quechua*. Ph.D. dissertation. Stanford University.
- Féry, C. and Samek-Lodovici, V. 2006. 'Focus projection and prosodic prominence in nested foci' *Language* 82, 131-150.
- Gass, S. 1994. 'The reliability of Second Language Grammaticality Judgments.' In Tarone, E., Gass, S. and Cohen, A. (eds.). *Research methodology in second language acquisition*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 303-322.
- Geurts, B. and Van der Sandt, R. 2004. 'Interpreting focus' *Theoretical Linguistics* 30: 1-44.
- Gil, D. 2001. 'Escaping eurocentrism: fieldwork as a process of unlearning' In Newman, P. and Ratliff, M. (eds.) *Linguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge University Press, 102-132.
- Grodzinsky, Y. 2000. 'The neurology of syntax: language use without Broca's Area' *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23(1): 1-71.
- Groenendijk, J. and Stokhof, M. 1984. *Studies of the semantics of questions and the pragmatics of answers*. Ph. D. dissertation. University of Amsterdam.
- Grosjean, J. 1998. 'Studying bilinguals: methodological and conceptual issues' *Bilingualism: Language and cognition* 1: 131-149.

- Haboud, M. 1998. *Quichua y castellano en los Andes ecuatorianos: los efectos de un contacto prolongado*. Quito: Abya-Ala, Proyecto EBI-GTZ.
- Haboud, M. 2004. 'Quichua language vitality: an Ecuadorian perspective', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 167: 69-81.
- Hakansson, G., and Nettelbladt, U. 1993. 'Developmental sequences in L1 (normal and impaired) and L2 acquisition of Swedish syntax.' *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 3: 131-157.
- Hamann, C., Penner, Z., and Lindner, K. 1999. 'German impaired grammar: The clause structure revisited.' *Language Acquisition* 7: 193-245.
- Hamblin, C. 1973. 'Questions in Montague English.' *Foundations of Language*: 41-53.
- Hansson, K. and Nettelbladt, U. 1995. 'Grammatical characteristics of Swedish children with SLI.' *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research*, 38: 589-598.
- Harris, A. and L. Campbell. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, B. and T. Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, B. and Kuteva, T. 2008. 'Constraints on contact-induced linguistic change' *Journal of Language contact*, thema 2: 57-90.
- Hekking, E. and Muysken, P. 1995. 'Otomí y Quechua: una comparación de los elementos gramaticales prestados del español.' In Zimmermann, K. (ed.) *Lenguas en contacto en Hispanoamérica*. Frankfurt: Vervuert, 101-118.
- Hermon, G. 1985. *Syntactic modularity*. Foris, Dordrecht.

- Hulk, A. and Müller, N. 2000. 'Bilingual first language acquisition at the interface between syntax and pragmatics.' *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 3 (3): 227-244.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INEC). 2001. *Análisis de los resultados definitivos del VI Censo de población y V de vivienda 2001: Provincia de Cañar*.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INEC). *Censo de Población 2001. Estudios Socioeconómicos de la Provincia del Cañar*, HCPC.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística. 2002. *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda 2001. Cochabamba: resultados departamentales*. La Paz: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.
- Jackendoff, R. 1972. *Semantic interpretation in generative grammar*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Jakobson, R. [1938] 1962. 'Sur la théorie des affinités phonologiques entre des langues'. In his *Selected Writings*, The Hague: Mouton, vol. 1: 234-246.
- Karttunen, L. 1977. 'The syntax and semantics of questions.' *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1: 3-44.
- King, R. 2000. *The lexical basis of grammatical borrowing: a Prince Edward Island French case study*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- King, L. and Suñer, M. 2004. *Gramática española: análisis y práctica*. McGraw-Hill.
- Klee, C. 1996. 'The Spanish of the Peruvian Andes: The Influence of Quechua on Spanish Language Structure' In Roca, A. and Jensen, J. (eds.) *Spanish in Contact: Issues in Bilingualism*: 73-92.

- Kratzer, A. 1994. 'The representation of focus.' In Von Stechow, A. and Wunderlich, D. (eds.) *Handbook of semantics*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 825-834.
- Krifka, M. 2001. 'For a structured account of questions and answers' In Féry, C. and Sternefeld, W. (eds.) *Audiatur vox sapientiae. A Festschrift for Arnim von Stechow*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 287-319.
- Krifka, M. 2006. 'Association with focus phrases' In Mólnar, V. and Winkler, S. (eds.) *The architecture of focus*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 105-136.
- Krifka, M. 2008. 'Basic notions of information structure'. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55 (3-4): 243-276.
- Labov, W. 1972a. *Sociolinguistic patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. 1972b. 'Some principles of linguistic methodology'. *Language in Society* 1(1): 97-120.
- Labov, W. 1984. 'Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation' In Bauch, J. and Scherzer, J. (eds.) *Language in use: readings in sociolinguistics*, Prentice-Hall, Inc, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: 28-53.
- Labov, W. 1996. 'When Intuitions fail.' *Chicago Linguistic Society Papers*, 1996 (2): 77-106.
- Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form. A theory of topic, focus and the mental representation of discourse referents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Landa, Alazne. 1995. *Conditions on null objects in Basque Spanish and their relation to leísmo and clitic doubling*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California.

- Landa, A. 2000. Del paralelismo estructural a la convergencia gramatical: contacto español vasco. In Englebert, A., Pierrard, M., Rosier, L. and Van Raemdonck, D. *Actes du XXIIe Congrès de Linguistique et de Philologie Romanes*, vol. VI, Tübingen/Max Niemeyer Verlag, 285-292.
- Landa, A. and Elordui, A. 1999. 'Gramáticas en contacto: Condiciones de permeabilidad y tendencias universales.' In Yanguas, A. and Salguero, F. *Estudios de lingüística descriptiva y comparada*, Sevilla: Kronos, 229-238.
- Landerman, P. 1994. 'Glottalization and aspiration in Quechua and Aymara reconsidered.' In Cole, P., Hermon, G. and Martín, M. (eds.) *Language in the Andes*. Newark, Del: Latin American Studies Program, University of Delaware, 332-378.
- Lefebvre, C. and Muysken, P. 1988. *Mixed categories: nominalizations in Quechua*. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- López, L. and Jung, I. 1989. *Las lenguas en la educación bilingüe: el caso de Puno*. Lima.
- Luján, M., Minaya, L., and Sankoff, D. 1984. 'The universal consistency hypothesis and the prediction of word order acquisition stages in the speech of bilingual children' *Language* 60(2): 343-371.
- Mannheim, B. 1985. 'Southern Peruvian Quechua.' In Klein, H. and Stark, L. (eds.) *South American Indian Languages: Retrospect and Prospect*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 481-515.
- Martínez Parra, R. 1999. *La fábula quechua*. Lima: Editorial San Marcos.

- Meillet, A. 1921. *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale (Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris)*.
- Mendoza, A. and Minaya, L. 1975. 'Variantes regionales: su consideración en la enseñanza del castellano' *Aportes para la enseñanza del lenguaje*. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación, 63-81.
- Mendoza, J. 1991. *El castellano hablado en La Paz. Sintaxis Divergente*. La Paz: Talleres Gráficos de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de Educación, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés.
- Mendoza, J. 1992. *Gramática castellana con referencias a la variedad hablada en Bolivia*. La Paz: Papiro, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad Mayor de San Andrés.
- Milroy, L. and Gordon, M. 2003. *Sociolinguistics: method and interpretation*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Minaya, L. 1978. 'Descripción de estructuras sintácticas del habla del niño ayacuchano.' *Lingüística y Educación-Actas del IV Congreso de la ALFAL (1975)*, Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 464-477.
- Minaya, L. and Luján, M. 1982. 'Un patrón sintáctico híbrido en el habla de los niños bilingües en quechua y castellano' *Lexis VI*: 271-294.
- Miranda, L. 1978. 'Peculiaridades sintácticas en el español de los niños de zonas de influencia quechua' *Lingüística y Educación-Actas del IV Congreso de la ALFAL (1975)* Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 478-483.
- Mithun, M. 2001. 'Who shapes the record: the speaker and the linguist' In Newman, P. and Ratliff, M. (eds.) *Linguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge University Press, 34-54.

- Montrul, S. 2004. 'Subject and object expression in Spanish heritage speakers: A case of morphosyntactic convergence.' *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7.2: 125-42.
- Müller, N. and Hulk, A. 2001. 'Crosslinguistic influence in bilingual language acquisition: Italian and French as recipient languages.' *Bilingualism: Language and cognition* 4 (1): 1-21.
- Murphy, V. 1997, 'The effect of modality on a grammaticality judgement task.' *Second Language Research* 13: 34-65.
- Muysken, P. 1984. 'The Spanish that Quechua speakers learn: L2 learning as norm-governed behavior.' In Andersen, R. (ed.), *Second languages: a crosslinguistic perspective*, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 101-119.
- Muysken, P. 1989. Predication chains: case and argument status in Quechua and Turkish. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 20(4), 627-645.
- Muysken, P. 1995. 'Focus in Quechua.' In Kiss, K. (ed.) *Discourse Configurational Languages*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 375-393.
- Neeleman, A. and Reinhart, T. 1998. 'Scrambling and the PF interface', In Butt, M. and Geuder, W. (eds.) *The projection of arguments: lexical and compositional factors*. CSLI Publications, 309-353.
- Nunan, D. 1996. 'Issues in second language acquisition research: examining substance and procedure' In Ritchie, W. and Bhatia, T. (eds.) *Handbook of second language acquisition*. Academic Press, 349- 374.
- O'Rourke, E. 2005. *Intonation and language contact: a case study of two varieties of Peruvian Spanish*. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

- Ocampo, F. 1994. 'The word order of two-constituent constructions in spoken Spanish.'
In Downing, P. and Noonan, M. (eds.) *Word order in discourse*, Amsterdam/
Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 425-447.
- Ocampo, F. 1995. 'The word order of constructions with a verb, a subject and a direct
object in spoken Spanish.' In Amastae, J., Goodall, G., Montalbetti, M. and
Phinney, M. (eds.). *Contemporary research in Romance linguistics: papers from
the 22nd Symposium on Romance Languages*, El Paso/Ciudad Juárez. Amsterdam:
John Benjamins Publishing Co, 291-305.
- Ocampo, F. and Klee, C. 1995. 'Spanish OV/VO word-order variation in Spanish-
Quechua bilingual speakers' In Silva-Corvalán, C. (ed.). *Spanish in four
continents: studies in language contact and bilingualism*. Washington, DC:
Georgetown University Press, 71-82.
- Parker, G. 1963. 'La clasificación genética de los dialectos quechuas.' *Revista del Museo
Nacional* 32: 241-252.
- Parker, G. 1969. *Ayacucho Quechua grammar and dictionary*. The Hague, Paris:
Mouton.
- Platzack, C. 2001. 'The vulnerable C-domain' *Brain and Language* 77(3): 364-377.
- Pozzi-Escot, I. 1972. 'El castellano en el Perú: norma culta vs. norma regional' In
Escobar, A. (ed.) *El reto del multilingüismo en el Perú*. Lima: Instituto de
Estudios Peruanos, 123-142.
- Prince, E. 1988. 'On pragmatic change: the borrowing of discourse functions.' *Journal of
Pragmatics* 12: 505-518.

- Prince, E. 1992. 'On syntax in discourse, in language contact situations.' In Kramsch, C. and McConnell-Ginet, S. *Text and context: Cross-disciplinary perspectives on language study*, 98-112.
- Prince, E. 1998. 'The borrowing of meaning as a cause of internal syntactic change.' In Schmid, M., Austin, J. and Stein, D. (eds.) 1998. *Historical Linguistics 1997: Selected papers from the 13th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, Düsseldorf, 10-17 August 1997. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 339-62.
- Prince, E. 1999. 'How not to mark topics: 'Topicalization' in English and Yiddish' *Texas Linguistics Forum*. Austin: University of Texas. Chapter 8.
- Prince, E. 2001. 'Yiddish as a contact language'. In Smith, N. and Veenstra, T. *Creolization and contact*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 263-290.
- Reinhart, T. 1997. 'Interface economy: focus and markedness', In Wilder, C., Gärtner, H., and Bierwisch, M. *The role of economy principles in linguistic theory*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 146-170.
- Reinhart, T. 2006. *Interface strategies. Optimal and Costly Computations*. Cambridge, Massachusetts/London, England: MIT Press.
- Rice, K. 2001. 'Learning as one goes' In Newman, P. and Ratliff, M. (eds.) *Linguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge University Press, 230-249.
- Rizzi, L. 1997. 'The fine structure of the left periphery', In Haegeman, L. (ed.) *Elements of Grammar*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, The Netherlands, 281-337.

- Rizzi, L. 2004. 'Locality and Left Periphery' In Belletti, A (ed.) *Structures and beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 223-251.
- Rochemont, M. 1986. *Focus in generative grammar*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Rooth, M. 1992. 'A theory of focus interpretation'. *Natural Language Semantics* 1: 75-116.
- Rooth, M. 1995. 'Indefinites, adverbs of quantification and focus semantics.' In Carlson, N. and Pelletier, F. (eds.) *The generic book*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 265-299.
- Rooth, M. 1996. 'Focus' In Lappin, S. (ed.) *The handbook of temporary semantic theory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell, 271-297.
- Rooth, M. 2008. 'Notions of focus anaphoricity' *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55(3-4): 277-285.
- Roth, P. 1963. *Portnoy's Complaint*. New York: Random.
- Rothman, J. 2009. 'Pragmatic deficits with syntactic consequences?: L2 pronominal subjects and the syntax-pragmatics interface' *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 951-973.
- Samarin, W. 1967. *Field Linguistics: a guide to linguistic field work*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Samek-Lodovici, V. 2001. 'Crosslinguistic Typologies in Optimality Theory', In Legendre, G., Grimshaw, J. and Vikner, S. *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 315- 353.
- Samek-Lodovici, V. 2005. 'Prosody-syntax interaction in the expression of focus' *Natural language and linguistic theory* 21(4): 687-755.

- Sánchez, L. 2003. *Quechua-Spanish bilingualism: Interference and convergence in functional categories*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sánchez, L. To appear. *Peripheral domains and agreement in Quechua*. Book ms.
- Sankoff, G. 2001. 'Linguistic outcomes of language contact.' In Chambers, J., Trudgill, P. and Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.) 2001. *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 338-368.
- Sapir, E. 1921. *Language: an introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Schütze, C. 1996. *The empirical base of linguistics: grammaticality judgments and linguistic methodology*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Schwartz, B. and Sprouse, R. 1994. 'Word order and nominative case in nonnative language acquisition: a longitudinal study of (L1 Turkish) German Interlanguage.' In Hoekstra, T. and Schwartz, B. (eds.) *Language acquisition studies in generative grammar: papers in honor of Kenneth Wexler from the 1991 GLOW workshops*, Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 317-368.
- Schwartz, B. and Sprouse, R. 1996. 'L2 cognitive states and the Full Transfer/Full Access model' *Second Language Research* 12 (1): 40-72.
- Schwarzschild, R. 1999. 'GIVENness, AvoidF and other constraints of the placement of focus.' *Natural Language Semantics* 7: 141-177.
- Selkirk, E. 1984. *Phonology and syntax: the relation between sound and structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

- Selkirk, E. 1995. 'Sentence prosody: intonation, stress and phrasing.' In Goldsmith, J. (ed.) *The handbook of phonological theory*. Blackwell: Cambridge MA and Oxford, 550-569.
- Serratrice, L., Sorace, A. and Paoli, S. 2004. 'Crosslinguistic influence at the syntax-pragmatics interface: subjects and objects in English-Italian bilingual and monolingual acquisition.' *Bilingualism: Language and cognition* 7(3): 183-205.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1993. 'On the permeability of grammars: evidence from Spanish and English contact' In Ashby, W., Mithun, M, Perissinotto, G. and Raposo, E. (eds.) *Selected papers from the 21st symposium on Romance Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 19-43.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1994. *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. (Oxford Studies in Language Contact). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. (ed.) 1995. *Spanish in four continents: studies in language contact and bilingualism*. (Georgetown Studies in Romance Linguistics). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 1998. 'On borrowing as a mechanism of syntactic change.' In Schwegler, A., Tranel, B. and Uribe-Extebarria, M. (eds.) *Romance linguistics: Theoretical perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 225-246.
- Silva-Corvalán, C. 2008. 'The limits of convergence in language contact.' *Journal of Language Contact*, Thema 2: 213-224.
- Sorace, A. 1996. 'The use of acceptability judgments in second language acquisition research', In Ritchie, W. and Bhatia, T. (eds.), *The handbook of second language acquisition*, Academic Press, 375-409.

- Sorace, A. 2000. 'Syntactic optionality in non-native grammars' *Second Language Research* 16(2): 93-102.
- Sorace, A. 2003. 'Near-nativeness' In Doughty, C., Long, M. (eds.) *The handbook of second language acquisition*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 130-151.
- Sorace, A. 2004. 'Native language attrition and developmental instability at the syntax-discourse interface: data, interpretations and methods.' *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7: 143-145.
- Sorace, A. 2005. 'Selective optionality in language development' In Cornips, L., Corrigan, K. (eds.) *Syntax and variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 55-80.
- Sorace, A. and Filiaci, F. 2006. 'Anaphora resolution in near-native speakers of Italian' *Second Language Research* 22: 339-368.
- Soto Ruiz, C. 1978. 'La interferencia quechua-español: una doble perspectiva' *Lingüística y educación- Actas del IV Congreso de la AIFAL (1975)*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 619-626.
- Soto Ruiz, C. 1993. *Manual de enseñanza*. Lima, Peru: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Stark, L. 1985. 'The Quechua language in Bolivia' In Klein, H. and Stark, L. (eds.) *South American Indian Languages: Retrospect and Prospect*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 516-545.
- Thomason, S. and Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

- Thomason, S. 1997. 'On mechanisms of interference.' In S. Eliasson and Hakon Jahr, E. (eds.), *Language and its ecology: Essays in memory of Einar Haugen*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 181-207.
- Thomason, S. 2000. 'On the unpredictability of contact effects.' *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 1.1: 173-182.
- Thomason, S. 2001. *Language contact: an introduction*. Edinburgh and Washington, DC: Edinburgh University Press, Georgetown University Press.
- Thomason, S. 2007. 'Language contact and deliberate change.' *Journal of Language Contact*, Thema 1: 41-62.
- Thomason, S. 2008. 'Social and linguistic factors as predictors of contact-induced change.' *Journal of Language Contact*, Thema 2: 42-56.
- Thomason, S. 2009. 'Why universals versus contact-induced change?' In Filppula, M., Klemola, J. and Paulasto, H. (eds.) *Vernacular universals and language contacts: evidence from varieties of English and beyond*. London: Routledge, 349-364.
- Torero, A. 1964. 'Los dialectos quechuas' *Anales Científicos de la Universidad Agraria* 2(4), La Molina: Lima, 446-478.
- Torero, A. 1974. *El quechua y la historia social andina*. Lima: Universidad Ricardo Palma.
- Torero, A. 2005. *Idiomas de los Andes: lingüística e historia*. Lima: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Editorial Horizonte.
- Tsimpli, I., Sorace, A., Heycock, C. and Filiaci, F. 2004. 'First language attrition and syntactic subjects: a study of Greek and Italian near native speakers of English.' *International Journal of Bilingualism* 8: 257-277.

- Valenzuela, E. 2006. 'L2 end state grammars and incomplete acquisition of Spanish CLLD constructions' In Slabakova, R., Montrul, S., Prévost, P. (eds.) *Inquiries in Linguistic Development*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 283-304.
- Vallduví, E. and Engdahl, E. 1996. 'The linguistic realization of information packaging.' *Linguistics* 34: 459-519.
- Vallduví, E. 1990. *The Informational Component*. Ph. D. Dissertation.
- Van de Kerke, S. 1996. *Affix order and interpretation in Bolivian Quechua*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Vaux, B. and Cooper, J. 1999. *Introduction to Linguistic Field Methods*. München, Newcastle: Lincom Europa.
- Von Stechow, A. 1990. 'Focusing and backgrounding operators.' In Munitz, M. and Unger, P. (eds.) *Semantics and philosophy*. New York: New York University Press, 197-213.
- Weber, D. 1996. *Una gramática del quechua del Huallaga (Huánuco)*. Ministerio de Educación. Instituto Lingüístico del Verano, Perú.
- Wei, L. 2000. 'Methodological questions in the study of bilingualism.' In Wei, L. (ed.) *The bilingualism reader*. Routledge, 475-486.
- Weinreich, U. 1953 (1968). *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Williams, E. 1997. 'Blocking and anaphora.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 28(4): 577-628.
- Winford, D. 2003. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Winford, D. 2007. 'Some issues in the study of language contact.' *Journal of Language Contact*, Thema 1: 22-39.

- Winford, D. 2008. 'Processes of creole formation and related contact-induced language change.' *Journal of language contact*, Thema: 124-148.
- Wölck, W. 1972. *Especificación y foco en quechua*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos. Centro de Investigación de lingüística aplicada. Documento de trabajo 4.
- Zagona, K. 2002. *The syntax of Spanish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zavala, V. 1999. 'Reconsideraciones en torno al español andino' *Lexis* XXIII.1: 25-85.
- Zubizarreta, M. 1998. *Prosody, focus and word order*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Zubizarreta, M. 1999. 'Las funciones informativas: tema y foco' In Bosque, I. and Demonte Barreto, V. (eds). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, vol. 3, Editorial Espasa Calpe, 4217-4244.

APPENDIX A

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SUBJECTS

Table 27: Characteristics of the subjects for the naturalistic data (Bolivia, 2001)

No.	Name ⁷³	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	Lucía	F	40	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	University	nurse's aide
2	Beatriz	F	34	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	University	teacher
3	Ximena	F	41	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	institute for secretarial courses	secretary
4	Elena	F	42	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	teacher
5	Esteban	M	39	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	teacher
6	Manuela	F	45	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	housewife, saleswoman
7	Eduardo	M	29	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college / university	teacher, law student
8	Raúl	M	45	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college/ university	teacher
9	Hector	M	40	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	University (Economics)	municipal employee
10	Teresa	F	38	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	storekeeper

⁷³ To protect the subjects' anonymity, all names are fictitious.

Table 27 (cont.)

No.	Name ⁷⁴	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
11	Pedro	M	32	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	employee
12	Hugo	M	50	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	porter
13	Adriana	F	43	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	saleswoman
14	Alicia	F	36	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	restaurant owner
15	Ricardo	M	46	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	administrator of Seapa (water company)
16	Victor	M	49	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	taxi/bus driver

⁷⁴ To protect the subjects' anonymity, all names are fictitious.

