

## Give + gerund in Ecuadorian Spanish

A calque from Quichua or a large process of contact induced change?\*

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In this article, I will discuss the use and origin of the Ecuadorian Spanish verbal periphrasis *dar* ‘to give’ plus a gerund. This verbal periphrasis has a benefactive use. It is not known in other varieties of Spanish. In the past, linguists have interpreted the verbal periphrasis as a calque from the indigenous language Quichua<sup>1</sup>. However, there are clear indications that the benefactive verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund is more predominant in Spanish than in Quichua. In this article an alternative hypothetical development process is presented which is due to both external influences from Quichua and internal developments in Spanish.

### 1. Introduction

In Ecuadorian Spanish numerous innovations are found. One of these innovations is the use of the Spanish verb *dar* ‘to give’ in combination with the gerund. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the use of the combination *dar* + gerund:

- (1) Da-me llama-ndo un taxi.<sup>2</sup>  
Give-1SG:IO call-GER a taxi  
‘Please, call a taxi for me.’
- (2) La María<sup>3</sup> me va a dar hacie-ndo la manilla.  
The Mary 1SG:IO go to give make-GER the bracelet  
‘Mary is going to make the bracelet for me.’

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<sup>1</sup> Quichua is the Ecuadorian variety of Quechua.

<sup>2</sup> These cases were taken from the sample of spontaneous utterances of *dar* + gerund gathered during my fieldwork, Summer 2005.

<sup>3</sup> The names that were used in the corpus of spontaneous discourse were changed for privacy reasons.

This combination is part of an innovative set of verbal periphrases<sup>4</sup> consisting of an auxiliary verb and a gerund. Verbal periphrases consisting of an auxiliary and a gerund are frequently used in Ecuadorian Spanish and sometimes in other parts of the Andean region as well. This innovative richness has often been attributed to the linguistic situation of the region: in the Andes a wide-spread prolonged contact between Spanish and the indigenous language family, Quechua, exists. This linguistic situation has attracted much attention from linguists (among others Cerrón-Palomino 2003; Escobar 2000; Fernández Lávaque 1998; Granda Gutiérrez 2003; Haboud 1998; Olbertz & Muysken 2005), because of the different character of Andean Spanish with regard to standard Spanish.

The innovative verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund is particularly interesting, because it is used frequently in daily Ecuadorian Spanish and its use is widely spread through all facets of the population. Although social factors, such as the speaker's ethnic group (Hurley 1995b; Olbertz 2002), level of education, gender, age, social class, contact with Quichua and the communicative event and speech act<sup>5</sup>, might influence the frequency in which the speaker uses the verbal periphrasis, all speakers of Ecuadorian Spanish use *dar* + gerund at some point in their daily exchange.

Another interesting topic in the study of *dar* + gerund is its structural complexity (Olbertz 2002:1). The construction is structurally complex, because the auxiliary is originally a ditransitive verb. This topic will be discussed further on in this article. These two factors, (i.e. the frequent use of the construction and its structural complexity) may be part of the reason why this verbal periphrasis is also discussed in various other works (among others Albor 1973; Niño-Murcia 1995; Haboud 1997, 1998; Hurley 1992, 1995a,b; Lipski 1994; Olbertz 2002; Toscano Mateus 1953; Reino 1990).

A third remarkable topic with regard to *dar* + gerund is that it is not used in any other part of the Spanish speaking world besides the highlands of Ecuador. The question will be raised here, how this construction came into being. However, this is not the first article that deals with this question. Many previous articles have discussed the origin of this construction. All linguists attributed the existence of *dar* + gerund to the contact with Quichua, but there is still no clear answer as to how the construction developed. The description of this development would not only be interesting in relation to *dar* + gerund, it would also contribute to the discussion on the mechanisms behind contact induced language change. In this article, I will present a hypothetical development of the construction based on the analysis of synchronic data.

Before I come to this, I will first give a short overview of the background of language contact in which the construction emerged. In addition, I will discuss the structure of the verbal periphrasis and the functions of the construction in daily speech.

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<sup>4</sup> The term verbal periphrasis is used here in the Hispanic linguistic tradition. A verbal periphrasis is a grammaticalized combination of two verbs that together have a new productive meaning. The inflected verb has partly lost its meaning and has obtained some functions of an auxiliary. The infinite verb has maintained its meaning and can either be formed by the infinitive, participle or gerund. Nevertheless, the form of the infinite verb is fixed for every verbal periphrasis. Spanish has many different sorts of verbal periphrases. They may have aspectual, modal or temporal meanings: *acabó de llegar* (he/she has just arrived), *está bailando* (he/she is dancing), *voy a comer* (I am going to eat) etc. Because of the number and frequency of verbal periphrases in Spanish, there are many works on the topic (among others Fernández de Castro 1999; Olbertz 1998; Reese 1991).

<sup>5</sup> The terms *communicative event* and *speech act* are used following Duranti & Goodwin (1992) and Hymes (1972). The *communicative event* is the context in which an utterance is produced. Social differences, difference in age, atmosphere etc. might influence the choice of speech strategy. Some events might need a more polite strategy than others (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989). The term *speech act* was introduced by Austin (1962) and further developed by Searle (1976). The idea behind the term *speech act* is that every utterance has a function, such as to describe, request, offer, joke etc.

## 2. Language contact

Since the arrival of the Spanish to the Andes, almost 500 years ago, the Spanish language has been in contact with the Quechua language family. As a result many Ecuadorians are bilingual. This type of situation is also referred to as social bilingualism, in opposition to individual bilingualism (Weinreich 1953; Appel & Muysken 1996). Various scholars (among others Fishman 1972; Ferguson 1959) have made different classifications of bilingual groups, the best classification for the Ecuadorian situation is the one presented by Appel & Muysken (1996:10-11):

1. The society consists of two groups that both speak their own language and a few individuals take care of the communication between those two groups.
2. Most of the members of society are bilinguals.
3. Only a part of the whole population is bilingual. The bilinguals are often the lower classes.

It is very well possible that in different social situations of language contact different changes are found. The different effects of the various contact situations on languages are still unclear (among others Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 2005).

### 2.1. The Ecuadorian situation

The third category mentioned above describes the Ecuadorian situation best. Most Ecuadorians speak Spanish, some of which are bilingual in Quichua and Spanish. The Spanish monolinguals are mostly *mestizos*, i.e. the part of the population that is being thought of as having both Spanish and indigenous blood. The group of *mestizos* is the dominant group in Ecuadorian society; they have most of both political and economic power in the country. The bilinguals are mostly descendants of the indigenous people of Ecuador and belong to a minority group. Haboud (1998:44-46), in her work on the prolonged contact between Spanish and Quichua in Ecuador, gives as an explanation that the indigenous descendants and the *mestizos* traditionally do not live in mixed communities; *mestizos* normally live in the urban regions and the indigenous people live in rural communities. Still, the two groups are not isolated; *mestizos* and indigenous people meet in the markets and the indigenous people work for the *mestizos*. Some have moved out of their traditional living area, and members of both groups go to the same school etc.

The term *diglossia*, first presented by Ferguson (1959) and extended by Fishman (1972), describes the linguistic situation of the bilinguals best: Spanish is used in the public sphere and in official matters as well and therefore could be considered the *high* language within the diglossia theory. Quichua is the *low* language, and is used in the private sphere. Due to its lower status, Quichua is in constant danger of losing territory in favour of Spanish. Nevertheless, Quichua has already survived a long period of language endangerment and the