Table 28: Characteristics of the subjects for the naturalistic data (Ecuador, 2004)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	Andrés	M	48	sequential bilingual	Juncal	teacher training college	teacher, bilingual school in Juncal
2	Sofía	F	28	sequential bilingual	Juncal	university (unfinished)	Law student, farmer
3	Rafaela	F	22	sequential bilingual	Juncal	secondary education	housewife, farmer
4	Julia	F	24	sequential bilingual	Suscal	secondary education (unfinished)	student (secondary education), farmer
5	Luisa	F	32	sequential bilingual	Charcay	teacher training college	teacher, bilingual school
6	Marcelina	F	31	sequential bilingual	Juncal	secondary education until 5 th grade	employee in daycare center, farmer
7	Alejandro	M	50	sequential bilingual	Juncal	university (communication, unfinished)	radio presenter (Radio Ingapirca)
8	Alicia	F	39	sequential bilingual	Quilloac	teacher training college (unfinished)	student, teacher at bilingual school in Cañar, storekeeper.
9	Fernando	M	35	sequential bilingual	Cañar	teacher training college	teacher at bilingual school in Cañar

Table 28 (cont.)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
10	Julio	M	45	sequential bilingual	Quilloac	teacher training college	teacher at bilingual school in Cañar
11	Rufina	F	48	sequential bilingual	Juncal	literacy training (at age 24)	farmer
12	Sebastián	M	59	sequential bilingual	Juncal	none; literacy training from priest	farmer
13	Andrea	F	36	sequential bilingual	community near Cañar	teacher training college	teacher at bilingual school
14	Josefina	F	55	sequential bilingual	Chuchún	none (dropped out in 2 nd grade)	farmer
15	Alberto	M	50	sequential bilingual	Juncal	elementary school	farmer
16	Jorge	M	24	sequential bilingual	Juncal	elementary school	farmer
17	Pablo	M	35	sequential bilingual	Juncal	elementary school	farmer

Table 29: Characteristics of the subjects for the Spanish elicitation data (Bolivia, 2006) (elicitation studies 1, 2 and 3)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	Rodolfo	M	63	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	retired teacher /principal of private school in Tarata
2	Elena	F	48	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	teacher
3	Estela	F	23	sequential bilingual	Tarata		secretary, Coderta
4	Diego	M	25	sequential bilingual	Tarata	elementary school (unfinished)	porter, Coderta
5	Manuela	F	50	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	housewife, storekeeper
6	Teresa	F	45	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	restaurant owner
7	Luis	M	49	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	university (Civil engineering, unfinished)	employee cultural center/ tourist office.
8	Francisco	M	60	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	school of Music	bus driver, musician, photographer, construction worker, waiter
9	Claudia	F	49	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	elementary school (unfinished)	porter at a school
10	Esmeralda	F	39	sequential bilingual	Tarata	secondary education	security, Seapa (water company)

Table 30: Characteristics of the subjects for the Quechua elicitation data (Bolivia, 2006) (elicitation studies 1 and 2)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	Luis	M	49	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	university (civil engineering, unfinished)	employee at cultural center/ tourist office
2	Rodolfo	M	63	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	retired teacher /principal of private school in Tarata
3	Blanca	F	55	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	restaurant owner, retired teacher (physical education)
4	Pilar	F	53	sequential bilingual	Tarata		housewife, owner of a <i>chichería</i>

Table 31: Subjects Spanish elicitation data (Ecuador, 2006) (elicitation studies 1, 2, 3)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	Sofía	F	30	sequential bilingual	Juncal	university (Law, unfinished)	teacher, Suscal
2	Rafaela	F	24	sequential bilingual	Juncal	secondary education	farmer, housewife
3	Andrés	M	50	sequential bilingual	Juncal	teacher training college	teacher, bilingual school
4	Alejandro	M	52	sequential bilingual	Juncal	university (communication, unfinished)	radio presenter
5	José	M	21	sequential bilingual	Juncal	college (2 years left)	farmer
6	Eugenia	F		Spanish monolingual	Juncal	non-professional	storekeeper
7	Juana	F	51	Spanish monolingual	Juncal	non-professional	housewife
8	Clara	F	30	Spanish monolingual	Juncal	non-professional	storekeeper
9	Elvira	F	45	Spanish monolingual	Juncal	elementary school (over the radio, unfinished)	storekeeper, farmer

Table 32: Characteristics of the subjects for the Quechua elicitation data (Ecuador, 2006) (elicitation studies 1 and 2)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	José	M	21	sequential bilingual	Juncal	college (2 years left)	farmer
2	Rufina	F	50	sequential bilingual	Juncal	literacy training (at age 24)	farmer
3	Sofía	F	30	sequential bilingual	Juncal	university (Law, unfinished)	teacher, Suscal
4	Rafaela	F	24	sequential bilingual	Juncal	secondary education	farmer, housewife

Table 33: Characteristics of the subjects for the Quechua elicitation data (Bolivia, 2007) (elicitation study 3)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Type of speaker	Place of residence	Highest level of education	Occupation
1	Luis	M	50	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	university (civil engineering, unfinished)	employee at cultural center/ tourist office
2	Rodolfo	M	64	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	retired teacher, principal of private school, Tarata
3	Elena	F	49	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	teacher training college	teacher
4	Francisco	M	61	simultaneous bilingual	Tarata	school of music	bus driver, musician, photographer, construction worker, waiter

Table 34: Characteristics of the subjects for the Spanish elicitation data (monolingual Spanish group, Urbana-Champaign, 2008)
(elicitation studies 1, 2 and 3)

No.	Name	Sex	Age	Place of origin	Arrival to US	Education	Occupation	Language fluencies
1	Paula	F	28	Blanca (Argentina)	August 2007	pursuing MA in literature	MA student (literature)	Spanish, English, some Italian, some German
2	Florencia	F	24	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	August 2007	International Studies	employee library, hotel Illini Union	Spanish, English, some Portuguese
3	Julieta	F	30	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	August 2006	pursuing MA/ research in Animal Sciences	veterinarian in Argentina	Spanish, English
4	Camila	F	32	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	August 2006	Ph.D. student Geography	TA in Geography	Spanish, English
5	Natalia	F	27	Bogotá (Colombia)	August 2007	ESL student in US, lawyer in Colombia	ESL student	Spanish, English some French
6	Matias	M	29	Bogotá (Colombia)	August 2007	pursuing MA in Animal Sciences	MA student	Spanish, English, some German
7	Sebastián	M	22	Valladolid (Spain)	August 2008	pursuing MA in Hispanic Linguistics	MA student	Spanish, English, some Italian

Table 34 (cont.)

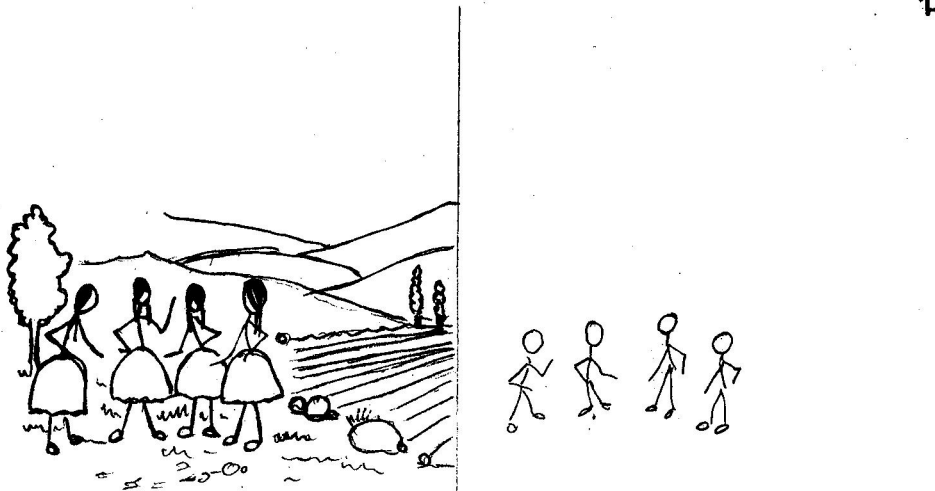
No.	Name	Sex	Age	Place of origin	Arrival to US	Education	Occupation	Language fluencies
8	Martín	M	30	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	August 2008	pursuing MA in Law	MA student	Spanish, English
9	Micaela	F	27	Buenos Aires (Argentina)	August 2008	student in landscape	MA student	Spanish, English, some French
10	Nicolás	M	30	town near Bogotá (Colombia)	August 2007	pursuing MA in engineering	MA student	Spanish, English
11	Luciano	M	28	Venezuela	August 2008	IEI (Intensive English Institute) student	IEI student, (bank employee in Venezuela)	Spanish, English
12	Daniela	F	24	Mexico	August 2008	IEI student	IEI student	Spanish, English

APPENDIX B

PICTURES FOR THE ELICITATION STUDIES⁷⁵

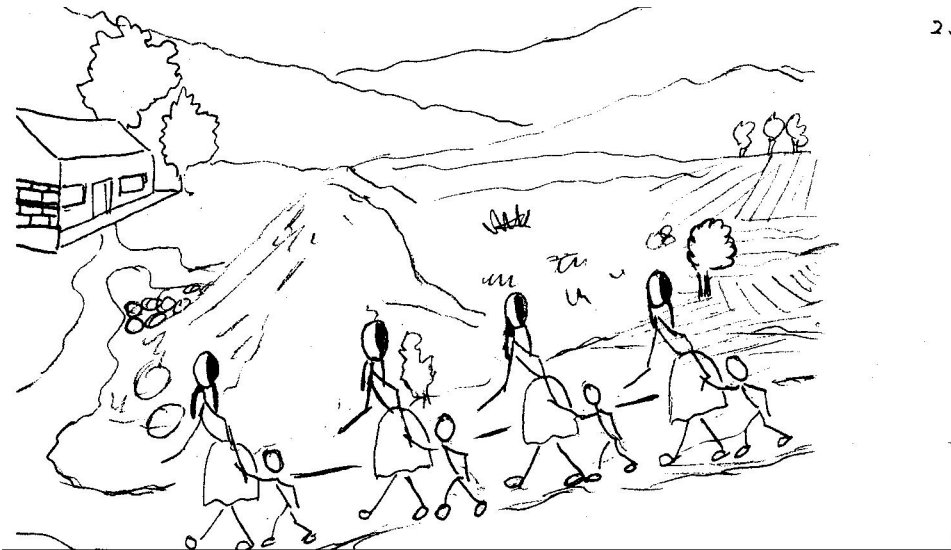
1. ELICITATION STUDY 1: WEAK CROSSOVER

1.1. *¿A qué niño_i trajo su_i madre a la escuela?* (‘Which child did his mother bring to school?’)



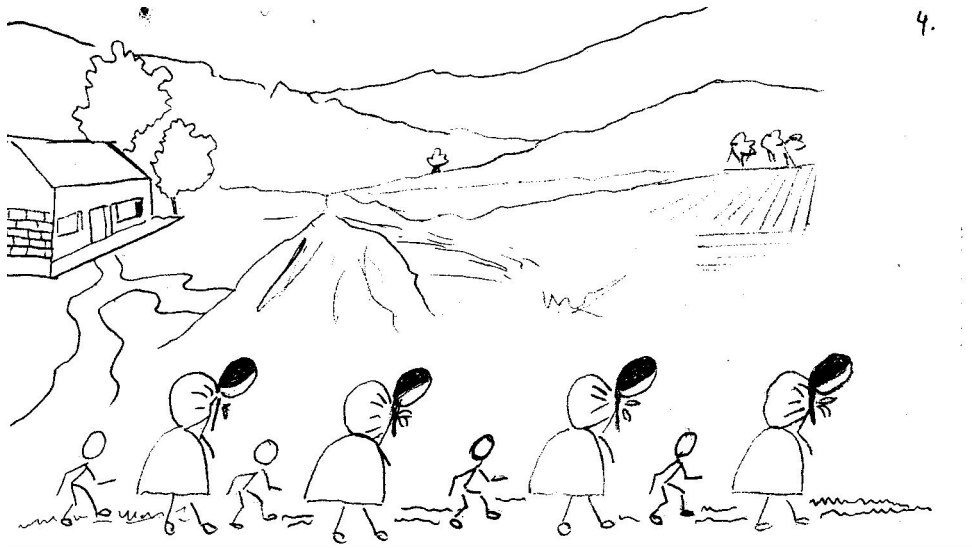
⁷⁵ Some of the pictures are adapted from Martínez-Parra (1999) and from Soto Ruiz (1993). I am grateful to *Editorial San Marcos*, Clodo Soto and the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos* for their permission to include the pictures in my thesis.

2.



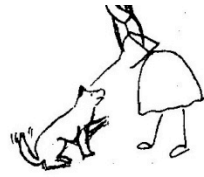
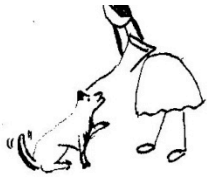
3.





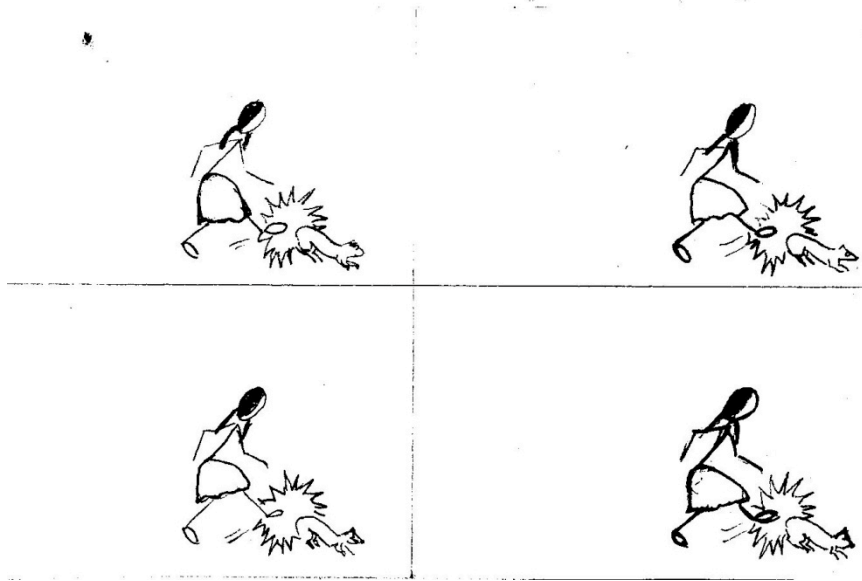
1.2. ¿A qué perro_i quiere su_i dueña? ('Which dog does his boss love?')



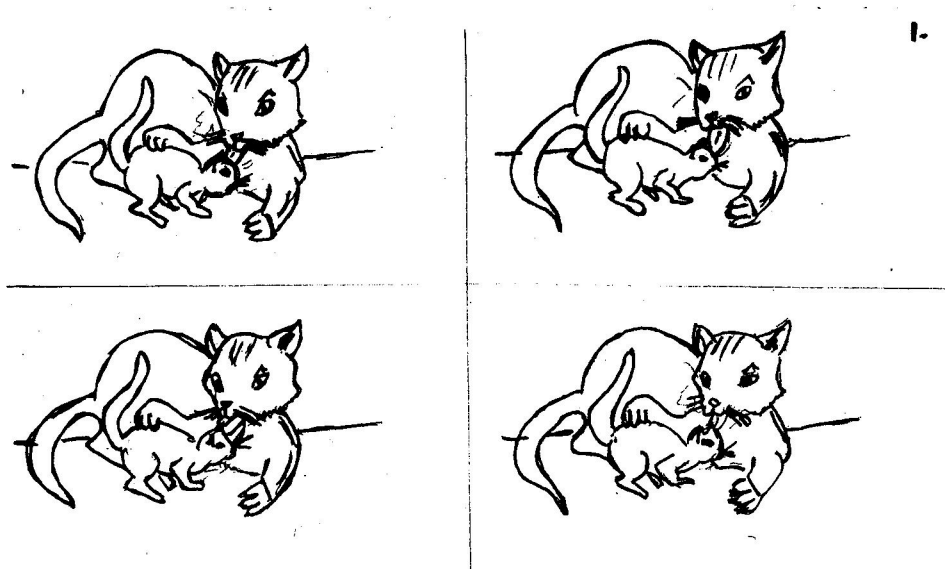


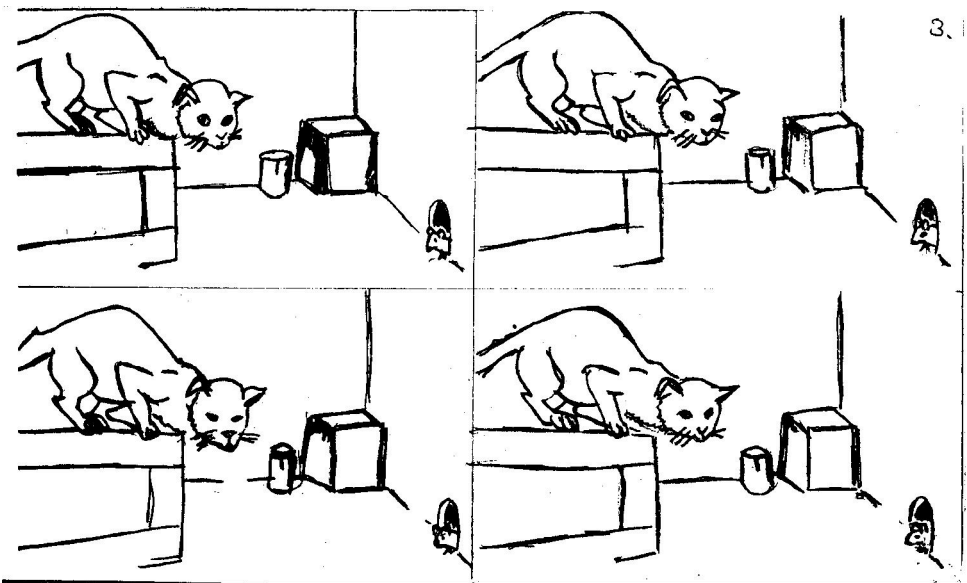
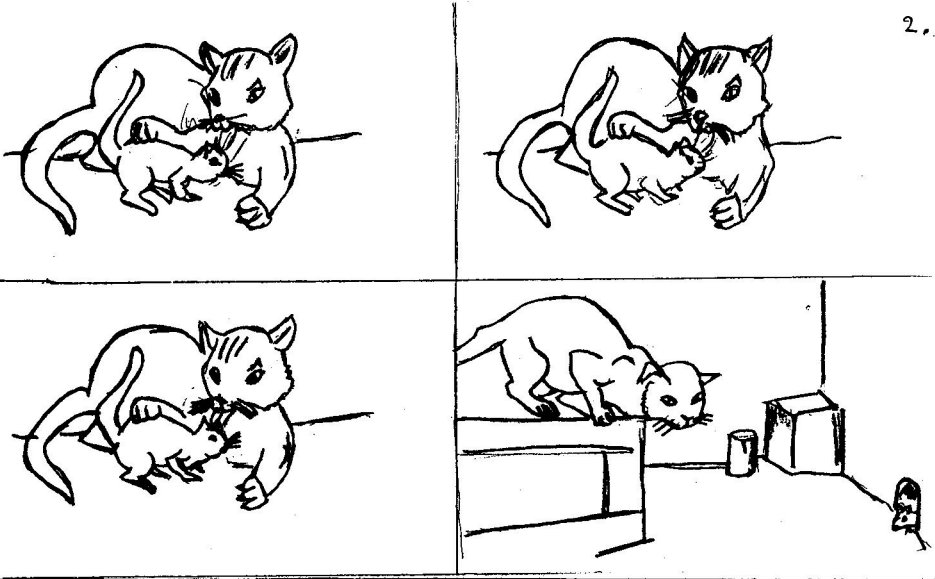
3.





1.3. ¿A qué gatito_i lame su_i madre? ('Which kitten does his mother lick?')

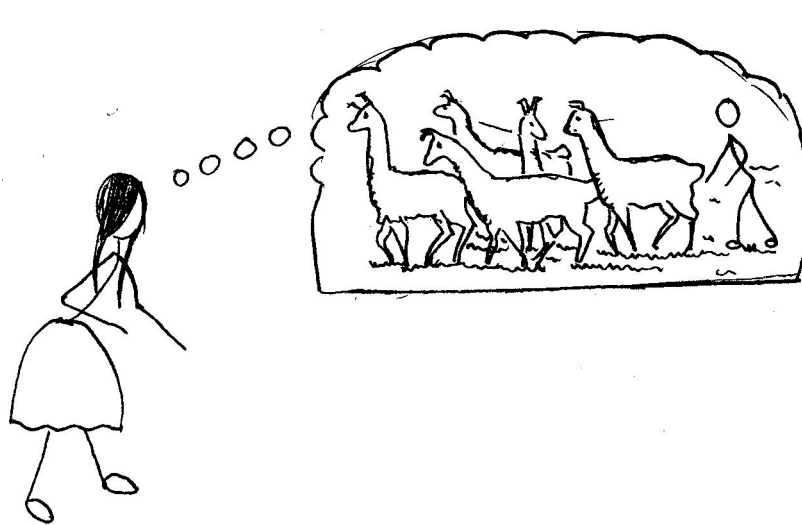
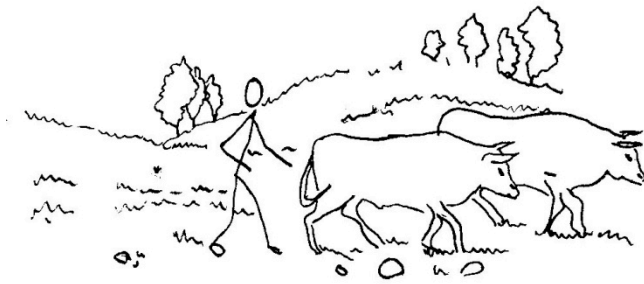




2. ELICITATION STUDY 2: LONG DISTANCE MOVEMENT

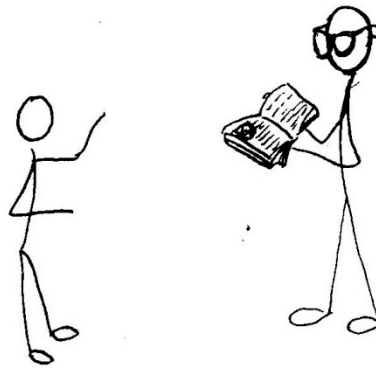
2.1. Long distance movement of the object

2.

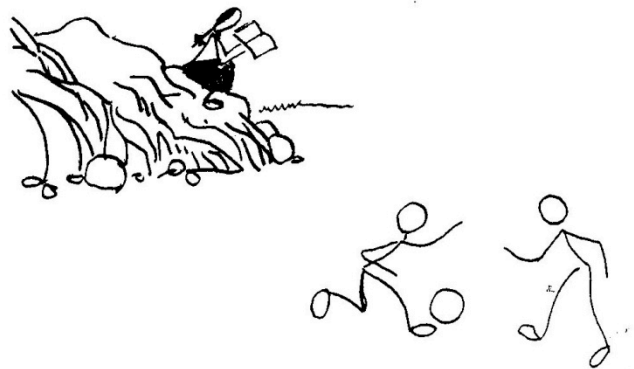


2.2. Long distance movement of the subject

1.



3.



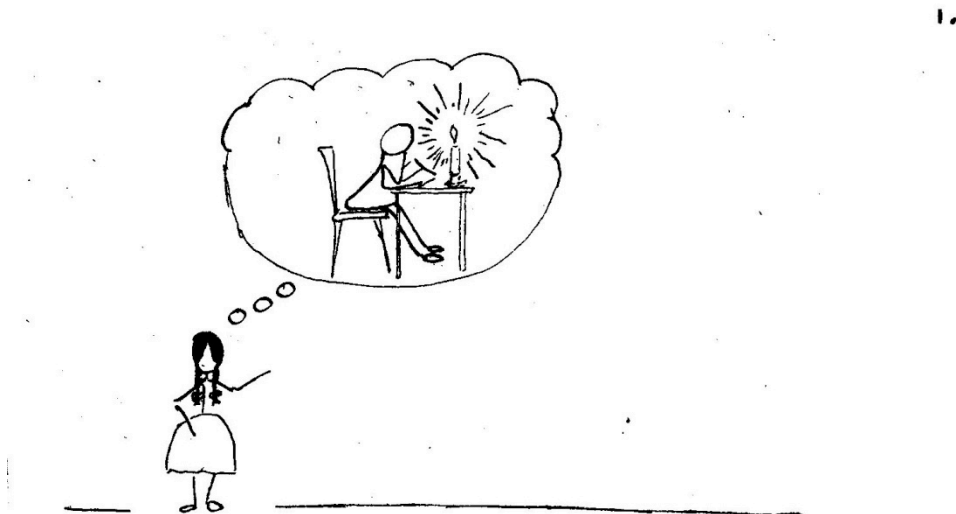
2.



2.3. Long distance movement of the VP

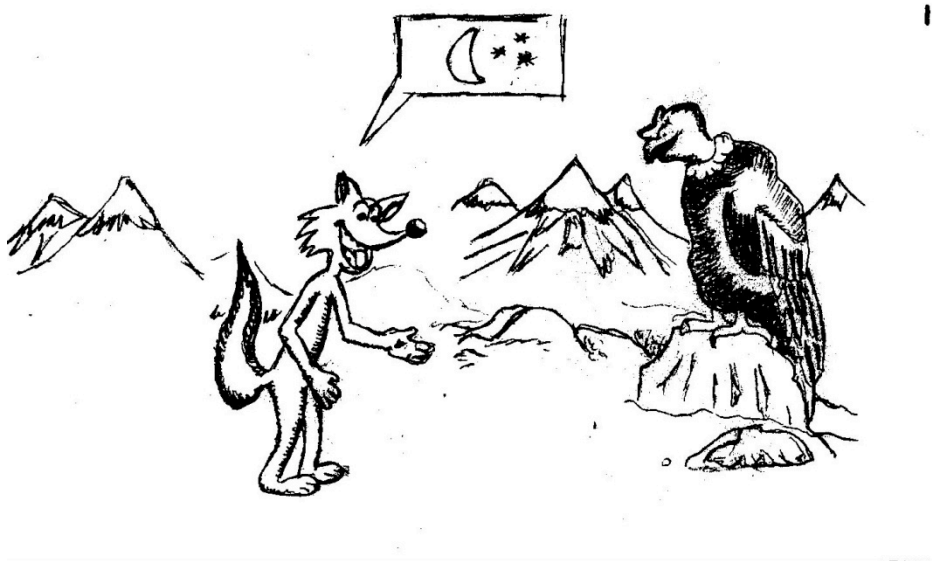
2.





3. ELICITATION STUDY 3: *WH*-QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS⁷⁶

3.1. *La zorra y la lora*, 'The fox and the parrot' (Martínez Parra 1999)



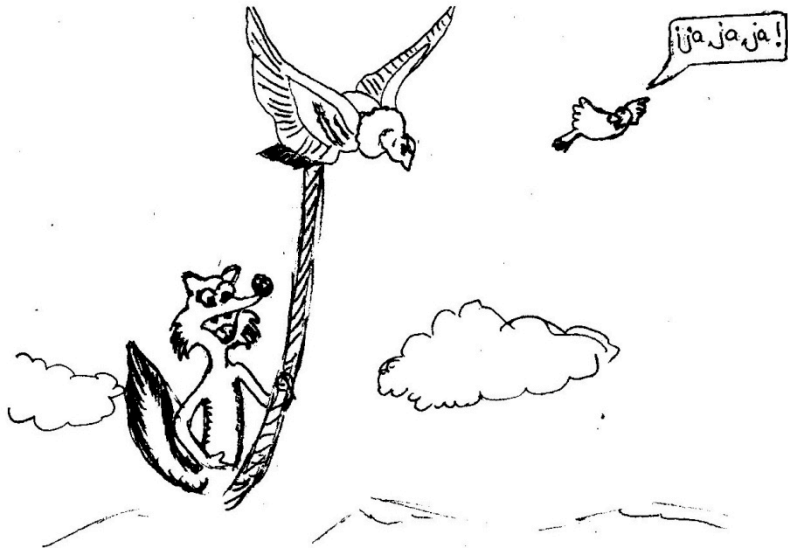
⁷⁶ See Appendix C for the stories and the questions that correspond to these pictures.

2.



3.





4.

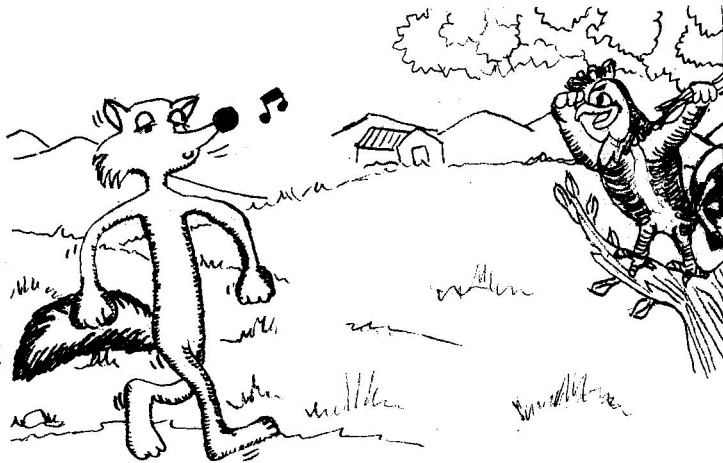


5.



6.

3.2. *La zorra y el gallo*, 'The fox and the rooster' (Matrinez Parra 1999)

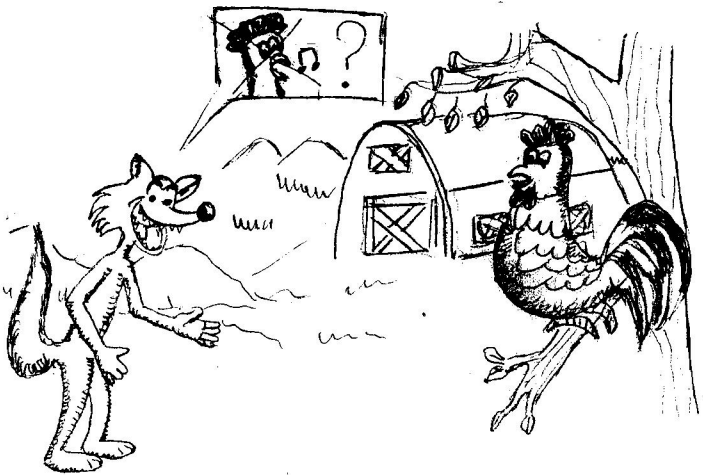


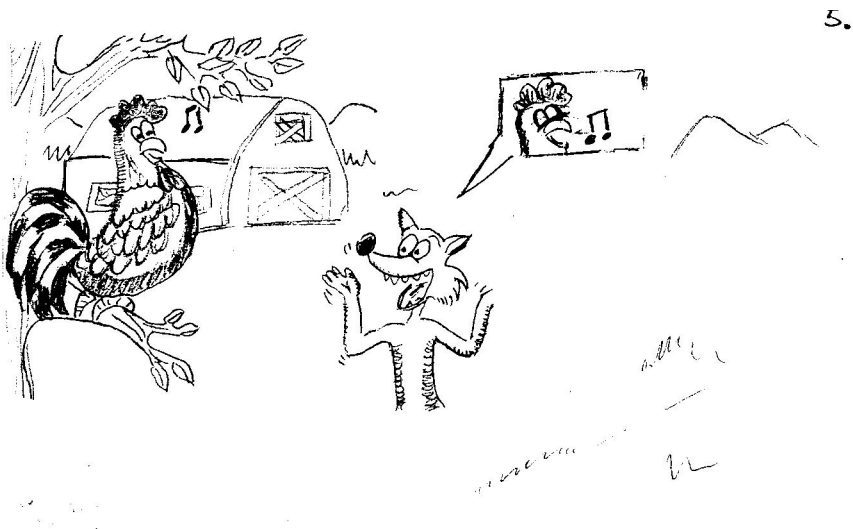
1.

2.

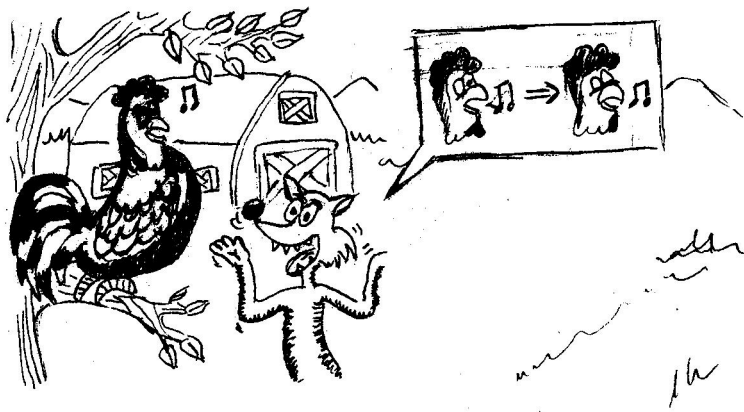


3.

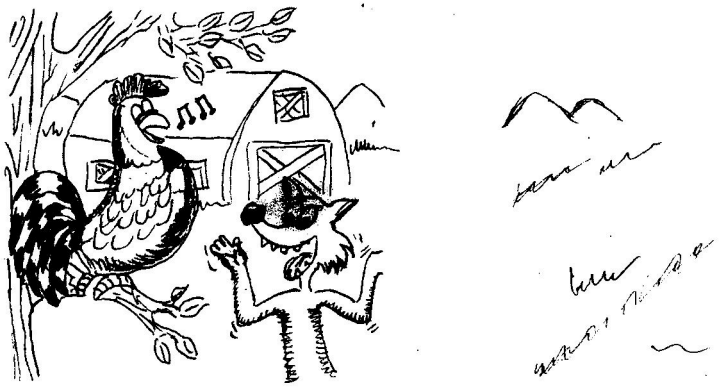




6



7.



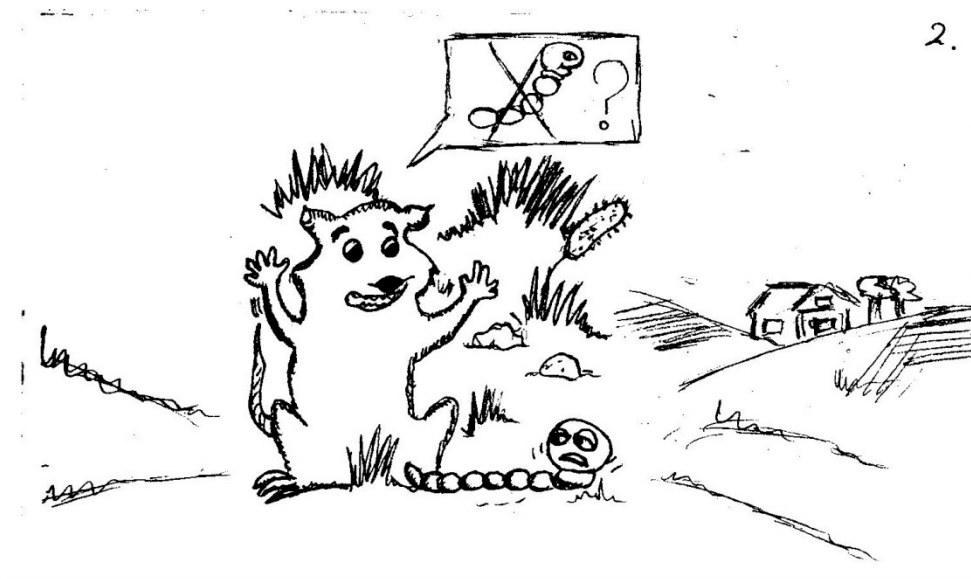


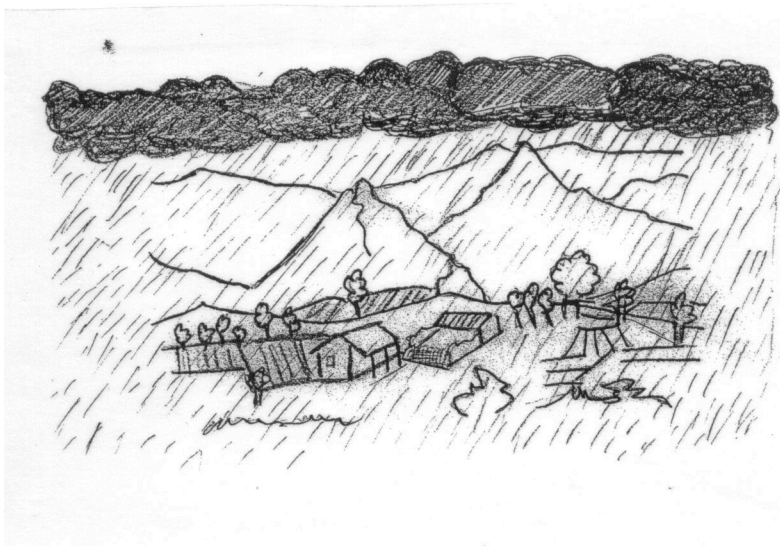
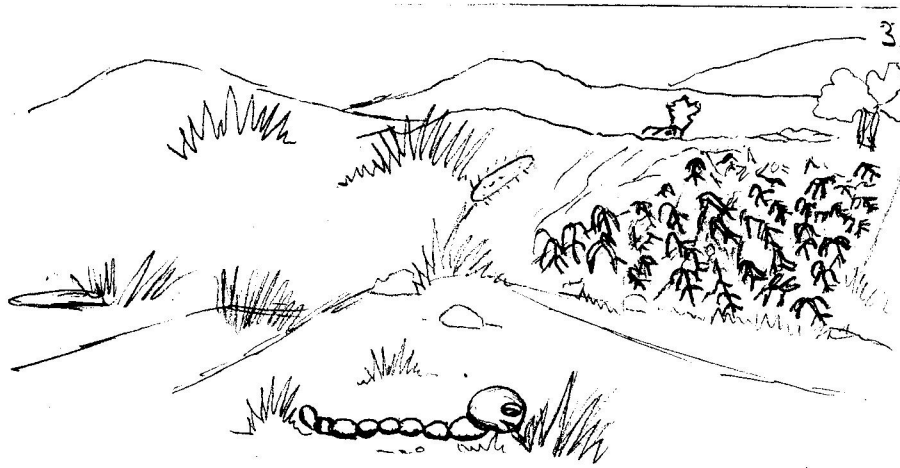
8.

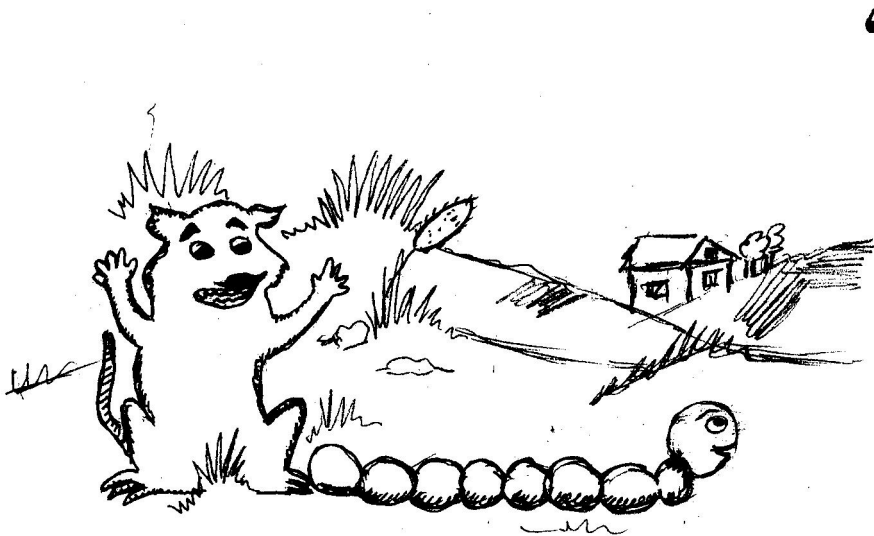
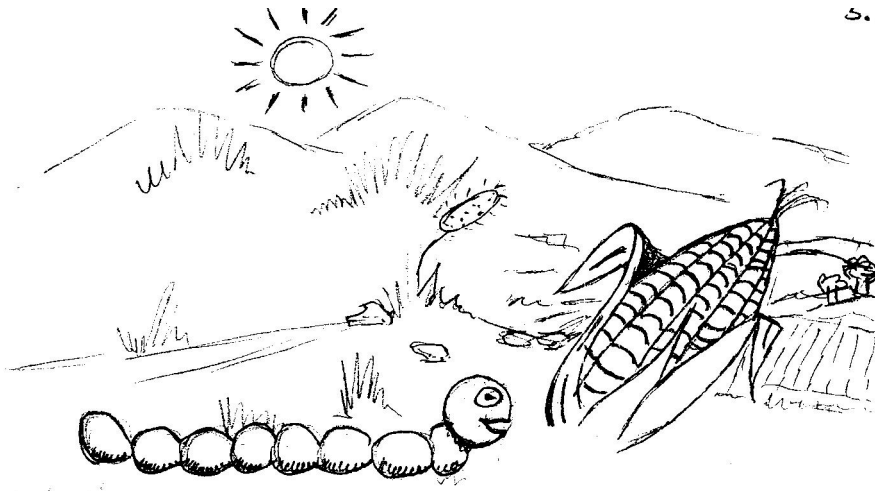


9.

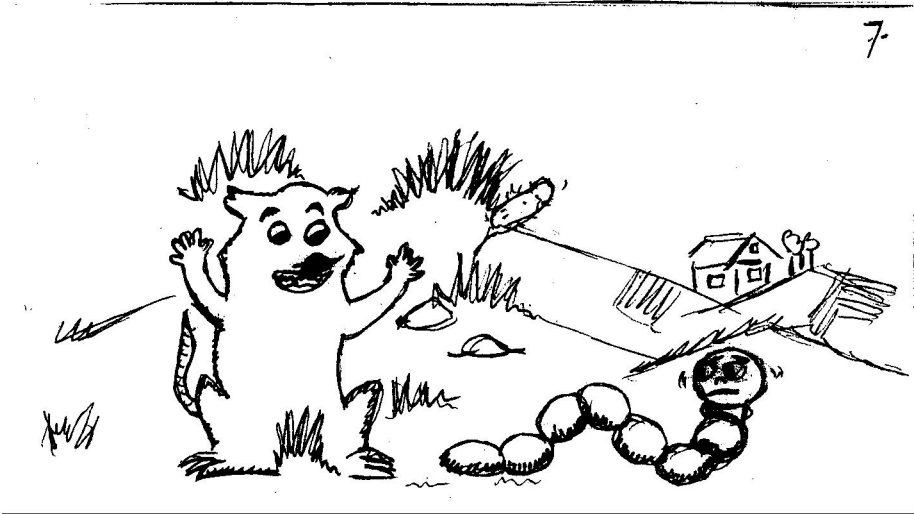
3.3. *La zarigüeya y el utuskuru*, 'The opossum and the worm' (Martínez Parra 1999)





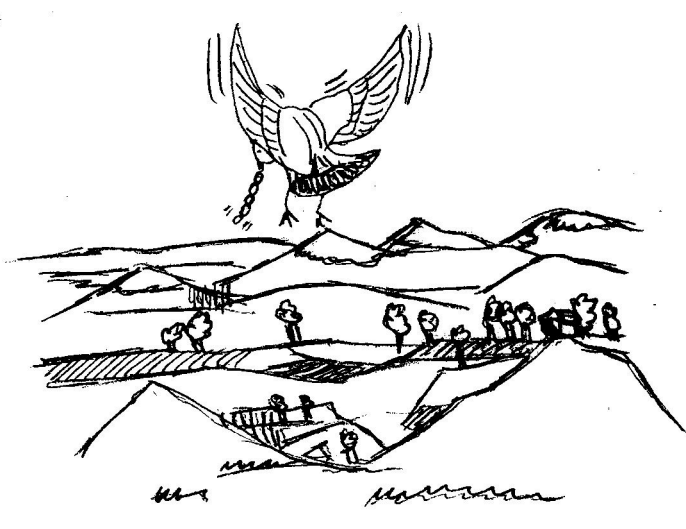


7



8





APPENDIX C

STORIES AND QUESTIONS/ANSWERS FOR THE ELICITATION STUDIES

1. ELICITATION STUDY 1: WEAK CROSSOVER IN SPANISH AND QUECHUA

1.1. Weak Crossover 1

1.1.1. Spanish version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the four women and their children in Appendix B.

181) Q1: ¿A qué niño_i trajo su_i madre a la escuela?

To which child_i brought his_i mother to the school

‘Which child did his mother bring to school?’

Q2: ¿Qué niño_i fue traído por su_i madre a la escuela?

Which child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother

‘Which child was brought to school by his mother?’

A:

A1: A cada niño_i trajo su_i madre a la escuela.

To every child_i brought his_i mother to the school.

‘His mother brought every child to school.’

A2: Cada niño_i fue traído por su_i madre a la escuela.

Every child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother

‘Every child was brought to school by his mother.’

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 4 of the story about the four women and the children in Appendix B.

182) Q1: ¿A qué niño_i trajo su_i madre a la escuela?

To which child_i brought his_i mother to the school

‘Which child did his mother bring to school?’

Q2: ¿Qué niño_i fue traído por su_i madre a la escuela?

Which child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother

‘Which child was brought to school by his mother?’

A:

A1: A ningún niño_i trajo su_i madre a la escuela.

To no child_i brought his_i mother to the school.

‘His mother brought no child to school.’

A2: Ningún niño_i fue traído por su_i madre a la escuela.

No child_i was brought to the school by his_i mother

‘No child was brought to school by his mother.’

1.1.2. Bolivian Quechua version⁷⁷

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the four women and their children in Appendix B.

183) Q1: ¿Mayqen wawa-ta-taj_i mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man?

Which child-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

‘Which child does his mother bring to school?’

A:

A1: Sapa wawa-ta_i mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man.

Every child-AC_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

‘His mother brings every child to school.’

A2: Sapa wawa-ta-m_i mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man.

Every child-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

A3: Sapa wawa-ta-qa_i mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man.

Every child-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 4 of the story about the four women and their children in Appendix B.

⁷⁷ The following abbreviations are used: AC= accusative; CAUS= causative; DIR= direction; DE= direct experience; EV= evidential marker; INSTR= instrumental; NEG= negation; NOM= nominalizer; PL= plural; PROGR= progressive; Q= question; REC= reciprocal; REFL= reflexive; SG= singular; TOP= topic.

184) Q1: ¿Mayqen wawa-ta-taj_i mama-n_i apa-mu-sa-n yachay wasi-man?

Which child-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG school-DIR

‘Which child does his mother bring to school?’

A:

A1: Ni pi wawa-ta_i mama-n_i pu-sa-n-chu yachay wasi-man.

No child-AC_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG-NEG school-DIR

‘His mother brings no child to school.’

A2: Ni pi wawa-ta-m_i mama-n_i pu-sa-n-chu yachay wasi-man.

No child-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG-NEG school-DIR

A3: Ni pi wawa-ta-qa_i mama-n_i pu-sa-n-chu yachay wasi-man.

No child-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-3SG-NEG school-DIR

1.1.3. Ecuadorian Quechua version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the four women and their children in Appendix B.

185) Q1: ¿Maycan huahua-ta-tag_i mama-n_i apa-mu-shka yachana huasi-man?

Which child-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR school-DIR

‘Which child does his mother bring to school?’

A:

A1: Kiki-n huahua-ta_i mama-n_i apa-mu-shka yachana huasi-man.

Every-3SG child-AC_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR school-DIR

‘His mother brings every child to school.’

A2: Kiki-n huahua-ta-mi_i mama-n_i apa-mu-shka yachana huasi-man.

Every-3SG child-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR school-DIR

A3: Kiki-n huahua-ta-ga_i mama-n_i apa-mu-shka yachana huasi-man.

Every-3SG child-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR school-DIR

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 4 of the story about the four women and their children in Appendix B.

186) Q1: ¿Maycan huahua-ta-tag_i mama-n_i apa-mu-shka yachana huasi-man?

Which child-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR school-DIR

‘Which child does his mother bring to school?’

A:

A1: Mana pi huahua-ta_i mama-n_i apa-mu-shka-chu yachana huasi-man.

No child-AC_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-NEG school-DIR

‘His mother brings no child to school.’

A2: Mana pi huahua-ta-mi_i maman_i apa-mu-shka-chu yachana huasi-man.

No child-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-NEG school-DIR

A3: Mana pi huahua-ta-ga_i maman_i apa-mu-shka-chu yachana huasi-man.

No child-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i bring-DIR-PROGR-NEG school-DIR

1.2. Weak Crossover 2

1.2.1. Spanish version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the four women and their dogs.

187) Q1: ¿A qué perro_i quiere su_i dueña?

To which dog_i loves his_i owner

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

Q2: ¿Qué perro es querido por su dueña?

Which dog_i is loved by his_i owner

‘Which dog is loved by his owner?’

A:

A1: A cada perro_i quiere su_i dueña.

To every dog_i loves his_i owner

‘His owner loves every dog.’

A2: Cada perro_i es querido por su_i dueña.

Every dog_i is loved by his_i owner.

‘Every dog is loved by his owner.’

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 4 of the story about the four women and their dogs.

188) Q1: ¿A qué perro_i quiere su_i dueña?

To which dog_i loves his_i owner

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

Q2: ¿Qué perro_i es querido por su_i dueña?

Which dog_i is loved by his_i owner

‘Which dog is loved by his owner?’

A:

A1: A ningún perro_i quiere su_i dueña.

To no dog_i loves his_i owner

‘His owner loves no dog.’

A2: Ningún perro_i es querido por su_i dueña.

No dog_i is loved by his_i owner

‘No dog is loved by his owner.’

1.2.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the four women and their dogs.

189) Q1: ¿Mayqen allqu-ta-taj_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n?

Which dog-AC-Q_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

A:

A1: Sapa allqu-ta_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n.

Every dog-AC_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

‘His owner loves every dog.’

A2: Sapa allqu-ta-m_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n.

Every dog-AC-DE_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

A3: Sapa allqu-ta-qa_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n.

Every dog-AC-TOP_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 4 of the story about the four women and their dogs.

190) Q1: ¿Mayqen allqu-ta-taj_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n?

Which dog-AC-Q_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

A:

A1: Ni ima allqu-ta_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n-chu.

No dog-AC_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG-NEG

‘His owner loves no dog.’

A2: Ni ima allqu-ta-m_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n-chu.

No dog-AC-DE_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG-NEG

A3: Ni ima allqu-ta-qa_i dueña-n_i muna-ku-n-chu.

No dog-AC-TOP_i owner-3POS_i love-REFL-3SG-NEG

1.2.3. Ecuadorian Quechua version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the four women and their dogs.

191) Q1: ¿Maycan allcu-ta-tag_i dueña-n_i cuya?

Which dog-AC-Q_i owner-3POS_i love

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

A:

A1: Kiki-n allcu-ta_i dueña-n_i cuya.

Every-3SG dog-AC_i owner-3POS_i love

‘His owner loves every dog.’

A2: Kiki-n allcu-ta-mi_i dueña-n_i cuya.

Every-3SG dog-AC-DE_i owner-3POS_i love

A3: Kiki-n allcu-ta-ga dueña-n cuya.

Every-3SG dog-AC-TOP_i owner-3POS_i love

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 4 of the story about the four women and their dogs.

192) Q1: ¿Maycan allcu-ta-tag_i dueña-n_i cuya?

Which dog-AC-Q_i owner-3POS_i love

‘Which dog does his owner love?’

A:

A1: Mana ima allcu-ta_i dueña-n_i cuya-chu.

No dog-AC_i owner-3POS_i love-NEG

‘His owner loves no dog.’

A2: Mana ima allcu-ta-mi_i dueña-n_i cuya-chu.

No dog-AC-DE_i owner-3POS_i love-NEG

A3: Mana ima allcu-ta-ga_i dueña-n_i cuya-chu.

No dog-AC-TOP_i owner-3POS_i love-NEG

1.3. Weak Crossover 3

1.3.1. Spanish version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the four cats and their kittens.

193) Q1: ¿A qué gatito_i lame su_i madre?

To which kitten_i licks his_i mother

‘Which kitten does his mother lick?’

Q2: ¿Qué gatito_i es lamido por su_i madre?

Which kitten_i is licked by his_i mother

‘Which kitten is licked by his mother.’

A:

A1: A cada gatito_i lame su_i madre.

To every kitten_i licks his_i mother.

‘His mother licks every kitten.’

A2: Cada gatito_i es lamido por su_i madre.

Every kitten_i is licked by his_i mother

‘Every kitten is licked by his mother.’

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 3 of the story about the four cats and their kittens.

194) Q1: ¿A qué gatito_i lame su_i madre?

To which kitten_i licks his_i mother

‘Which kitten does his mother lick?’

Q2: ¿Qué gatito_i es lamido por su_i madre?

Which kitten_i is licked by his_i mother

‘Which kitten is licked by his mother.’

A:

A1: A ningún gatito_i lame su_i madre.

To no kitten_i licks his_i mother

‘His mother licks no kitten.’

A2: Ningún gatito_i es lamido por su_i madre.

No kitten_i is licked by his_i mother

‘No kitten is licked by his mother.’

1.3.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the four cats and their kittens.

195) Q1: ¿Mayqen uñita-ta-taj; mama-n; llaqwa-sa-n?

Which kitten-AC-Q; mother-3POS; lick-PROGR-3SG

‘Which kitten does his mother lick?’

A:

A1: Sapa uñita-ta; mama-n; llaqwa-sa-n.

Every kitten-AC; mother-3POS; lick-PROGR-3SG

‘His mother licks every kitten.’

A2: Sapa uñita-ta-m; mama-n; llaqwa-sa-n.

Every kitten-AC-DE; mother-3POS; lick-PROGR-3SG

A3: Sapa uñita-ta-qa; mama-n; llaqwa-sa-n.

Every kitten-AC-TOP; mother-3POS; lick-PROGR-3SG

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 3 of the story about the four cats and their kittens.

196) Q1: ¿Mayqen uñita-ta-taj; mama-n; llaqwa-sa-n?

Which kitten-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-3SG

‘Which kitten does his mother lick?’

A:

A1: Ni ima uñita-ta mama-n llaqwa-sa-n-chu.

No kitten-AC_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-3SG-NEG

‘His mother licks no kitten.’

A2: Ni ima michi uyway-ta-mi mama-n llaqwa-sa-n-chu.

No kitten-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-3SG-NEG

A3: Ni ima michi uyway-ta-qa mama-n llaqwa-sa-n-chu.

No kitten-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-3SG-NEG

1.3.3. Ecuadorian Quechua version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the four cats and their kittens.

197) Q1: ¿Maycan huahua misi-ta-tag_i mama-n_i llagua-shka?

Which kitten-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR

‘Which kitten does his mother lick?’

A:

A1: Kiki-n huahua misi-ta_i mama-n_i llagua-shka.

Every-3SG kitten-AC_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR

‘His mother licks every kitten.’

A2: Kiki-n huahua misi-ta-mi_i mama-n_i llagua-shka.

Every-3SG kitten-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR

A3: Kiki-n huahua misi-ta-ga_i mama-n_i llagua-shka.

Every-3SG kitten-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 3 of the story about the four cats and their kittens.

198) Q1: ¿Maycan huahua misi-ta-tag_i mama-n_i llagua-shka?

Which kitten-AC-Q_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR

‘Which kitten does his mother lick?’

A:

A1: Mana ima huahua misi-ta_i mama-n_i llagua-shka-chu.

No kitten-AC_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-NEG

A2: Mana ima huahua misi-ta-mi_i mama-n_i llagua-shka-chu.

No kitten-AC-DE_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-NEG

A3: Mana ima huahua misi-ta-ga_i mama-n_i llagua-shka-chu.

No kitten-AC-TOP_i mother-3POS_i lick-PROGR-NEG

2. ELICITATION STUDY 2: LONG DISTANCE MOVEMENT IN SPANISH AND QUECHUA

2.1. Long distance movement of the object

2.1.1. Spanish version

The following question and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the man and the animals in Appendix B.

199) Q1: ¿Qué animales está llevando el hombre?

Which animals is taking the man

‘Which animals is the man taking?’

A:

A1: El hombre está llevando las vacas.

The man is taking the cows.

‘The man is taking the cows.’

A2: Las vacas está llevando el hombre.

The cows is taking the man

‘The man is taking the cows.’

The following question and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the man and the animals in Appendix B.

200) Q1: ¿Qué animales cree la mujer que está llevando el hombre?

Which animals thinks the woman that is taking the man

‘Which animals does the woman think that the man is taking?’

A:

A1: Las llamas cree la mujer que está llevando el hombre.

The llamas thinks the woman that is taking the man

‘The woman thinks the man is taking the llamas.’

A2: La mujer cree que el hombre está llevando las llamas.

The woman thinks that the man is taking the llamas

A3: La madre cree que está llevando las llamas el hombre.

The woman thinks that is taking the llamas the man

2.1.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following question and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the man and the animals in Appendix B.

201) Q1: ¿Ima uywa-ta-taj q’ari q’ati-sa-n?

Which animal-AC-Q man take-PROGR-3SG

‘Which animals is the man taking?’

A:

A1: Q’ari q’ati-sa-n waka-s-ta.

Man take-PROGR-3SG cow-PL-AC

‘The man is taking cows.’

A2: Q’ari waka-s-ta q’ati-sa-n.

Man cow-PL-AC take-PROGR-3SG

A3: Waka-s-ta q’ari q’ati-sa-n.

Cow-PL-AC man take-PROGR-3SG

A4: Waka-s-ta q’ati-sa-n q’ari.

Cow-PL-AC take-PROGR-3SG man

The following question and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the man and the animals in Appendix B.

202) Q1: ¿Qué animales cree la mujer que está llevando el hombre?

Which animals thinks the woman that is taking the man

‘Which animals does the woman think that the man is taking?’

A:

A1: Warmi yuya-n q’ari q’ati-sqa-n-ta llama-s-ta.

Woman think-3SG man take-NOM-3SG-AC llama-PL-AC

‘The woman thinks the man takes the llamas.’

A2: Warmi yuya-n q’ari llama-s-ta q’ati-sqa-n-ta.

Woman think-3SG man llama-PL-AC take-NOM-3SG-AC

A3: Warmi yuya-n llama-s-ta q’ati-sqa-n-ta q’ari

Woman think-3SG llama-PL-AC take-NOM-3SG-AC man

A4: Q'ari llama-s-ta q'ati-sqa-n-ta warmi yuya-n.

Man llama-PL-AC take-NOM-3SG-AC woman think-3SG

A5: Llama-s-ta q'ati-sqa-n-ta q'ari yuya-n warmi.

take-NOM-3SG-AC llama-PL-AC man think-3SG woman

A6: Llama-s-ta warmi yuya-n q'ari q'ati-sqa-n-ta.

Llama-PL-AC woman think-3SG man take-NOM-3SG-AC

2.2. Long distance movement of the subject

2.2.1. Spanish version

The following question and answers correspond to picture 3 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

203) Q1: ¿Quién lee el libro?

Who reads the book

‘Who reads the book?’

A:

A1: La niña lee el libro.

The girl reads the book.

‘The girl reads the book.’

A2: Lee el libro la niña.

Reads the book the girl

The following question and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

204) Q1: ¿Quién cree el maestro que lee el libro?

Who thinks the teacher that reads the book

‘Who does the teacher think that reads the book?’

A:

A1: El niño cree el maestro que lee el libro.

The boy thinks the teacher that reads the book

‘The teacher thinks the boy reads the book.’

A2: El maestro cree que el niño lee el libro.

The teacher thinks that the boy reads the book

A3: El maestro cree que lee el libro el niño.

The teacher thinks that reads the book the boy

2.2.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following question and answers correspond to picture 3 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

205) Q1: ¿Pi-taj liwru-ta ñawi-sa-n?

Who-Q book-AC read-PROGR-3SG

‘Who is reading the book?’

A:

A1: Warmi wawa ñawi-sa-n liwru-ta.

Girl read-PROGR-3SG book-AC

‘The girl is reading the book.’

A2: Warmi wawa liwru-ta ñawi-sa-n.

Girl book-AC read-PROGR-3SG

A3: Liwru-ta ñawi-sa-n warmi wawa.

Book-AC read-PROGR-3SG girl

The following question and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

206) Q1: ¿Quién cree el maestro que lee el libro?

Who thinks the teacher that reads the book

‘Who does the teacher think that reads the book?’

A:

A1: Yacha-chi-q yuya-n q’ari wawa ñawi-sqa-n-ta liwru-ta.

Learn-CAUS-NOM think-3SG boy read-NOM-3SG-AC book-AC

‘The teacher thinks the boy reads the book.’

A2: Yacha-chi-q yuya-n q’ari wawa liwru-ta ñawi-sqa-n-ta.

Learn-CAUS-NOM think-3SG boy book-AC read-NOM-3SG-AC

A3: Yacha-chi-q yuya-n liwru-ta ñawi-sqa-n-ta q’ari wawa.

Learn-CAUS-NOM think-3SG book-AC read-NOM-3SG-AC boy

A4: Q'ari wawa liwru-ta ñawi-sqa-n-ta yuya-n yacha-chi-q.

Boy book-AC read-NOM-3SG-AC think-3SG learn-CAUS-NOM

A5: Q'ari wawa yacha-chi-q yuya-n liwru(-ta) ñawi-sqa-n-ta.

Boy learn-CAUS-NOM think-3SG book-AC read-NOM-3SG-AC

2.3. Long distance movement of the VP

2.3.1. Spanish version

The following question and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the boy and his mother in Appendix B.

207) Q1: ¿Qué hace el niño?

What does the boy

‘What does the boy do?’

A:

A1: El niño juega a la pelota.

The boy plays to the ball

‘The boy plays football.’

A2: Juega a la pelota el niño.

Plays to the ball the boy

The following question and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

208) Q1: ¿Qué cree la madre que hace el niño?

What thinks the mother that does the boy

‘What does the mother think that the boy does?’

A:

A1: La madre cree que el niño hace los deberes.

The mother thinks that the boy does the homework

‘The mother thinks that the boy is doing his homework.’

A2: La madre cree que hace los deberes el niño.

The mother thinks that does the homework the boy

A3: Hace los deberes cree la madre que el niño.

Does the homework thinks the mother that the boy

2.3.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following question and answers correspond to picture 2 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

209) Q1: ¿Ima-ta ruwa-sa-n-taj wawa?

What-AC do-PROGR-3SG-Q boy

‘What is the boy doing?’

A:

A1: Wawa pujlla-sa-n piluta-wan.

Boy play-PROGR-3SG ball-INSTR

‘The boy is playing football.’

A2: Wawa piluta-wan pujlla-sa-n.

Boy ball-INSTR play-PROGR-3SG

A3: Piluta-wan pujlla-sa-n wawa

Ball- INSTR play-PROGR-3SG boy

The following question and answers correspond to picture 1 of the story about the teacher and the students in Appendix B.

210) Q1: ¿Qué cree la madre que hace el niño?

What thinks the mother that does the boy

‘What does the mother think that the boy does?’

A:

A1: Mama yuya-n wawa istudya-sqa-n-ta.

Mother think-3SG child study-NOM-3SG-AC

‘The mother thinks the child studies.’

A2: Mama yuya-n istudya-sqa-n-ta wawa.

Mother think-3SG study-NOM-3SG-AC child

A3: Wawa istudya-sqa-n-ta mama yuya-n.

Child study-NOM-3SG-AC mother think-3SG

A4: Istudya-sqa-n-ta mama yuya-n wawa.

Study-NOM-3SG-AC mother think-3SG child.

3. ELICITATION STUDY 3: *WH*-QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN SPANISH AND QUECHUA

3.1. ‘The Parrot and the Fox’ (Martínez Parra 1999: 199)⁷⁸

3.1.1. Spanish version: La Lora y la Zorra

Anhelosa una Zorra por conocer la luna, rogó a un Cóndor le colocara una sogá por la cual pudiera llegar hasta ella.

Trepaba, mirando a todas partes, ufana de poder transportarse hasta la Mama Luna, cuando escucha que alguien se reía: ¡ja, ja, ja, ja!

- ¿Quién será aquella disforzada que así se burla de mí?

Cruzaba el espacio, pesadamente, una Lora, lanzando sus chirridos que los tomaba la Zorra por mofa; encolerizada contesta a su vez: ¡Ociosa Lora! ¡Lora patituerta!, ¿quién eres tú para burlarte de mí?

⁷⁸ The fables were collected by Reynaldo Martínez Parra in Chaviña, in the province Lucanas, department of Ayacucho. My subjects were familiar with these or similar fables.

Seguía, ¡ja, ja, ja! la Lora; en tanto la Zorra colérica la insultaba: ¡Lora poltrona! ¡ociosa Lora!

Rabiosa la Lora, al verse ofendida, se abalanzó contra la sogá y la cortó.

Desesperada, la Zorra volaba por las nubes pidiendo a gritos la recibieran en mantas; pero como nadie la escuchara, la infeliz se estrelló en tierra.

3.1.2. Quechua version: Illekhuan Atok

(<http://www.kidlink.org/spanish/wai/vivo/fabulas/la-lora-q.html>)

Muspa muspa juc china atoc killata rejanaihuan, cunturtash manacun huascata
chutarapamunanpaj, chaipa killaman atchpaipa tchanampaj.

Caita huakta rirgacharirshi, cushisha huarucuyan mama killa ricaj, chinayarshi mayarun
japachacujta: ¡já já já já já!

¿Piraj chainuipa nojapita aicucun?

Panaipa china ilec paruiyana japacharacur huajaninchi, chashi atocja nojatam aicaman
nir pinacusha jayachacun, ¡jella illec! ¡huistu chanca illec! ¿pimi canchi jamja nojapita
aicucunaipa?

Illec aihuayan ¡ja ja ja! nishi. Atocja pinacushas ashlibayan: ¡jella illec! ¡mama pekto illec! Illec pinacurur ratayurun huascaman i cuchurun.

Manchacashas atocja aihuacamun paripa parir ampu chaupimpi japacharacur, chushita matay! manash pis mayanchu, pampaman charamur chejtarun.

3.1.3. English translation⁷⁹: The Parrot and the Fox

Wanting to get to know the moon, a fox asked a condor if he could tie a rope to his leg so that he could get to the moon.

He was climbing, looking around him, proud that he could go to Mother Moon, when he heard someone laugh: ha ha ha ha!

- Who is that clown that makes fun of me?

A parrot was slowly crossing the space, making squeaky noises, which the fox took for mocking; infuriated he answered in turn: lazy parrot! Indolent parrot! How dare you make fun of me?

⁷⁹ The Spanish and the Quechua versions of the fables are from Martínez-Parra (1999) (unless indicated otherwise). The English translations are mine.

The parrot continued: ha ha ha ha! Meanwhile the furious fox insulted her: you bow-legged parrot! Lazy parrot!

The parrot became angry when she heard herself being offended, and she rushed to the rope and cut it.

The fox, desperate now, flew through the clouds yelling and begging that they caught her in blankets: but since no one heard her, the poor devil crashed on the ground.

3.1.4. Wh-questions and answers

3.1.4.1. Spanish version

The following questions correspond to picture 6 of this fable in Appendix B.⁸⁰

211) Q1: ¿Qué pasa?

‘What happens?’

A⁸¹:

A1: El loro corta la soga.

The parrot cuts the rope

‘The parrot cuts the rope’

⁸⁰ The sentences were slightly modified depending on the subjects’ word choice.

⁸¹ Before presenting the subject with the answers A1-A7, a spontaneous answer was elicited.

A2: El loro la sogá corta.

A3: La sogá el loro corta.

A4: La sogá corta el loro.

A5: La sogá, la corta el loro.

The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘The parrot cuts the rope.’

A6: Corta el loro la sogá.

A7: Corta la sogá el loro.

212) Q2: ¿Quién corta la sogá?

‘Who cuts the rope?’

A:

A1: El loro corta la sogá.

The parrot cuts the rope

‘The parrot cuts the rope’

A2: El loro la sogá corta.

A3: La sogá el loro corta.

A4: La sogá corta el loro.

A5: La sogá, la corta el loro.

The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘The parrot cuts the rope.’

A6: Corta el loro la sogá.

A7: Corta la sogá el loro.

213) Q3: ¿Qué hace el loro?
'What does the parrot do?'
A:
A1: El loro corta la sogá.
The parrot cuts the rope
'The parrot cuts the rope'
A2: El loro la sogá corta.
A3: La sogá el loro corta.
A4: La sogá corta el loro.
A5: La sogá, la corta el loro.
The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.
'The parrot cuts the rope.'
A6: Corta el loro la sogá.
A7: Corta la sogá el loro.

214) Q4: ¿Qué corta el loro?
'What does the parrot cut?'
A:
A1: El loro corta la sogá.
The parrot cuts the rope
'The parrot cuts the rope'
A2: El loro la sogá corta.

A3: La sogá el loro corta.

A4: La sogá corta el loro.

A5: La sogá, la corta el loro.

The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘The parrot cuts the rope.’

A6: Corta el loro la sogá.

A7: Corta la sogá el loro.

215) Q5: ¿El cóndor corta la sogá?

‘Does the condor cut the rope?’

A:

A1: No. El loro corta la sogá.

No. The parrot cuts the rope.

‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’

A2: No. El loro la sogá corta.

A3: No. La sogá el loro corta.

A4: No. La sogá corta el loro.

A5: No. La sogá, la corta el loro.

No. The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’

A6: No. Corta el loro la sogá.

A7: No. Corta la sogá el loro.

216) Q6: ¿El loro corta la cola del zorro?

‘Does the parrot cut the fox’s tail?’

A:

A1: No. El loro corta la sogá.

No. The parrot cuts the rope.

‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’

A2: No. El loro la sogá corta.

A3: No. La sogá el loro corta.

A4: No. La sogá corta el loro.

A5: No. La sogá, la corta el loro.

No. The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’

A6: No. Corta el loro la sogá.

A7: No. Corta la sogá el loro.

217) Q7: ¿El loro coge la sogá?

‘Does the parrot grab the rope?’

A:

A1: No. El loro corta la sogá.

No. The parrot cuts the rope.

‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’

A2: No. El loro la sogá corta.

A3: No. La sogá el loro corta.

A4: No. La sogá corta el loro.

A5: No. La sogá, la corta el loro.

No. The rope CLITIC cuts the parrot.

‘No. The parrot cuts the rope.’

A6: No. Corta el loro la sogá.

A7: No. Corta la sogá el loro.

3.1.4.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following questions correspond to picture 6 of this fable in Appendix B.

218) Q1: ¿Ima-taj pasa-sa-n?

What-Q happen-PROGR-3SG

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: Q´echichi k´utu-sa-n waska-ta.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

‘The little parrot cuts the rope.’

A2: Q´echichi waskata k´utusan.

A3: K´utusan q´echichi waskata.

A4: K´utusan waskata q´echichi.

A5: Waskata q´echichi k´utusan.

A6: Waskata k´utusan q´echichi.

219) Q2: ¿Ima-taj waska-ta k'utu-sa-n?

What-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR-3SG

'What cuts the rope?'

A:

A1: Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

'The little parrot cuts the rope.'

Q'echichi-m k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

Little parrot-DE cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

Q'echichi-qa k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

Little parrot-TOP cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

A2: Q'echichi waskata k'utusan.

Q'echichim waskata k'utusan.

Q'echichiqa waskata k'utusan.

A3: K'utusan q'echichi waskata.

K'utusan q'echichim waskata.

K'utusan q'echichiqa waskata.

A4: K'utusan waskata q'echichi.

K'utusan waskata q'echichim.

K'utusan waskata q'echichiqa.

A5: Waskata q'echichi k'utusan.

Waskata q'echichim k'utusan.

Waskata q'echichiqa k'utusan.

A6: Waskata k'utusan q'echichi.

Waskata k'utusan q'echichim.

Waskata k'utusan q'echichiqa.

220) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-taj q'echichi ruwa-sa-n?

What-AC-Q little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG

'What does the little parrot cut?'

A:

A1: Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3G rope-AC

'The little parrot cuts the rope.'

Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n-mi waska-ta.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG-DE rope-AC

Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n-qa waska-ta.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG-TOP rope-AC

A2: Q'echichi waskata k'utusan.

Q'echichi waskata k'utusanmi.

Q'echichi waskata k'utusanqa.

A3: K'utusan q'echichi waskata.

K'utusanmi q'echichi waskata.

K'utusanqa q'echichi waskata.

A4: K'utusan waskata q'echichi.

K'utusanmi waskata q'echichi.

K'utusanqa waskata q'echichi.

A5: Waskata q'echichi k'utusan.

Waskata q'echichi k'utusanmi.

Waskata q'echichi k'utusanqa.

A6: Waskata k'utusan q'echichi.

Waskata k'utusanmi q'echichi.

Waskata k'utusanqa q'echichiqa.

221) Q4: ¿Ima-ta-taj q'echichi k'utu-sa-n?

What-AC-Q little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG

'What does the little parrot cut?'

A:

A1: Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

'The little parrot cuts the rope.'

Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta-m.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC-DE

Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta-qa.

Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC-TOP

A2: Q'echichi waskata k'utusan.

Q'echichi waskatam k'utusan.

Q'echichi waskataqa k'utusan.

A3: K'utusan q'echichi waskata.

K'utusan q'echichi waskatam.

K'utusan q'echichi waskataqa.

A4: K'utusan waskata q'echichi.

K'utusan waskatam q'echichi.

K'utusan waskataqa q'echichi.

A5: Waskata q'echichi k'utusan.

Waskatam q'echichi k'utusan.

Waskataqa q'echichi k'utusan.

A6: Waskata k'utusan q'echichi.

Waskatam k'utusan q'echichi.

Waskataqa k'utusan q'echichi.

222) Q5: ¿Kundur-chu waska-ta k'utu-sa-n?

Condor-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR-3SG

'Does the condor cut the rope?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3G rope-AC

'No. The little parrot cuts the rope.'

Mana-m. Q'echichi-m k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot-DE cut-PROGR-3G rope-AC

Mana-m. Q'echichi-qa k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot-TOP cut-PROGR-3G rope-AC

A2: Manam. Q'echichi waskata k'utusan.

Manam. Q'echichim waskata k'utusan.

Manam. Q'echichiqa waskata k'utusan.

A3: Manam. K'utusan q'echichi waskata.

Manam. K'utusan q'echichim waskata.

Manam. K'utusan q'echichiqa waskata.

A4: Manam. K'utusan waskata q'echichi.

Manam. K'utusan waskata q'echichim.

Manam. K'utusan waskata q'echichiqa.

A5: Manam. Waskata q'echichi k'utusan.

Manam. Waskata q'echichim k'utusan.

Manam. Waskata q'echichiqa k'utusan.

A6: Manam. Waskata k'utusan q'echichi.

Manam. Waskata k'utusan q'echichim.

Manam. Waskata k'utusan q'echichiqa.

223) Q6: ¿Q'echichi atoj chupa-chu k'utu-sa-n?

Little parrot fox tail-Q cut-PROGR-3SG

'Does the little parrot cut the fox's tail?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. Q'echichi k'utu-sa-n waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

‘No. The little parrot cuts the rope.’

Mana-m. Q’echichi k’utu-sa-n waska-ta-m.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC-DE

Mana-m. Q’echichi k’utu-sa-n waska-ta-qa.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC-TOP

A2: Manam. Q’echichi waskata k’utusan.

Manam. Q’echichi waskatam k’utusan.

Manam. Q’echichi waskataqa k’utusan.

A3: Manam. K’utusan q’echichi waskata.

Manam. K’utusan q’echichi waskatam.

Manam. K’utusan q’echichi waskataqa.

A4: Manam. K’utusan waskata q’echichi.

Manam. K’utusan waskatam q’echichi.

Manam. K’utusan waskataqa q’echichi.

A5: Manam. Waskata q’echichi k’utusan.

Manam. Waskatam q’echichi k’utusan.

Manam. Waskataqa q’echichi k’utusan.

A6: Manam. Waskata k’utusan q’echichi.

Manam. Waskatam k’utusan q’echichi.

Manam. Waskataqa k’utusan q’echichi.

224) Q7: ¿Q’echichi waska-ta h’api-sa-n-chu?

Little parrot rope-AC grab-PROGR-3SG-Q

‘Does the little parrot grab the rope?’

A:

A1: Mana-m. Q’echichi k’utu-sa-n waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG rope-AC

‘No. The little parrot cuts the rope.’

Mana-m. Q’echichi k’utu-sa-n-mi waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG-DE rope-AC

Mana-m. Q’echichi k’utu-sa-n-qa waska-ta.

No-DE. Little parrot cut-PROGR-3SG-TOP rope-AC-DE

A2: Manam. Q’echichi waskata k’utusan.

Manam. Q’echichi waskata k’utusanmi.

Manam. Q’echichi waskata k’utusanqa.

A3: Manam. K’utusan q’echichi waskata.

Manam. K’utusanmi q’echichi waskata.

Manam. K’utusanqa q’echichi waskata.

A4: Manam. K’utusan waskata q’echichi.

Manam. K’utusanmi waskata q’echichi.

Manam. K’utusanqa waskata q’echichi.

A5: Manam. Waskata q’echichi k’utusan.

Manam. Waskata q’echichi k’utusanmi.

Manam. Waskata q’echichi k’utusanqa.

A6: Manam. Waskata k’utusan q’echichi.

Manam. Waskata k’utusanmi q’echichi.

Manam. Waskata k'utusanqa q'echichiqa.

3.1.4.3. Ecuadorian Quechua version

The following questions correspond to picture 6 of this fable in Appendix B.

225) Q1: ¿Ima-tag pasa-shka?

What-Q happen-AC

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta

Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

‘The bird cuts the rope’

A2: Pishcu huascata pitishka.

A3: Pitishka pishcu huascata.

A4: Pitishka huascata pishcu.

A5: Huascata pishcu pitishka.

A6: Huascata pitishka pishcu.

226) Q2: ¿Ima-tag huasca-ta piti-shka?

What-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR

‘What cuts the rope?’

A:

A1: Pishcu pitishka huasca-ta.

Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

‘The bird cuts the rope.’

Pishcu-mi piti-shka huasca-ta.

Bird-DE cut-PROGR rope-AC

Pishcu-ga piti-shka huasca-ta.

Bird-TOP cut-PROGR rope-AC

A2: Pishcu huascata pitishka.

Pishcumi huascata pitishka.

Pishcuga huascata pitishka.

A3: Pitishka pishcu huascata.

Pitishka pishcumi huascata.

Pitishka pishcuga huascata.

A4: Pitishka huascata pishcu.

Pitishka huascata pishcumi.

Pitishka huascata pishcuga.

A5: Huascata pishcu pitishka.

Huascata pishcumi pitishka.

Huascata pishcuga pitishka.

A6: Huascata pitishka pishcu.

Huascata pitishka pishcumi.

Huascata pitishka pishcuga.

227) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-tag pishcu ruwa-shka?

What-AC-Q bird do-PROGR

A: ‘What does the bird do?’

A1: Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta.

Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

Pishcu piti-shka-mi huasca-ta.

Bird cut-PROGR-DE rope-AC

Pishcu piti-shka-ga huasca-ta.

Bird cut-PROGR-TOP rope-AC

A2: Pishcu huascata pitishka.

Pishcu huascata pitishkami.

Pishcu huascata pitishkaga.

A3: Pitishka pishcu huascata.

Pitishkami pishcu huascata.

Pitishkaga pishcu huascata.

A4: Pitishka huascata pishcu.

Pitishkami huascata pishcu.

Pitishkaga huascata pishcu.

A5: Huascata pishcu pitishka.

Huascata pishcu pitishkami.

Huascata pishcu pitishkaga.

A6: Huascata pitishka pishcu.

Huascata pitishkami pishcu.

Huascata pitishkaga pishcu.

228) Q4: ¿Ima-ta-tag pishcu piti-shka?

What-AC-Q bird cut-PROGR

‘What does the bird cut?’

A:

A1: Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta.

Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta-mi.

Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC-DE

Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta-ga.

Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC-TOP

A2: Pishcu huascata pitishka.

Pishcu huascatami pitishka.

Pishcu huascataga pitishka.

A3: Pitishka pishcu huascata.

Pitishka pishcu huascatami.

Pitishka pishcu huascataga.

A4: Pitishka huascata pishcu.

Pitishka huascatami pishcu.

Pitishka huascataga pishcu.

A5: Huascata pishcu pitishka.

Huascatami pishcu pitishka.

Huascataga pishcu pitishka.

A6: Huascata pitishka pishcu.

Huascatami pitishka pishcu.

Huascataga pitishka pishcu.

229) Q5: ¿Cundur-chu huasca-ta piti-shka?

Condor-Q rope-AC cut-PROGR

‘Does the condor cut the rope?’

A:

A1: Mana. Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta.

No. Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

‘No. The bird cuts the rope.’

Mana. Pishcu-mi piti-shka huasca-ta.

No. Bird-DE cut-PROGR rope-AC

Mana. Pishcu-ga piti-shka huasca-ta.

No. Bird-TOP cut-PROGR rope-AC

A2: Mana. Pishcu huascata pitishka.

Mana. Pishcumi huascata pitishka.

Mana. Pishcuga huascata pitishka.

A3: Mana. Pitishka pishcu huascata.

Mana. Pitishka pishcumi huascata.

Mana. Pitishka pishcuga huascata.

A4: Mana. Pitishka huascata pishcu.

Mana. Pitishka huascata pishcumi.

Mana. Pitishka huascata pishcuga.

A5: Mana. Huascata pishcu pitishka.

Mana. Huascata pishcumi pitishka.

Mana. Huascata pishcuga pitishka.

A6: Mana. Huascata pitishka pishcu.

Mana. Huascata pitishka pishcumi.

Mana. Huascata pitishka pishcuga.

230) Q6: ¿Pishcu atuc chupa-ta-chu piti-shka?

Bird fox tail-AC-Q cut-PROGR

‘Does the bird cut the fox’s tail?’

A:

A1: Mana. Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta.

No. Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

‘No. The bird cuts the rope.’

Mana. Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta-mi.

No. Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC-DE

Mana. Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta-ga.

No. Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC-TOP

A2: Mana. Pishcu huascata pitishka.

Mana. Pishcu huascatami pitishka.

Mana. Pishcu huascataga pitishka.

A3: Mana. Pitishka pishcu huascata.

Mana. Pitishka pishcu huascatami.

Mana. Pitishka pishcu huascataga.

A4: Mana. Pitishka huascata pishcu.

Mana. Pitishka huascatami pishcu.

Mana. Pitishka huascataga pishcu.

A5: Mana. Huascata pishcu pitishka.

Mana. Huascatami pishcu pitishka.

Mana. Huascataga pishcu pitishka.

A6: Mana. Huascata pitishka pishcu.

Mana. Huascatami pitishka pishcu.

Mana. Huascataga pitishka pishcu.

231) Q7: ¿Pishcu huasca-ta japi-shka-n-chu?

Bird rope-AC grab-PROGR-3SG-Q

‘Does the bird grab the rope?’

A:

A1: Mana. Pishcu piti-shka huasca-ta.

No. Bird cut-PROGR rope-AC

‘No. The bird cuts the rope.’

Mana. Pishcu piti-shka-mi huasca-ta.

No. Bird cut-PROGR-DE rope-AC

Mana. Pishcu piti-shka-ga huasca-ta.

No. Bird cut-PROGR-TOP rope-AC

A2: Mana. Pishcu huascata pitishka.
Mana. Pishcu huascata pitishkami.
Mana. Pishcu huascata pitishkaga.

A3: Mana. Pitishka pishcu huascata.
Mana. Pitishkami pishcu huascata.
Mana. Pitishkaga pishcu huascata.

A4: Mana. Pitishka huascata pishcu.
Mana. Pitishkami huascata pishcu.
Mana. Pitishkaga huascata pishcu.

A5: Mana. Huascata pishcu pitishka.
Mana. Huascata pishcu pitishkami.
Mana. Huascata pishcu pitishkaga.

A6: Mana. Huascata pitishka pishcu.
Mana. Huascata pitishkami pishcu.
Mana. Huascata pitishkaga pishcu.

3.2. 'The Fox and the Rooster' (Martinez Parra 1999: 161-162)

3.2.1. Spanish version: La Zorra y el Gallo

Una vez que se paseaba la Zorra cerca de unos corrales, se encontró con un gallo, el cual, al ver a la Zorra, tuvo no poco susto y se encaramó al instante en la rama de un árbol.

El gallo se llamaba Cantaclaro, porque le gustaba mucho cantar y lo hacía bastante bien. La Zorra, que lo había visto ya otras veces y sabía que era vanidoso, lo empezó a adular hablándole así:

- ¿Cómo te va, Cantaclaro? ¿Por qué no cantas hoy?

- Porque no tengo ganas. Estoy algo cansado.

- ¡Cómo! Si no tienes cara de cansado. Yo te veo como siempre, rebosando salud, y tan guapo, qué envidia has de dar a todo el gallinero. Creo que te intimida mi presencia.

- Algo- contestó el gallo- y te miro con cierto recelo.

- Pero dime por qué, criatura de Dios- prosiguió con voz suave la astuta Zorra- ya olvidaste que somos parientes?.. ¡Soy tu primo!.. ¡Tu primo hermano!.. y me gusta mucho oírte cantar. Tienes una voz tan agradable...

Cantaclaro se sintió muy ufano con esos piropos, y cantó.

- ¡Ah, primo, qué bien cantas!- exclamó la Zorra-. Sin embargo si quieres que te hable con franqueza, tu padre tenía mejor voz, porque cantaba con los ojos cerrados.

El vanidoso Cantaclaro volvió a cantar su qui-qui-ri-quí; pero desconfiando un tanto de la Zorra, no cerró más que un ojo.

La Zorra llevaba el compás con las patas delanteras y aplaudía.

-¡Qué primor!- añadió la muy ladina. Cantaste mejor esta vez primo. Pero lástima que no hayas cerrado los dos ojos. Si así lo hicieras, segura estoy que saldría tu voz más límpida y más sonora, y tu canto sería tan melodioso, que todos los gallos del vecindario se morirían de envidia, o ellos mismos suplicarían que los echaran a la olla, de puro coraje por no poder cantar como tú.

El imprudente y vanidoso Cantaclaro, que ya no cabía en su pellejo, se dejó engañar y cerró los dos ojos para empezar a cantar; pero ya no volvió a abrirlos, porque la adúladora y pícara Zorra, dando un salto, lo cogió con sus dientes por el pescuezo y se lo llevó arrastrando por el campo, hasta su cueva en donde se lo comió a sus anchas.

Caro, le costó al pobre gallo su vanidad.

3.2.2. English translation: The Fox and the Rooster

Once upon a time there was a fox taking a walk near some henhouses when he ran into a rooster, who, upon seeing the fox, got scared and immediately climbed up a branch of a tree.

The rooster was called Cantaclaro, because he liked singing very much and he sang pretty well. The fox, who had already seen him before and knew he was vain, started to flatter him talking to him as follows:

- How are you, Cantaclaro? Why don't you sing today?

- Because I don't feel like it. I am a little tired.

- What do you mean?! You don't look tired. I think you look normal, bursting with health, and so good-looking, the entire henhouse must envy you. I think my presence intimidates you.

- A little- answered the rooster- and I look at you with a certain distrust.

- But tell me why, God's creature- continued the astute fox with a soft voice. Have you already forgotten that we are family?.. I am your cousin!.. Your first cousin!.. and I'd love to hear you sing. You have such a nice voice...

Cantaclaro felt very flattered when he heard these compliments, and sang.

- Ah, cousin, you sing so well! -exclaimed the fox-. However, if you want me to speak frankly, your father had a better voice, because he sang with his eyes closed.

The vain Cantaclaro sang his cock-a-doodle-do again; but, distrusting the fox a little, he only closed one eye.

The fox was tapping his feet to the beat and applauding.

- What a delight!- added the very sly fox. You sang better this time, cousin. But what a pity that you didn't close both your eyes. If you were to do that, I am sure that your voice would be purer and more sonorous, and your crowing would be so melodious that all the roosters from the neighborhood would die of envy, or they themselves would beg to be thrown in a pan, from pure anger because they cannot sing like you.

The imprudent and conceited Cantaclaro, who was beside himself with vanity, let himself be fooled and closed both eyes to start singing; but he never opened his eyes again, because the flattering and wicked fox, jumped and grabbed him with his teeth in his neck and took him dragging him through the fields, to his cave where he ate him at ease.

The rooster paid dearly for his vanity.

3.2.3. Wh-questions and answers

3.2.3.1. Spanish version

The questions and answers below correspond to picture 8 of this fable in Appendix B.

232) Q1: ¿Qué pasa?

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: El zorro come al gallo.

The fox eats to the rooster

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A2: El zorro al gallo come.

A3: Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: Come al gallo el zorro.

233) Q2: ¿A quién come el zorro?

‘Who ate the fox?’

A:

A1: El zorro come al gallo.

The fox eats to the rooster

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A2: El zorro al gallo come.

A3: Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: Come al gallo el zorro.

234) Q3: ¿Qué hace el zorro?

‘What does the fox do?’

A:

A1: El zorro come al gallo.

The fox eats to the rooster

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A2: El zorro al gallo come.

A3: Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: Come al gallo el zorro.

235) Q4: ¿Quién come al gallo?

‘Who eats the rooster?’

A:

A1: El zorro come al gallo.

The fox eats to the rooster

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A2: El zorro al gallo come.

A3: Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: Come al gallo el zorro.

236) Q5: ¿Un puma come al gallo?

‘Does a puma eat the rooster?’

A:

A1: No. El zorro come al gallo.

No. The fox eats to the rooster.

‘No the fox eats the rooster.’

A2: No. El zorro al gallo come.

A3: No. Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: No. Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: No. Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

No. To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘No. The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: No. Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: No. Come al gallo el zorro.

237) Q6: ¿El zorro come un pato?

‘Does the fox eat a duck?’

A:

A1: No. El zorro come al gallo.

No. The fox eats to the rooster.

‘No the fox eats the rooster.’

A2: No. El zorro al gallo come.

A3: No. Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: No. Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: No. Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

No. To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘No. The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: No. Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: No. Come al gallo el zorro.

238) Q7: ¿El zorro acaricia al gallo?

‘Does the fox stroke the rooster?’

A:

A1: No. El zorro come al gallo.

No. The fox eats to the rooster.

‘No the fox eats the rooster.’

A2: No. El zorro al gallo come.

A3: No. Al gallo el zorro come.

A4: No. Al gallo come el zorro.

A5: No. Al gallo, lo come el zorro.

No. To the rooster CLITIC eats the fox

‘No. The fox eats the rooster.’

A6: No. Come el zorro al gallo.

A7: No. Come al gallo el zorro.

3.2.3.2. Bolivian Quechua version

239) Q1: ¿Ima-taj pasa-sa-n?

What-Q happen-PROGR-3SG

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: Atoj mikhu-sa-n k’anka-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

A2: Atoj k’ankata mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan atoj k’ankata.

A4: Mikhusan k’ankata atoj.

A5: K’ankata atoj mikhusan.

A6: K’ankata mikhusan atoj.

240) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-taj atoj mikhu-sa-n?

What-AC-Q fox eat-PROGR-3SG

‘What does the fox eat?’

A:

A1: Atoj mikhu-sa-n k’anka-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

Atoj mikhu-sa-n k’anka-ta-m.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC-DE

Atoj mikhu-sa-n k’anka-ta-qa.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC-TOP

A2: Atoj k'ankata mikhusan.

Atoj k'ankatam mikhusan.

Atoj k'ankataqa mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan atoj k'ankata.

Mikhusan atoj k'ankatam.

Mikhusan atoj k'ankataqa.

A4: Mikhusan k'ankata atoj.

Mikhusan k'ankatam atoj.

Mikhusan k'ankataqa atoj.

A5: K'ankata atoj mikhusan.

K'ankatam atoj mikhusan.

K'ankataqa atoj mikhusan.

A6: K'ankata mikhusan atoj.

K'ankatam mikhusan atoj.

K'ankataqa mikhusan atoj.

241) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-taj ruwa-sa-n atoj?

What-AC-Q do-PROGR-3SG fox

'What does the fox do?'

A:

A1: Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'an-ka-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

'The fox eats the rooster.'

Atoj mikhu-sa-n-mi k'anka-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG-DE rooster-AC

Atoj mikhu-sa-n-qa k'anka-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP rooster-AC

A2: Atoj k'ankata mikhusan.

Atoj k'ankata mikhusanmi.

Atoj k'ankata mikhusanqa.

A3: Mikhusan atoj k'ankata.

Mikhusanmi atoj k'ankata.

Mikhusanqa atoj k'ankata.

A4: Mikhusan k'ankata atoj.

Mikhusanmi k'ankata atoj.

Mikhusanqa k'ankata atoj.

A5: K'ankata atoj mikhusan.

K'ankata atoj mikhusanmi.

K'ankata atoj mikhusanqa.

A6: K'ankata mikhusan atoj.

K'ankata mikhusanmi atoj.

K'ankata mikhusanqa atoj.

242) Q4: ¿Ima-taj k'anka-ta mikhu-sa-n?

What-Q rooster-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'What eats the rooster?'

A:

A1: Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

'The fox eats the rooster.'

Atoj-mi mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

Fox-DE eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

Atoj-qa mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

Fox-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

A2: Atoj k'ankata mikhusan.

Atojmi k'ankata mikhusan.

Atojqa k'ankata mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan atoj k'ankata.

Mikhusan atojmi k'ankata.

Mikhusan atojqa k'ankata.

A4: Mikhusan k'ankata atoj.

Mikhusan k'ankata atojmi.

Mikhusan k'ankata atojqa.

A5: K'ankata atoj mikhusan.

K'ankata atojmi mikhusan.

K'ankata atojqa mikhusan.

A6: K'ankata mikhusan atoj.

K'ankata mikhusan atojmi.

K'ankata mikhusan atojqa.

243) Q5: ¿Uthurunku-chu k'anka-ta mikhu-sa-n?

Puma-Q rooster-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does a puma eat the rooster?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

'No. The fox eats the rooster.'

Mana-m. Atoj-mi mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

No-DE. Fox-DE eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

Mana-m. Atoj-qa mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

No-DE. Fox-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

A2: Manam. Atoj k'ankata mikhusan.

Manam. Atojmi k'ankata mikhusan.

Manam. Atojqa k'ankata mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan atoj k'ankata.

Manam. Mikhusan atojmi k'ankata.

Manam. Mikhusan atojqa k'ankata.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan k'ankata atoj.

Manam. Mikhusan k'ankata atojmi.

Manam. Mikhusan k'ankata atojqa.

A5: Manam. K'ankata atoj mikhusan.

Manam. K'ankata atojmi mikhusan.

Manam. K'ankata atojqa mikhusan.

A6: Manam. K'ankata mikhusan atoj.

Manam. K'ankata mikhusan atojmi.

Manam. K'ankata mikhusan atojqa.

244) Q6: ¿Atoj pili-ta-chu mikhu-sa-n?

Fox duck-AC-Q eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the fox eat a duck?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

'No. The fox eats the rooster.'

Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta-m.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC-DE

Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'anka-ta-qa.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC-TOP

A2: Manam. Atoj k'ankata mikhusan.

Manam. Atoj k'ankatam mikhusan.

Manam. Atoj k'ankataqa mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan atoj k'ankata.

Manam. Mikhusan atoj k'ankatam.

Manam. Mikhusan atoj k'ankataqa.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan k'ankata atoj.

Manam. Mikhusan k'ankatam atoj.

Manam. Mikhusan k'ankataqa atoj.

A5: Manam. K'ankata atoj mikhusan.

Manam. K'ankatam atoj mikhusan.

Manam. K'ankataqa atoj mikhusan.

A6: Manam. K'ankata mikhusan atoj.

Manam. K'ankatam mikhusan atoj.

Manam. K'ankataqa mikhusan atoj.

245) Q7: ¿Atoj k'anaka-ta wayllu-ku-n-chu?

Fox rooster-AC caress-REFL-3SG-Q

'Does the fox caress the rooster?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n k'anaka-ta.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG rooster-AC

'No. The fox eats the rooster.'

Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n-mi k'anaka-ta.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG-DE rooster-AC

Mana-m. Atoj mikhu-sa-n-qa k'anaka-ta.

No-DE. Fox eat-PROGR-3SG-FOX rooster-AC

A2: Manam. Atoj k'ankata mikhusan.

Manam. Atoj k'ankata mikhusanmi.

Manam. Atoj k'ankata mikhusanqa.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan atoj k'ankata.

Manam. Mikuchkanmi atuq k'ankata.

Manam. Mikuchkanqa atuq k'ankata.

A4: Manam. Mikuchkan k'ankata atuq.

Manam. Mikuchkanmi k'ankata atuq.

Manam. Mikuchkanqa k'ankata atuq.

A5: Manam. K'ankata atuq mikuchkan.

Manam. K'ankata atuq mikuchkanmi.

Manam. K'ankata atuq mikuchkanqa.

A6: Manam. K'ankata mikuchkan atuq.

Manam. K'ankata mikuchkanmi atuq.

Manam. K'ankata mikuchkanqa atuq.

3.2.3.3. Ecuadorian Quechua

246) Q1: ¿Ima-tag pasa-shka?

What-Q happen-PROGR

'What happens?'

A:

A1: Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

'The fox eats the rooster.'

A2: Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

A3: Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

A4: Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

A5: Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

A6: Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

247) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-tag atuc micu-shka?

What-AC-Q fox eat-PROGR

‘What does the fox eat?’

A:

A1: Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta-mi.

Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC-DE

Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta-ga.

Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC-TOP

A2: Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

Atuc cari huallpatami micushka.

Atuc cari huallpataga micushka.

A3: Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

Micushka atuc cari huallpatami.

Micushka atuc cari huallpataga.

A4: Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

Micushka cari huallpatami atuc.

Micushka cari huallpataga atuc.

A5: Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

Cari huallpatami atuc micushka.

Cari huallpataga atuc micushka.

A6: Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

Cari huallpatami micushka atuc.

Cari huallpataga micushka atuc.

248) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-tag ruwa-shka atuc?

What-AC-Q do-PROGR fox

‘What does the fox do?’

A:

A1: Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

Atuc micu-shka-mi cari huallpa-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-DE rooster-AC

Atuc micu-shka-ga cari huallpa-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR-TOP rooster-AC

A2: Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

Atuc cari huallpata micushkami.

Atuc cari huallpata micushkaga.

A3: Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

Micushkami atuc cari huallpata.

Micushkaga atuc cari huallpata.

A4: Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

Micushkami cari huallpata atuc.

Micushkaga cari huallpata atuc.

A5: Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

Cari huallpata atuc micushkami.

Cari huallpata atuc micushkaga.

A6: Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

Cari huallpata micushkami atuc.

Cari huallpata micushkaga atuc.

249) Q4: ¿Ima-tag cari huallpa-ta micu-shka?

What-Q rooster-AC eat-PROGR

‘What eats the rooster?’

A:

A1: Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

‘The fox eats the rooster.’

Atuc-mi micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

Fox-DE eat-PROGR rooster-AC

Atuc-ga micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

Fox-TOP eat-PROGR rooster-AC

A2: Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

Atucmi cari huallpata micushka.

Atucga cari huallpata micushka.

A3: Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

Micushka atucmi cari huallpata.

Micushka atucga cari huallpata.

A4: Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

Micushka cari huallpata atucmi.

Micushka cari huallpata atucga.

A5: Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

Cari huallpata atucmi micushka.

Cari huallpata atucga micushka.

A6: Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

Cari huallpata micushka atucmi.

Cari huallpata micushka atucga.

250) Q5: ¿Uturungu-chu cari huallpa-ta micu-shka?

Puma-Q rooster-AC eat-PROGR

‘Does a puma eat the rooster?’

A:

A1: Mana. Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

No. Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

‘No. The fox eats the rooster.’

Mana. Atuc-mi micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

No. Fox-DE eat-PROGR rooster-AC

Mana. Atuc-ga micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

No. Fox-TOP eat-PROGR rooster-AC

A2: Mana. Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

Mana. Atucmi cari huallpata micushka.

Mana. Atucga cari huallpata micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

Mana. Micushka atucmi cari huallpata.

Mana. Micushka atucga cari huallpata.

A4: Mana. Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

Mana. Micushka cari huallpata atucmi.

Mana. Micushka cari huallpata atucga.

A5: Mana. Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

Mana. Cari huallpata atucmi micushka.

Mana. Cari huallpata atucga micushka.

A6: Mana. Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

Mana. Cari huallpata micushka atucmi.

Mana. Cari huallpata micushka atucga.

251) Q6: ¿Atuc pato-ta-chu micu-shka?

Fox duck-AC-Q eat-PROGR

‘Does the fox eat a duck?’

A:

A1: Mana. Atuc micushka cari huallpata.

No. Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

‘No. The fox eats the rooster.’

Mana. Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta-mi.

No. Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC-DE

Mana. Atuc micushka cari huallpataga.

No. Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC-TOP

A2: Mana. Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

Mana. Atuc cari huallpatami micushka.

Mana. Atuc cari huallpataga micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

Mana. Micushka atuc cari huallpatami.

Mana. Micushka atuc cari huallpataga.

A4: Mana. Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

Mana. Micushka cari huallpatami atuc.

Mana. Micushka cari huallpataga atuc.

A5: Mana. Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

Mana. Cari huallpatami atuc micushka.

Mana. Cari huallpataga atuc micushka.

A6: Mana. Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

Mana. Cari huallpatami micushka atuc.

Mana. Cari huallpataga micushka atuc.

252) Q7: ¿Atuc cari huallpa-ta kuya-n-chu?

Fox rooster-AC love-3SG-Q

‘Does the fox love the rooster?’

A:

A1: Mana. Atuc micu-shka cari huallpa-ta.

No. Fox eat-PROGR rooster-AC

‘No. The fox eats the rooster.’

Mana. Atuc micu-shka-mi cari huallpa-ta.

No. Fox eat-PROGR-DE rooster-AC

Mana. Atuc micu-shka-ga cari huallpa-ta.

No. Fox eat-PROGR-TOP rooster-AC

A2: Mana. Atuc cari huallpata micushka.

Mana. Atuc cari huallpata micushkami.

Mana. Atuc cari huallpata micushkaga.

A3: Mana. Micushka atuc cari huallpata.

Mana. Micushkami atuc cari huallpata.

Mana. Micushkaga atuc cari huallpata.

A4: Mana. Micushka cari huallpata atuc.

Mana. Micushkami cari huallpata atuc.

Mana. Micushkaga cari huallpata atuc.

A5: Mana. Cari huallpata atuc micushka.

Mana. Cari huallpata atuc micushkami.

Mana. Cari huallpata atuc micushkaga.

A6: Mana. Cari huallpata micushka atuc.

Mana. Cari huallpata micushkami atuc.

Mana. Cari huallpata micushkaga atuc.

3.3. 'The Opossum and the Worm' (Martinez Parra 1999: 94-98)

3.3.1. Spanish version: La Zarigüeya y el Utuskuro

En la chacra, una Zarigüeya estaba caminando alegremente, sin preocuparse de nadie, andaba sin acordarse de nadie. En eso que andaba, se encontró con un triste, apenado, abatido Utuskuru.

Iba todo cansado jadeante el Utuskuro arrastrándose por el surco.

- ¿Qué tienes Utuskuru, estás enfermo? ¿Por qué causa tan abatida te arrastras?

En esta forma la Zarigüeya le preguntó al Utuskuru.

- No me encuentro bien, ya son varios días que no encuentro qué comer, por eso estoy andando flaco decaído, debilitado.

Así le dijo el Utuskuro a la Zarigüeya.

- ¿A dónde vas a ir, así enferma?- de nuevo le dijo, preguntando la Zarigüeya.

- Voy a comer la raíz de las yerbas, qué más puedo comer.

Así le dijo con su voz apagada que ya no se le oía y que apenas salía de su garganta.

Luego vino la estación de lluvias, llegó también la helada, días secos también...

Luego vino la primavera, con sus lluvias, para que haya frutos trajo también sus hermosas flores.

Pasaron las estaciones y de nuevo en sus andanzas se encontraron.

Pero el Utuskuro estaba ya orgulloso, valiente, fuerte, erguido, que no se le podía molestar ni se le podía hablar.

A la huérfana Zarigüeya, ni siquiera la miró... entonces ésta como en otros días viendo al Utuskuro, dio algunos pasos irguiéndose. Entonces sólo con el fin de saber siempre le preguntó:

- Señor Utuskuro, ¿a dónde estás yendo?...

Irguiéndose, el orgulloso Utuskuru, señor, irguiéndose aún más hablando con una fuerte voz le contestó:

- Estoy yendo a comer el corazón de choclos negros...

Se había erguido tanto para hablar, este señor Utuskuru, en eso dicen que estaba volando por ahí un Chihuaco y que lo había visto y se lo comió...

En esa forma el Utuskuru encontró su muerte.

MORALEJA:

Así hay mucha gente: en su pobreza está humillado, agachando, mostrando buen corazón andan; pero cuando ya son poderosos y llegan a poseer algo, se yerguen altivos y soberbios, olvidándose lo que fueron...

3.3.2. Quechua version: Qarachupawan hutushkuru

Chajrapis huj Qarachupa kuisqallaña purishasqa; mana pimanta yachaspa. Mana pita yuyaripa purishasqa.

Chay purisqanpis llakisqa unphullaña Hutuskuruchawan tuparusqa.

Lliw saykusqallañas, wachunta sasataraq Hutuskuru suchushasqa.

- Imananmi Hutuskuru, unqusqachu kashankiri-, imanaqtintaq hina lliwllañari
suchushanki-.

Nispas Qarachupa, Hutuskuruman tapuykusqa.

- Manan allinchu kani, manan ashkha punchayña mikhunata tarikunichu chaymi tutallaña
purishani.

Nispas Hutuskuru, Qarachupaman nisqa.

- Maytataq rinki hina unqusqari- nispas hujmanta Qarachupa tapuykusqa.

- Qurakunaq saphichantan mikhukamusaq, imatawantaq mikhuymanri.

Nispas nisqa, mana uyarichikuq kunkallanwanña, yanqa rimaykuyllawanña rimaspa.

Chaymansi paray mita chayamusqa, qasapas chayamullasqataq, chaki punchaykunapas
chayamullasqakutaq...

Chaymantataq pawqar mita, unu parantin chayaykusqa; paqarin rurunanpaq, pawqar
tikanta apamuspa.

Llapa mitaq puriyninmanmi, hujmanta, sujna masi hina tuparullasqakutaq.

Chayqa, ña rupupakuña; qhariy, qhariy Hutuskurucha kashasqa mana phiñachina, mana rimarinan kashasqa...

Manas wajcha Qarachupachata, ni imayniraqtapas qhawaykusqachu.

Qarachupataq, qayna punchaykama sujnanta qawarispawiykachasqa.

Hinaspansi, yachanallanpaq, hinata tapuykusqa

- Wiraqucha Hutuskuru, maytataq purishankiri...

Astawanraq rupapakuspa, kay phiña Hutuskuru wiraqucha; astawanraq phiñapakuspa, ancha kallpata rimariyninpi churaspa hinata kutichisqa:

- Yana chuqlluq sunquntan mikhuq rishani.

Nishutapuni sayarispas rimasqa, chay Sinchi Hutuskuru wiraqucha, hinaspansi, chayninta phawashaq Chuchiku rikuykuruspa mikuracapusqa.

Hinatan Hutuskuru wañuyta tarisqa...

YACHAYCHIK:

Hinallataqmi runakuna kanku, Waajcha kayninpi kumuyllaña sumaq sunqunwan purinku; qhapaqyaqtinkutaq, qayna, wajcha kasqankumanta qunqakapun...

3.3.3. English translation: The Opossum and the Worm

An opossum was walking happily in the field, without worrying about anyone, without thinking of anyone. While he was walking like that, he ran into a sorrowful, saddened and depressed worm.

The worm was moving in a very fatigued way while panting, dragging himself through the furrow.

- What is wrong, worm, are you sick? Why are you dragging yourself around?

Like this, the opossum asked the worm.

- I don't feel well, I haven't found anything to eat for several days, that's why I'm skinny, down and weak.

Like that the worm talked to the opossum.

- Where are you going, so sick?- asked the opossum again.

- I am going to eat the root of the grass, what else can I eat.

That is how he spoke with a muffled voice that could barely be heard and came out of his throat very weakly.

Then the rainy season came, the frost came too, and dry days as well... Then the spring came, with its rain, and it brought beautiful flowers with it so that there was fruit too.

The seasons passed and in their adventures they ran into each other again.

But the worm was proud, courageous, strong, upright, no one could bother him or talk to him.

He didn't even look at the orphaned opossum. So, she like in other days, when she saw the worm, took some steps while standing up. So, just out of curiosity she asked him,

- Mr. worm, where are you going?...

While standing up, the proud worm, mr., while standing up even more, answered her with a strong voice:

- I am going to eat the heart of black corn...

This Mr. worm had stood up so much to talk, they say that a bird was flying nearby, and that he had seen him, and ate him.

This is how the worm found his death.

MORAL OF THE STORY:

There are many people like this: in their poverty they are humble, and they walk around bending down and showing a good heart; but when they are powerful and get to own something, they become arrogant and proud, and they forget where they come from.

3.3.4. Wh-questions and answers

3.3.4.1. Spanish version

The following *wh*-questions and answers correspond to picture 3 in Appendix B.

253) Q1: ¿Qué pasa?

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

The worm eats the root of the grass

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A2: El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A6: Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

254) Q2: ¿Qué come el gusano?

‘What does the worm eat?’

A:

A1: El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

The worm eats the root of the grass

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A2: El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A6: Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

255) Q3: ¿Qué hace el gusano?

‘What does the worm do?’

A:

A1: El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

The worm eats the root of the grass

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A2: El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A6: Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

256) Q4: ¿Quién come la raíz de las hierbas?

‘Who eats the grass?’

A:

A1: El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

The worm eats the root of the grass

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A2: El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A6: Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

257) Q5: ¿La zarigüeya come las hierbas?

“Does the opossum eat the grass?”

A:

A1: No. El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

No. The worm eats the root of the grass

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

A2: No. El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: No. La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: No. La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: No. La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

No. The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

A6: No. Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: No. Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

258) Q6: ¿El gusano come el choclo?

‘Does the worm eat the corn cob?’

A:

A1: No. El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

No. The worm eats the root of the grass

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

A2: No. El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: No. La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: No. La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: No. La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

No. The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

A6: No. Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: No. Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

259) Q7: ¿El gusano pisotea la raíz de las hierbas?

‘Does the worm stamp on the grass?’

A:

A1: No. El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas.

No. The worm eats the root of the grass

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

A2: No. El gusano la raíz de las hierbas come.

A3: No. La raíz de las hierbas el gusano come.

A4: No. La raíz de las hierbas come el gusano.

A5: No. La raíz de las hierbas, la come el gusano.

No. The root of the grass CLITIC eat the worm

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

A6: No. Come el gusano la raíz de las hierbas.

A7: No. Come la raíz de las hierbas el gusano.

The following *wh*-questions and answer correspond to picture 5 of the fable in Appendix B.

260) Q1: ¿Qué pasa?

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: El gusano come el choclo.

The worm eats the corn cob.

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: El gusano el choclo come.

A3: El choclo el gusano come.

A4: El choclo come el gusano.

A5: El choclo, lo come el gusano.

The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: Come el choclo el gusano.

261) Q2: ¿Qué come el gusano?

‘What does the worm eat?’

A:

A1: El gusano come el choclo.

The worm eats the corn cob.

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: El gusano el choclo come.

A3: El choclo el gusano come.

A4: El choclo come el gusano.

A5: El choclo, lo come el gusano.

The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: Come el choclo el gusano.

262) Q3: ¿Qué hace el gusano?

‘What does the worm do?’

A:

A1: El gusano come el choclo.

The worm eats the corn cob.

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: El gusano el choclo come.

A3: El choclo el gusano come.

A4: El choclo come el gusano.

A5: El choclo, lo come el gusano.

The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: Come el choclo el gusano.

263) Q4: ¿Quién come el choclo?

‘Who eats the corn cob?’

A:

A1: El gusano come el choclo.

The worm eats the corn cob.

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: El gusano el choclo come.

A3: El choclo el gusano come.

A4: El choclo come el gusano.

A5: El choclo, lo come el gusano.

The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: Come el choclo el gusano.

264) Q5: ¿La zarigüeya come el choclo?

‘Does the opossum eat the corn cob?’

A:

A1: No. El gusano come el choclo.

No. The worm eats the corn cob.

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: No. El gusano el choclo come.

A3: No. El choclo el gusano come.

A4: No. El choclo come el gusano.

A5: No. El choclo, lo come el gusano.

No. The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: No. Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: No. Come el choclo el gusano.

265) Q6: ¿El gusano come la raíz de las hierbas?

‘Does the worm eat the grass?’

A:

A1: No. El gusano come el choclo.

No. The worm eats the corn cob.

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: No. El gusano el choclo come.

A3: No. el choclo el gusano come.

A4: No. el choclo come el gusano.

A5: No. el choclo, lo come el gusano.

No. The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: No. Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: No. Come el choclo el gusano.

266) Q7: ¿El gusano pisotea el choclo?

‘Does the worm stamp on the corn cob?’

A:

A1: No. El gusano come el choclo.

No. The worm eats the corn cob.

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: No. El gusano el choclo come.

A3: No. El choclo el gusano come.

A4: No. El choclo come el gusano.

A5: No. El choclo, lo come el gusano.

No. The corn cob CLITIC eat the worm

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

A6: No. Come el gusano el choclo.

A7: No. Come el choclo el gusano.

The following *wh*-questions and answers correspond to picture 9 of the fable in Appendix

B.

267) Q1: ¿Qué pasa?

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: El pájaro come al gusano.

The bird eat to the worm

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A2: El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A6: Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: Come al gusano el pájaro.

268) Q2: ¿A quién come el pájaro?

‘Who does the bird eat?’

A:

A1: El pájaro come al gusano.

The bird eat to the worm

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A2: El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A6: Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: Come al gusano el pájaro.

269) Q3: ¿Qué hace el pájaro?

‘What does the bird do?’

A:

A1: El pájaro come al gusano.

The bird eat to the worm

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A2: El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A6: Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: Come al gusano el pájaro.

270) Q4: ¿Quién come al gusano?

‘Who eats the worm?’

A:

A1: El pájaro come al gusano.

The bird eat to the worm

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A2: El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A6: Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: Come al gusano el pájaro.

271) Q5: ¿Un cóndor come al gusano?

‘Does a condor eat the worm?’

A:

A1: No. El pájaro come al gusano.

No. The bird eat to the worm

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

A2: No. El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: No. Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: No. Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: No. Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

No. To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

A6: No. Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: No. Come al gusano el pájaro.

272) Q6: ¿El pájaro come a la zarigüeya?

‘Does the bird eat the opossum?’

A:

A1: No. El pájaro come al gusano.

No. The bird eat to the worm

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

A2: No. El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: No. Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: No. Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: No. Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

No. To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

A6: No. Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: No. Come al gusano el pájaro.

273) Q7: ¿El pájaro saluda al gusano?

‘Does the bird greet the worm?’

A:

A1: No. El pájaro come al gusano.

No. The bird eat to the worm

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

A2: No. El pájaro al gusano come.

A3: No. Al gusano el pájaro come.

A4: No. Al gusano come el pájaro.

A5: No. Al gusano, lo come el pájaro.

No. To the worm CLITIC eat the bird

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

A6: No. Come el pájaro al gusano.

A7: No. Come al gusano el pájaro.

3.3.4.2. Bolivian Quechua version

The following *wh*-questions and answers correspond to picture 3 in Appendix B.

274) Q1: ¿Ima-taj pasa-sa-n?

What-Q happen-PROGR-3SG

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: K’uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass.

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A2: K’uru qhorata mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan k’uru qhorata.

A4: Mikhusan qhorata k’uru.

A5: Qhorata k’uru mikhusan.

A6: Qhorata mikhusan k’uru.

275) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-taj k’uru mikhu-sa-n?

What-AC-Q worm eat-PROGR-3SG

‘What does the worm eat?’

A:

A1: K’uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

K’uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta-m.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC-DE

K’uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta-qa.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC-TOP

A2: K’uru qhorata mikhusan.

K'uru qhoratam mikhusan.

K'uru qhorataqa mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru qhorata.

Mikhusan k'uru qhoratam.

Mikhusan k'uru qhorataqa.

A4: Mikhusan qhorata k'uru.

Mikhusan qhoratam k'uru.

Mikhusan qhorataqa k'uru.

A5: Qhorata k'uru mikhusan.

Qhoratam k'uru mikhusan.

Qhorataqa k'uru mikhusan.

A6: Qhorata mikhusan k'uru.

Qhoratam mikhusan k'uru.

Qhorataqa mikhusan k'uru.

276) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-taj k'uru ruwa-sa-n?

What-AC-Q worm do-PROGR-3SG

'What does the worm do?'

A:

A1: K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

'The worm eats the grass.'

K'uru mikhu-sa-n-mi qhora-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-DE grass-AC

K'uru mikhu-sa-n-qa qhora-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP grass-AC

A2: K'uru qhorata mikhusan.

K'uru qhorata mikhusanmi.

K'uru qhorata mikhusanqa.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru qhorata.

Mikhusanmi k'uru qhorata.

Mikhusanqa k'uru qhorata.

A4: Mikhusan qhorata k'uru.

Mikhusanmi qhorata k'uru.

Mikhusanqa qhorata k'uru.

A5: Qhorata k'uru mikhusan.

Qhorata k'uru mikhusanmi.

Qhorata k'uru mikhusanqa.

A6: Qhorata mikhusan k'uru.

Qhorata mikhusanmi k'uru.

Qhorata mikhusanqa k'uru.

277) Q4: ¿Ima-taj qhora-ta mikhu-sa-n?

What-Q grass-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'What eats the grass?'

A:

A1: K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

'The worm eats the grass.'

K'uru-m mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

Worm-DE eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

K'uru-qa mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

Worm-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

A2: K'uru qhorata mikhusan.

K'urum qhorata mikhusan.

K'uruqa qhorata mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru qhorata.

Mikhusan k'urum qhorata.

Mikhusan k'uruqa qhorata.

A4: Mikhusan qhorata k'uru.

Mikhusan qhorata k'urum.

Mikhusan qhorata k'uruqa.

A5: Qhorata k'uru mikhusan.

Qhorata k'urum mikhusan.

Qhorata k'uruqa mikhusan.

A6: Qhorata mikhusan k'uru.

Qhorata mikhusan k'urum.

Qhorata mikhusan k'uruqa.

278) Q5: ¿Q'arachupa-chu qhora-ta mikhu-sa-n?

Opossum-Q grass-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the opossum eat the grass?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

'No. The worm eats the grass.'

Mana-m. K'uru-m mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm-DE eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

Mana-m. K'uru-qa mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

A2: Manam. K'uru qhorata mikhusan.

Manam. K'urum qhorata mikhusan.

Manam. K'uruqa qhorata mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan k'uru qhorata.

Manam. Mikhusan k'urum qhorata.

Manam. Mikhusan k'uruqa qhorata.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan qhorata k'uru.

Manam. Mikhusan qhorata k'urum.

Manam. Mikhusan qhorata k'uruqa.

A5: Manam. Qhorata k'uru mikhusan.

Manam. Qhorata k'urum mikhusan.

Manam. Qhorata k'uruqa mikhusan.

A6: Manam. Qhorata mikhusan k'uru.

Manam. Qhorata mikhusan k'urum.

Manam. Qhorata mikhusan k'uruqa.

279) Q6: ¿K'uru chujllu-ta-chu mikhu-sa-n?

Worm corn cob-AC-Q eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the worm eat the corn cob?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

'No. The worm eats the grass.'

Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta-m.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC-DE

Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta-qa.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC-TOP

A2: Manam. K'uru qhorata mikhusan.

Manam. K'uru qhoratam mikhusan.

Manam. K'uru qhorataqa mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan k'uru qhorata.

Manam. Mikhusan k'uru qhoratam.

Manam. Mikhusan k'uru qhorataqa.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan qhorata k'uru.

Manam. Mikhusan qhoratam k'uru.

Manam. Mikhusan qhorataqa k'uru.

A5: Manam. Qhorata k'uru mikhusan.

Manam. Qhoratam k'uru mikhusan.

Manam. Qhorataqa k'uru mikhusan.

A6: Manam. Qhorata mikhusan k'uru.

Manam. Qhoratam mikhusan k'uru.

Manam. Qhorataqa mikhusan k'uru.

280) Q7: ¿K'uru qhora-ta ñatu-sa-n-chu?

Worm grass-AC stamp on-PROGR-3SG-Q

'Does the worm stamp on the grass?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG grass-AC

'No. The worm eats the grass.'

Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n-mi qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-DE grass-AC

Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n-qa qhora-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP grass-AC

A2: Manam. K'uru qhorata mikhusan.

Manam. K'uru qhorata mikhusanmi.

Manam. K'uru qhorata mikhusanqa.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan k'uru qhorata.

Manam. Mikhusanmi k'uru qhorata.

Manam. Mikhusanqa k'uru qhorata.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan qhorata k'uru.

Manam. Mikhusanmi qhorata k'uru.

Manam. Mikhusanqa qhorata k'uru.

A5: Manam. Qhorata k'uru mikhusan.

Manam. Qhorata k'uru mikhusanmi.

Manam. Qhorata k'uru mikhusanqa.

A6: Manam. Qhorata mikhusan k'uru.

Manam. Qhorata mikhusanmi k'uru.

Manam. Qhorata mikhusanqa k'uru.

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 5 of the fable in Appendix B.

281) Q1: ¿Ima-taj pasa-sa-n?

What-Q happen-PROGR-3SG

'What happens?'

A:

A1: K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

'The worm eats the corn cob.'

A2: K'uru chujlluta mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru chujlluta.

A4: Mikhusan chujlluta k'uru.

A5: Chujlluta k'uru mikhusan.

A6: Chujlluta mikhusan k'uru.

282) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-taj k'uru mikhu-sa-n?

What-AC-Q worm eat-PROGR-3SG

'What does the worm eat?'

A:

A1: K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

'The worm eats the corn cob.'

K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta-m.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC-DE

K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta-qa.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC-TOP

A2: K'uru chujlluta mikhusan.

K'uru chujllutam mikhusan.

K'uru chujllutaqa mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru chujlluta.

Mikhusan k'uru chujllutam.

Mikhusan k'uru chujllutaqa.

A4: Mikhusan chujlluta k'uru.

Mikhusan chujllutaqa k'uru.

A5: Chujlluta k'uru mikhusan.

Chujllutam k'uru mikhusan.

Chujllutaqa k'uru mikhusan.

A6: Chujlluta mikhusan k'uru.

Chujllutaqa mikhusan k'uru.

283) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-taj ruwa-sa-n k'uru?

What-AC-Q do-PROGR-3SG worm

'What does the worm do?'

A:

A1: K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

'The worm eats the corn cob.'

K'uru mikhu-sa-n-mi chujllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-DE corn cob-AC

K'uru mikhu-sa-n-qa chujllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP corn cob-AC

A2: K'uru chujlluta mikhusan.

K'uru chujlluta mikhusanmi.

K'uru chujlluta mikhusanqa.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru chujlluta.

Mikhusanmi k'uru chujlluta.

Mikhusanqa k'uru chujlluta.

A4: Mikhusan chujlluta k'uru.

Mikhusanmi chujlluta k'uru.

Mikhusanqa chujlluta k'uru.

A5: Chujlluta k'uru mikhusan.

Chujlluta k'uru mikhusanqa.

A6: Chujlluta mikhusan k'uru.

Chujlluta mikhusanmi k'uru.

Chujlluta mikhusanqa k'uru.

284) Q4: ¿Imataq chujlluta mikhusan?

What-Q corn cob-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'What eats the corn cob?'

A:

A1: K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

'The worm eats the corn cob.'

K'uru-m mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

Worm-DE eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

K'uru-qa mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

Worm-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

A2: K'uru chujlluta mikhusan.

K'urum chujlluta mikhusan.

K'uruqa chujlluta mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan k'uru chujlluta.

Mikhusan k'urum chujlluta.

Mikhusan k'uruqa chujlluta.

A4: Mikhusan chujlluta k'uru.

Mikhusan chujlluta k'urum.

Mikhusan chujlluta k'uruqa.

A5: Chujlluta k'uru mikhusan.

Chujlluta k'urum mikhusan.

Chujlluta k'uruqa mikhusan.

A6: Chujlluta mikhusan k'uru.

Chujlluta mikhusan k'urum.

Chujlluta mikhusan k'uruqa.

285) Q5: ¿Q'arachupa-chu chujllu-ta mikhu-sa-n?

Opossum-Q corn cob-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the opossum eat the corn cob?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

'No. The worm eats the corn cob.'

Mana-m. K'uru-m mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm-DE eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

Mana-m. K'uru-qa mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

A2: Manam. K'uru chujlluta mikhusan.

Manam. K'urum chujlluta mikhusan.

Manam. K'uruqa chujlluta mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan k'uru chujlluta.

Manam. Mikhusan k'urum chujlluta.

Manam. Mikhusan k'uruqa chujlluta.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan chujlluta k'uru.

Manam. Mikhusan chujlluta k'urum.

Manam. Mikhusan chujlluta k'uruqa.

A5: Manam. Chujlluta k'uru mikhusan.

Manam. Chujlluta k'urum mikhusan.

Manam. Chujlluta k'uruqa mikhusan.

A6: Manam. Chujlluta mikhusan k'uru.

Manam. Chujlluta mikhusan k'urum.

Manam. Chujlluta mikhusan k'uruqa.

286) Q6: ¿K'uru qhora-ta-chu mikhu-sa-n?

Worm grass-AC-Q eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the worm eat grass?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. K'uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

Mana-m. K’uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta-m.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC-DE

Mana-m. K’uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta-qa.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC-TOP

A2: Manam. K’uru chujlluta mikhusan.

Manam. K’uru chujllutam mikhusan.

Manam. K’uru chujllutaqa mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan k’uru chujlluta.

Manam. Mikhusan k’uru chujllutam.

Manam. Mikhusan k’uru chujllutaqa.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan chujlluta k’uru.

Manam. Mikhusan chujllutam k’uru.

Manam. Mikhusan chujllutaqa k’uru.

A5: Manam. Chujlluta k’uru mikhusan.

Manam. Chujllutam k’uru mikhusan.

Manam. Chujllutaqa k’uru mikhusan.

A6: Manam. Chujlluta mikhusan k’uru.

Manam. Chujllutam mikhusan k’uru.

Manam. Chujllutaqa mikhusan k’uru.

287) Q7: ¿K’uru chujllu-ta ñatu-sa-n-chu?

Worm corn cob-AC stamp on-PROGR-3SG-Q

‘Does the worm stamp on the corn cob?’

A:

A1: Mana-m. K’uru mikhu-sa-n chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG corn cob-AC

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

Mana-m. K’uru mikhu-sa-n-mi chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-DE corn cob-AC

Mana-m. K’uru mikhu-sa-n-qa chujllu-ta.

No-DE. Worm eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP corn cob-AC

A2: Manam. K’uru chujlluta mikhusan.

Manam. K’uru chujlluta mikhusanmi.

Manam. K’uru chujlluta mikhusanqa.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan k’uru chujlluta.

Manam. Mikhusanmi k’uru chujlluta.

Manam. Mikhusanqa k’uru chujlluta.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan chujlluta k’uru.

Manam. Mikhusanmi chujlluta k’uru.

Manam. Mikhusanqa chujlluta k’uru.

A5: Manam. Chujlluta k’uru mikhusan.

Manam. Chujlluta k’uru mikhusanmi.

Manam. Chujlluta k’uru mikhusanqa.

A6: Manam. Chujlluta mikhusan k’uru.

Manam. Chujlluta mikhusanmi k’uru.

Manam. Chujlluta mikhusanqa k'uru.

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 9 of the fable in Appendix B.

288) Q1: ¿Ima-taj pasa-sa-n?

What-Q happen-PROGR-3SG

'What happens?'

A:

A1: P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

'The bird eats the worm'

A2: P'isqo k'uruta mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan p'isqo k'uruta.

A4: Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqo.

A5: K'uruta p'isqo mikhusan.

A6: K'uruta mikhusan p'isqo.

289) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-taj p'isqo mikhu-sa-n?

What-AC-Q bird eat-PROGR-3SG

'What does the bird eat?'

A:

A1: P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm’

P’isqo mikhu-sa-n k’uru-ta-m.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC-DE

P’isqo mikhu-sa-n k’uru-ta-qa.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC-TOP

A2: P’isqo k’uruta mikhusan.

P’isqo k’urutam mikhusan.

P’isqo k’urutaqa mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan p’isqo k’uruta.

Mikhusan p’isqo k’urutam.

Mikhusan p’isqo k’urutaqa.

A4: Mikhusan k’uruta p’isqo.

Mikhusan k’urutam p’isqo.

Mikhusan k’urutaqa p’isqo.

A5: K’uruta p’isqo mikhusan.

K’urutam p’isqo mikhusan.

K’urutaqa p’isqo mikhusan.

A6: K’uruta mikhusan p’isqo.

K’urutam mikhusan p’isqo.

K’urutaqa mikhusan p’isqo.

290) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-taj p’isqo ruwa-sa-n?

What-AC-Q bird do-PROGR-3SG

‘What does the bird do?’

A:

A1: P’isqo mikhu-sa-n k’uru-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm’

P’isqo mikhu-sa-n-mi k’uru-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG-DE worm-AC

P’isqo mikhu-sa-n-qa k’uru-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP worm-AC

A2: P’isqo k’uruta mikhusan.

P’isqo k’uruta mikhusanmi.

P’isqo k’uruta mikhusanqa.

A3: Mikhusan p’isqo k’uruta.

Mikhusanmi p’isqo k’uruta.

Mikhusanqa p’isqo k’uruta.

A4: Mikhusan k’uruta p’isqo.

Mikhusanmi k’uruta p’isqo.

Mikhusanqa k’uruta p’isqo.

A5: K’uruta p’isqo mikhusan.

K’uruta p’isqo mikhusanmi.

K’uruta p’isqo mikhusanqa.

A6: K’uruta mikhusan p’isqo.

K’uruta mikhusanmi p’isqo.

K'uruta mikhusanqa p'isqo.

291) Q4: ¿Ima-taj k'uru-ta mikhu-sa-n?

What-Q worm-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'What eats the worm?'

A:

A1: P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

'The bird eats the worm'

P'isqo-m mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

Bird-DE eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

P'isqo-qa mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

Bird-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

A2: P'isqo k'uruta mikhusan.

P'isqom k'uruta mikhusan.

P'isqoqa k'uruta mikhusan.

A3: Mikhusan p'isqo k'uruta.

Mikhusan p'isqom k'uruta.

Mikhusan p'isqoqa k'uruta.

A4: Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqo.

Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqom.

Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqoqa.

A5: K'uruta p'isqo mikhusan.

K'uruta p'isqom mikhusan.

K'uruta p'isqoqa mikhusan.

A6: K'uruta mikhusan p'isqo.

K'uruta mikhusan p'isqom.

K'uruta mikhusan p'isqoqa.

292) Q5: ¿Kundur-chu k'uru-ta mikhu-sa-n?

Condor-Q worm-AC eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the condor eat the worm?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

'No. The bird eats the worm'

Mana-m. P'isqo-m mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird-DE eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

Mana-m. P'isqo-qa mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird-TOP eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

A2: Manam. P'isqo k'uruta mikhusan.

Manam. P'isqom k'uruta mikhusan.

Manam. P'isqoqa k'uruta mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan p'isqo k'uruta.

Manam. Mikhusan p'isqom k'uruta.

Manam. Mikhusan p'isqoqa k'uruta.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqo.

Manam. Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqom.

Manam. Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqoqa.

A5: Manam. K'uruta p'isqo mikhusan.

Manam. K'uruta p'isqom mikhusan.

Manam. K'uruta p'isqoqa mikhusan.

A6: Manam. K'uruta mikhusan p'isqo.

Manam. K'uruta mikhusan p'isqom.

Manam. K'uruta mikhusan p'isqoqa.

293) Q6: ¿Q'arachupa-ta-chu p'isqo mikhu-sa-n?

Opossum-AC-Q bird eat-PROGR-3SG

'Does the bird eat the opossum?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

'No. The bird eats the worm'

Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta-m.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC-DE

Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta-qa.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC-TOP

A2: Manam. P'isqo k'uruta mikhusan.

Manam. P'isqo k'urutam mikhusan.

Manam. P'isqo k'urutaqa mikhusan.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan p'isqo k'uruta.

Manam. Mikhusan p'isqo k'urutam.

Manam. Mikhusan p'isqo k'urutaqa.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqo.

Manam. Mikhusan k'urutam p'isqo.

Manam. Mikhusan k'urutaqa p'isqo.

A5: Manam. K'uruta p'isqo mikhusan.

Manam. K'urutam p'isqo mikhusan.

Manam. K'urutaqa p'isqo mikhusan.

A6: Manam. K'uruta mikhusan p'isqo.

Manam. K'urutam mikhusan p'isqo.

Manam. K'urutaqa mikhusan p'isqo.

294) Q7: ¿P'isqo k'uru-ta napayku-sa-n-chu?

Bird worm-AC greet-PROGR-3SG-Q

'Does the bird greet the worm?'

A:

A1: Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG worm-AC

'No. The bird eats the worm.'

Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n-mi k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG-DE worm-AC

Mana-m. P'isqo mikhu-sa-n-qa k'uru-ta.

No-DE. Bird eat-PROGR-3SG-TOP worm-AC

A2: Manam. P'isqo k'uruta mikhusan.

Manam. P'isqo k'uruta mikhusanmi.

Manam. P'isqo k'uruta mikhusanqa.

A3: Manam. Mikhusan p'isqo k'uruta.

Manam. Mikhusanmi p'isqo k'uruta.

Manam. Mikhusanqa p'isqo k'uruta.

A4: Manam. Mikhusan k'uruta p'isqo.

Manam. Mikhusanmi k'uruta p'isqo.

Manam. Mikhusanqa k'uruta p'isqo.

A5: Manam. K'uruta p'isqo mikhusan.

Manam. K'uruta p'isqo mikhusanmi.

Manam. K'uruta p'isqo mikhusanqa.

A6: Manam. K'uruta mikhusan p'isqo.

Manam. K'uruta mikhusanmi p'isqo.

Manam. K'uruta mikhusanqa p'isqo.

3.3.4.3. Ecuadorian Quechua version

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 3 of the fable in Appendix B.

295) Q1: ¿Ima-tag pasa-shka?

What-Q happen-PROGR

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

A2: Curu quihuata micushka.

A3: Micushka curu quihuata.

A4: Micushka quihuata curu.

A5: Quihuata curu micushka.

A6: Quihuata micushka curu.

296) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-tag curu micu-shka?

What-AC-Q worm eat-PROGR

‘What does the worm eat?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

Curu micu-shka quihua-ta-mi.

Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC-DE

Curu micu-shka quihua-ta-ga.

Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC-TOP

A2: Curu quihuata micushka.

Curu quihuatami micushka.

Curu quihuataga micushka.

A3: Micushka curu quihuata.

Micushka curu quihuatami.

Micushka curu quihuataga.

A4: Micushka quihuata curu.

Micushka quihuatami curu.

Micushka quihuataga curu.

A5: Quihuata curu micushka.

Quihuatami curu micushka.

Quihuataga curu micushka.

A6: Quihuata micushka curu.

Quihuatami micushka curu.

Quihuataga micushka curu.

297) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-tag curu ruwa-shka?

What-AC-Q worm do-PROGR

‘What does the worm do?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

Curu micu-shka-mi quihua-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-DE grass-AC

Curu micu-shka-ga quihua-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-TOP grass-AC

A2: Curu quihuata micushka.

Curu quihuata micushkami.

Curu quihuata micushkaga.

A3: Micushka curu quihuata.

Micushkami curu quihuata.

Micushkaga curu quihuata.

A4: Micushka quihuata curu.

Micushkami quihuata curu.

Micushkaga quihuata curu.

A5: Quihuata curu micushka.

Quihuata curu micushkami.

Quihuata curu micushkaga.

A6: Quihuata micushka curu.

Quihuata micushkami curu.

Quihuata micushkaga curu.

298) Q4: ¿Ima-tag quihua-ta micu-shka?

What-Q grass-AC eat-PROGR

‘What eats the grass?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

Curu-mi micu-shka quihua-ta.

Worm-DE eat-PROGR grass-AC

Curu-ga micu-shka quihua-ta.

Worm-TOP eat-PROGR grass-AC

A2: Curu quihuata micushka.

Curumi quihuata micushka.

Curuga quihuata micushka.

A3: Micushka curu quihuata.

Micushka curumi quihuata.

Micushka curuga quihuata.

A4: Micushka quihuata curu.

Micushka quihuata curumi.

Micushka quihuata curuga.

A5: Quihuata curu micushka.

Quihuata curumi micushka.

Quihuata curuga micushka.

A6: Quihuata micushka curu.

Quihuata micushka curumi.

Quihuata micushka curuga.

299) Q5: ¿Ucucha-chu quihua-ta micu-shka?

Rat-Q grass-AC eat-PROGR

‘Does the rat eat the grass?’

A:

A1: Mana. Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘No. The worm eats the grass.’

Mana. Curu-mi micu-shka quihua-ta.

No. Worm-DE eat-PROGR grass-AC

Mana. Curu-ga micu-shka quihua-ta.

No. Worm-TOP eat-PROGR grass-AC

A2: Mana. Curu quihuata micushka.

Mana. Curumi quihuata micushka.

Mana. Curuga quihuata micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka curu quihuata.

Mana. Micushka curumi quihuata.

Mana. Micushka curuga quihuata.

A4: Mana. Micushka quihuata curu.

Mana. Micushka quihuata curumi.

Mana. Micushka quihuata curuga.

A5: Mana. Quihuata curu micushka.

Mana. Quihuata curumi micushka.

Mana. Quihuata curuga micushka.

A6: Mana. Quihuata micushka curu.

Mana. Quihuata micushka curumi.

Mana. Quihuata micushka curuga.

300) Q6: ¿Curu chulla-ta-chu micu-shka?

Worm corn cob-AC-Q eat-PROGR

‘Does the worm eat a corn cob?’

A:

A1: Mana. Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

Mana. Curu micu-shka quihua-ta-mi.

No. Worm-TOP eat-PROGR grass-AC-DE

Mana. Curu micu-shka quihua-ta-ga.

No. Worm-TOP eat-PROGR grass-AC-TOP

A2: Mana. Curu quihuata micushka.

Mana. Curu quihuatami micushka.

Mana. Curu quihuataga micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka curu quihuata.

Mana. Micushka curu quihuatami.

Mana. Micushka curu quihuataga.

A4: Mana. Micushka quihuata curu.

Mana. Micushka quihuatami curu.

Mana. Micushka quihuataga curu.

A5: Mana. Quihuata curu micushka.

Mana. Quihuatami curu micushka.

Mana. Quihuataga curu micushka.

A6: Mana. Quihuata micushka curu.

Mana. Quihuatami micushka curu.

Mana. Quihuataga micushka curu.

301) Q7: ¿Curu quihua-ta sarunacu-shka-n-chu?

Worm grass-AC stamp on-PROGR-3SG-Q

‘Does the worm stamp on the grass?’

A:

A1: Mana. Curu micu-shka quihua-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR grass-AC

‘The worm eats the grass.’

Mana. Curu micu-shka-mi quihua-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR-DE grass-AC

Mana. Curu micu-shka-ga quihua-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR-TOP grass-AC

A2: Mana. Curu quihuata micushka.

Mana. Curu quihuata micushkami.

Mana. Curu quihuata micushkaga.

A3: Mana. Micushka curu quihuata.

Mana. Micushkami curu quihuata.

Mana. Micushkaga curu quihuata.

A4: Mana. Micushka quihuata curu.

Mana. Micushkami quihuata curu.

Mana. Micushkaga quihuata curu.

A5: Mana. Quihuata curu micushka.

Mana. Quihuata curu micushkami.

Mana. Quihuata curu micushkaga.

A6: Mana. Quihuata micushka curu.

Mana. Quihuata micushkami curu.

Mana. Quihuata micushkaga curu.

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 5 of the fable in Appendix B.

302) Q1: ¿Ima-tag pasa-shka?

What-Q happen-PROGR

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

A2: Curu chuglluta micushka.

A3: Micushka curu chuglluta.

A4: Micushka chuglluta curu.

A5: Chuglluta curu micushka.

A6: Chuglluta micushka curu.

303) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-tag curu micu-shka?

What-AC-Q worm eat-PROGR

‘What does the worm eat?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta-m.

Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC-DE

Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta-ga.

Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC-TOP

A2: Curu chuglluta micushka.

Curu chugllutam micushka.

Curu chugllutaga micushka.

A3: Micushka curu chuglluta.

Micushka curu chugllutam.

Micushka curu chugllutaga.

A4: Micushka chuglluta curu.

Micushka chugllutam curu.

Micushka chugllutaga curu.

A5: Chuglluta curu micushka.

Chugllutam curu micushka.

Chugllutaga curu micushka.

A6: Chuglluta micushka curu.

Chugllutam micushka curu.

Chugllutaga micushka curu.

304) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-tag curu ruwa-shka?

What-AC-Q worm do-PROGR

‘What does the worm do?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

Curu micu-shka-mi chugllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-DE corn cob-AC

Curu micu-shka-ga chugllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR-TOP corn cob-AC

A2: Curu chuglluta micushka.

Curu chuglluta micushkami.

Curu chuglluta micushkaga.

A3: Micushka curu chuglluta.

Micushkami curu chuglluta.

Micushkaga curu chuglluta.

A4: Micushka chuglluta curu.

Micushkami chuglluta curu.

Micushkaga chuglluta curu.

A5: Chuglluta curu micushka.

Chuglluta curu micushkami.

Chuglluta curu micushkaga.

A6: Chuglluta micushka curu.

Chuglluta micushkami curu.

Chuglluta micushkaga curu.

305) Q4: ¿Ima-tag chugllu-ta micu-shka?

What-Q corn cob-AC eat-PROGR

‘What eats the corn cob?’

A:

A1: Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘The worm eats the corn cob.’

Curu-mi micu-shka chugllu-ta.

Worm-DE eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

Curu-ga micu-shka chugllu-ta.

Worm-TOP eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

A2: Curu chuglluta micushka.

Curumi chuglluta micushka.

Curuga chuglluta micushka.

A3: Micushka curu chuglluta.

Micushka curumi chuglluta.

Micushka curuga chuglluta.

A4: Micushka chuglluta curu.

Micushka chuglluta curumi.

Micushka chuglluta curuga.

A5: Chuglluta curu micushka.

Chuglluta curumi micushka.

Chuglluta curuga micushka.

A6: Chuglluta micushka curu.

Chuglluta micushka curumi.

Chuglluta micushka curuga.

306) Q5: ¿Ucucha-chu chugllu-ta micu-shka?

Rat-Q corn cob-AC eat-PROGR

‘Does the rat eat the corn cob?’

A:

A1: Mana. Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

Mana. Curu-mi micu-shka chugllu-ta.

No. Worm-DE eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

Mana. Curu-ga micu-shka chugllu-ta.

No. Worm-TOP eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

A2: Mana. Curu chuglluta micushka.

Mana. Curumi chuglluta micushka.

Mana. Curuga chuglluta micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka curu chuglluta.

Mana. Micushka curumi chuglluta.

Mana. Micushka curuga chuglluta.

A4: Mana. Micushka chuglluta curu.

Mana. Micushka chuglluta curumi.

Mana. Micushka chuglluta curuga.

A5: Mana. Chuglluta curu micushka.

Mana. Chuglluta curumi micushka.

Mana. Chuglluta curuga micushka.

A6: Mana. Chuglluta micushka curu.

Mana. Chuglluta micushka curumi.

Mana. Chuglluta micushka curuga.

307) Q6: ¿Curu quihua-ta-chu micu-shka?

Worm grass-AC-Q eat-PROGR

‘Does the worm eat the grass?’

A:

A1: Mana. Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

Mana. Curu micu-shka chuglluta-m.

No. Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC-DE

Mana. Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta-ga.

No. Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC-TOP

A2: Mana. Curu chuglluta micushka.

Mana. Curu chugllutam micushka.

Mana. Curu chugllutaga micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka curu chuglluta.

Mana. Micushka curu chugllutam.

Mana. Micushka curu chugllutaga.

A4: Mana. Micushka chuglluta curu.

Mana. Micushka chugllutam curu.

Mana. Micushka chugllutaga curu.

A5: Mana. Chuglluta curu micushka.

Mana. Chugllutam curu micushka.

Mana. Chugllutaga curu micushka.

A6: Mana. Chuglluta micushka curu.

Mana. Chugllutam micushka curu.

Mana. Chugllutaga micushka curu.

308) Q7: ¿Curu chugllu-ta sarunacu-shka-n-chu?

Worm corn cob-AC stamp on-PROGR-3SG-Q

‘Does the worm stamp on the grass?’

A:

A1: Mana. Curu micu-shka chugllu-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR corn cob-AC

‘No. The worm eats the corn cob.’

Mana. Curu micu-shka-mi chugllu-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR-DE corn cob-AC

Mana. Curu micu-shka-ga chugllu-ta.

No. Worm eat-PROGR-TOP corn cob-AC

A2: Mana. Curu chuglluta micushka.

Mana. Curu chuglluta micushkami.

Mana. Curu chuglluta micushkaga.

A3: Mana. Micushka curu chuglluta.

Mana. Micushkami curu chuglluta.

Mana. Micushkaga curu chuglluta.

A4: Mana. Micushka chuglluta curu.

Mana. Micushkami chuglluta curu.

Mana. Micushkaga chuglluta curu.

A5: Mana. Chuglluta curu micushka.

Mana. Chuglluta curu micushkami.

Mana. Chuglluta curu micushkaga.

A6: Mana. Chuglluta micushka curu.

Mana. Chuglluta micushkami curu.

Mana. Chuglluta micushkaga curu.

The following questions and answers correspond to picture 9 of the fable in Appendix B.

309) Q1: ¿Ima-tag pasa-shka?

What-Q happen-PROGR

‘What happens?’

A:

A1: Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm.’

A2: Pishcu curuta micushka.

A3: Micushka pishcu curuta.

A4: Micushka curuta pishcu.

A5: Curuta pishcu micushka.

A6: Curuta micushka pishcu.

310) Q2: ¿Ima-ta-tag pishcu micu-shka?

What-AC-Q bird eat-PROGR

‘What does the bird eat?’

A:

A1: Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm.’

Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta-m.

Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC-DE

Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta-ga.

Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC-TOP

A2: Pishcu curuta micushka.

Pishcu curutam micushka.

Pishcu curutaga micushka.

A3: Micushka pishcu curuta.

Micushka pishcu curutam.

Micushka pishcu curutaga.

A4: Micushka curuta pishcu.

Micushka curutam pishcu.

Micushka curutaga pishcu.

A5: Curuta pishcu micushka.

Curutam pishcu micushka.

Curutaga pishcu micushka.

A6: Curuta micushka pishcu.

Curutam micushka pishcu.

Curutaga micushka pishcu.

311) Q3: ¿Ima-ta-tag pishcu ruwa-shka?

What-AC-Q bird do-PROGR

‘What does the bird do?’

A:

A1: Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm.’

Pishcu micu-shka-mi curu-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-DE worm-AC

Pishcu micu-shka-ga curu-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR-TOP worm-AC

A2: Pishcu curuta micushka.

Pishcu curuta micushkami.

Pishcu curuta micushkaga.

A3: Micushka pishcu curuta.

Micushkami pishcu curuta.

Micushkaga pishcu curuta.

A4: Micushka curuta pishcu.

Micushkami curuta pishcu.

Micushkaga curuta pishcu.

A5: Curuta pishcu micushka.

Curuta pishcu micushkami.

Curuta pishcu micushkaga.

A6: Curuta micushka pishcu.

Curuta micushkami pishcu.

Curuta micushkaga pishcu.

312) Q4: ¿Ima-tag curu-ta micu-shka?

What-Q worm-AC eat-PROGR

‘What eats the worm?’

A:

A1: Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘The bird eats the worm.’

Pishcu-m micu-shka curu-ta.

Bird-DE eat-PROGR worm-AC

Pishcu-ga micu-shka curu-ta.

Bird-TOP eat-PROGR worm-AC

A2: Pishcu curuta micushka.

Pishcum curuta micushka.

Pishcuga curuta micushka.

A3: Micushka pishcu curuta.

Micushka pishcum curuta.

Micushka pishcuga curuta.

A4: Micushka curuta pishcu.

Micushka curuta pishcum.

Micushka curuta pishcuga.

A5: Curuta pishcu micushka.

Curuta pishcum micushka.

Curuta pishcuga micushka.

A6: Curuta micushka pishcu.

Curuta micushka pishcum.

Curuta micushka pishcuga.

313) Q5: ¿Cundur-chu curu-ta micu-shka?

Condor-Q worm-AC eat-PROGR

‘Does the condor eat the worm?’

A:

A1: Mana. Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

No. Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

Mana. Pishcu-m micu-shka curu-ta.

No. Bird-DE eat-PROGR worm-AC

Mana. Pishcu-ga micu-shka curu-ta.

No. Bird-TOP eat-PROGR worm-AC

A2: Mana. Pishcu curuta micushka.

Mana. Pishcum curuta micushka.

Mana. Pishcuga curuta micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka pishcu curuta.

Mana. Micushka pishcum curuta.

Mana. Micushka pishcuga curuta.

A4: Mana. Micushka curuta pishcu.

Mana. Micushka curuta pishcum.

Mana. Micushka curuta pishcuga.

A5: Mana. Curuta pishcu micushka.

Mana. Curuta pishcum micushka.

Mana. Curuta pishcuga micushka.

A6: Mana. Curuta micushka pishcu.

Mana. Curuta micushka pishcum.

Mana. Curuta micushka pishcuga.

314) Q6: ¿Ucucha-ta-chu pishcu micu-shka?

Rat-AC-Q bird eat-PROGR

‘Does the bird eat the rat?’

A:

A1: Mana. Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

No. Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

Mana. Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta-m.

No. Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC-DE

Mana. Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta-ga.

No. Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC-TOP

A2: Mana. Pishcu curuta micushka.

Mana. Pishcu curutam micushka.

Mana. Pishcu curutaga micushka.

A3: Mana. Micushka pishcu curuta.

Mana. Micushka pishcu curutam.

Mana. Micushka pishcu curutaga.

A4: Mana. Micushka curuta pishcu.

Mana. Micushka curutam pishcu.

Mana. Micushka curutaga pishcu.

A5: Mana. Curuta pishcu micushka.

Mana. Curutam pishcu micushka.

Mana. Curutaga pishcu micushka.

A6: Mana. Curuta micushka pishcu.

Mana. Curutam micushka pishcu.

Mana. Curutaga micushka pishcu.

315) Q7: ¿Pishcu curu-ta chayarighuan rimanacu-shka-n-chu?

Bird worm-AC greet-PROGR-3SG-Q

‘Does the bird greet the worm?’

A:

A1: Mana. Pishcu micu-shka curu-ta.

No. Bird eat-PROGR worm-AC

‘No. The bird eats the worm.’

Mana. Pishcu micu-shka-mi curu-ta.

No. Bird eat-PROGR-DE worm-AC

Mana. Pishcu micu-shka-ga curu-ta.

No. Bird eat-PROGR-TOP worm-AC

A2: Mana. Pishcu curuta micushka.

Mana. Pishcu curuta micushkami.

Mana. Pishcu curuta micushkaga.

A3: Mana. Micushka pishcu curuta.

Mana. Micushkami pishcu curuta.

Mana. Micushkaga pishcu curuta.

A4: Mana. Micushka curuta pishcu.

Mana. Micushkami curuta pishcu.

Mana. Micushkaga curuta pishcu.

A5: Mana. Curuta pishcu micushka.

Mana. Curuta pishcu micushkaga.

A6: Mana. Curuta micushka pishcu.

Mana. Curuta micushkami pishcu.

Mana. Curuta micushkaga pishcu.

APPENDIX D

RESULTS OF THE NATURALISTIC DATA

Table 35: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador⁸²

	Bolivia		Ecuador		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
SVO	357	77.6	269	80.5	626	78.8
SOV	4	0.9	5	1.5	9	1.1
OSV	6	1.3	4	1.2	10	1.3
OVS	38	8.3	22	6.6	60	7.6
VSO	4	0.9	8	2.4	12	1.5
VOS	51	11.1	26	7.8	77	9.7
	460		334		794	

A chi-square test shows that there is no significant difference between the simultaneous bilinguals from Bolivia and the sequential bilinguals from Ecuador (χ^2 (5, N=33) = 6.76, p = .2387).

⁸² Personal pronouns are not included in the results represented here.

Table 36: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia and Ecuador.

	Bolivia		Ecuador		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
VO	1166	82.6	896	80.1	2062	81.5
OV	245	17.4	223	19.9	468	18.5
	1411		1119		2530	

A chi-square test shows that there is no significant difference between the simultaneous bilinguals from Bolivia and the sequential bilinguals from Ecuador (χ^2 (1, N=33) = 2.72, p = .0988).

Table 37: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia, per group.

	Professional women		Non-professional women		Professional men		Non-professional men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
SVO	86	76.1	56	60.9	114	87	101	81.5
SOV	0	0	3	3.3	1	0.8	0	0
OSV	1	0.9	3	3.3	1	0.8	1	0.8
OVS	9	8	19	20.7	5	3.8	5	4
VSO	1	0.9	1	1.1	0	0	2	1.6
VOS	16	14.2	10	10.9	10	7.6	15	12.1
	113		92		131		124	

We do not have sufficient data in each cell to be able to do a chi-square test.

Table 38: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia, per group.

	Professional women		Non-professional women		Professional men		Non-professional men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
VO	307	87.2	233	67.5	301	88.5	325	86.9
OV	45	12.8	112	32.5	39	11.5	49	13.1
	352		345		340		374	

According to a chi-square test the difference between professional women and non-professional women is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=8) = 38.67, p < .0001$). The difference between professional men and non-professional men is not significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=8) = 0.44, p = .5085$), nor is the difference between professional women and professional men ($\chi^2 (1, N=8) = .28, p = .5971$). The difference between non-professional women and non-professional men is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=8) = 38.72, p < .0001$).

Table 39: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Ecuador, per group.

	Professional women		Non-professional women		Professional men		Non-professional men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
SVO	67	79.8	67	75.3	93	91.2	42	71.2
SOV	0	0	2	2.2	1	1	2	3.4
OSV	0	0	2	2.2	0	0	2	3.4
OVS	3	3.6	10	11.2	2	2	7	11.9
VSO	4	4.8	1	1.1	2	2	1	1.7
VOS	10	11.9	7	7.9	4	3.9	5	8.5
	84		89		102		59	

We do not have sufficient data in each cell to be able to do a chi-square test.

Table 40: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Ecuador, per group.

	Professional women		Non-professional women		Professional men		Non-professional men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
VO	249	89.9	216	68.8	244	84.7	187	77.9
OV	28	10.1	98	31.2	44	15.3	53	22.1
	277		314		288		240	

According to a chi-square test the difference between professional women and non-professional women is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=9) = 39.07, p < .0001$), as well as the difference between professional men and non-professional men ($\chi^2 (1, N=8) = 4.04, p = .0444$). The difference between professional women and professional men is not significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=8) = 3.39, p = .0654$). The difference between non-professional women and non-professional men is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=9) = 5.72, p = .0168$).

Table 41: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia, according to sex.

	Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%
SVO	142	69.3	215	84.3
SOV	3	1.5	1	0.4
OSV	4	2	2	0.8
OVS	28	13.7	10	3.9
VSO	2	1	2	0.8
VOS	26	12.7	25	9.8
	205		255	

We do not have sufficient data in each cell for a chi-square test.

Table 42: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia, according to sex.

	Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%
VO	540	77.5	626	87.7
OV	157	22.5	88	12.3
	697		714	

A chi-square test shows that the difference between the women and the men is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=16) = 25.58, p < .0001$).

Table 43: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia, according to educational level.

	Professionals		Non-professionals	
	N	%	N	%
SVO	200	82	157	72.7
SOV	1	0.4	3	1.4
OSV	2	0.8	4	1.9
OVS	14	5.7	24	11.1
VSO	1	0.8	3	1.4
VOS	26	10.7	25	11.6
	244		216	

We do not have sufficient data in each cell for a chi-square test.

Table 44: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Bolivia, according to educational level.

	Professionals		Non-professionals	
	N	%	N	%
VO	608	87.9	558	77.6
OV	84	12.1	161	22.4
	692		719	

A chi-square test reveals that the difference between the professionals and the non-professionals is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=16) = 25.84, p < .0001$).

Table 45: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Ecuador, according to sex.

	Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%
SVO	134	77.5	135	83.9
SOV	2	1.2	3	1.9
OSV	2	1.2	2	1.2
OVS	13	7.5	9	5.6
VSO	5	2.9	3	1.9
VOS	17	9.8	9	5.6
	173		161	

We do not have sufficient data in each cell for a chi-square test.

Table 46: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Ecuador, according to sex.

	Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%
VO	465	78.7	431	81.6
OV	126	21.3	97	18.4
	591		528	

A chi-square test shows that the difference between the women and the men is not significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=17) = 1.53, p = .2179$).

Table 47: Frequency of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VSO and VOS in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Ecuador, according to educational level.

	Professionals		Non-professionals	
	N	%	N	%
SVO	160	86	109	73.6
SOV	1	0.5	4	2.7
OSV	0	0	4	2.7
OVS	5	2.7	17	11.5
VSO	6	3.2	2	1.4
VOS	14	7.5	12	8.1
	186		148	

We do not have sufficient data in each cell for a chi-square test.

Table 48: Frequency of the orders VO and OV in the Andean Spanish naturalistic data from Ecuador, according to educational level.

	Professionals		Non-professionals	
	N	%	N	%
VO	493	87.3	403	72.7
OV	72	12.7	151	27.3
	565		554	

A chi-square test shows that the difference between the professionals and the non-professionals is significant ($\chi^2 (1, N=17) = 36.93, p < .0001$).

APPENDIX E

RESULTS OF ELICITATION STUDY 3: *WH*-QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Table 49: Acceptance rate of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, O clitic VS, VOS and VOS as answers to seven *wh*-questions for Standard Spanish (in percentages).

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
	sentence	focus	focus	focus	contrastive	contrastive	contrastive
	focus	on	on	on	focus on	focus on	focus on
		subject	VP	object	subject	object	VP
SVO	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SOV	11.7	6.7	18.3	11.7	8.3	8.3	13.3
OSV	3.3	11.7	8.3	15	8.3	18.3	6.7
OVS	8.3	6.7	6.7	41.7	8.3	40	3.3
OclVS	53.3	86.7	31.7	48.3	88.3	31.7	58.3
VSO	48.3	43.3	33.3	30	46.7	25	31.7
VOS	41.7	51.7	60	55	48.3	48.3	46.7

Table 50: Acceptance rate of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, O clitic VS, VOS and VOS as answers to seven *wh*-questions for Andean Spanish (in percentages).

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
	sentence	focus	focus	focus	contrastive	contrastive	contrastive
	focus	on	on VP	on	focus on	focus on	focus on
		subject		object	subject	object	VP
SVO	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
SOV	43.9	49.1	45.6	50.9	54.4	51.8	55.4
OSV	47.4	56.1	54.4	54.4	57.9	56.1	60.7
OVS	49.1	84.2	71.9	64.9	84.2	67.9	78.9
OclVS	52.6	87.7	75.4	75.4	87.5	78.6	71.4
VSO	49.1	56.1	66.7	68.4	73.2	69.6	67.9
VOS	59.6	70.2	75.4	64.9	66.1	69.6	66.1

Table 51: Acceptance rate of the orders SVO, SOV, OSV, OVS, VOS and VOS as answers to seven *wh*-questions for Quechua (in percentages).

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
	sentence	focus	focus	focus	contrastive	contrastive	contrastive
	focus	on	on VP	on	focus on	focus on	focus on
		subject		object	subject	object	VP
SVO	100	100	100	96.2	96	100	95.8
SOV	100	96.2	100	96.2	100	87.5	83.3
OSV	53.8	57.7	52	57.7	52	54.2	45.8
OVS	50	50	64	65.4	48	41.7	50
VSO	100	92.3	92	80.8	80	75	83.3
VOS	61.5	73.1	68	61.5	48	58.3	62.5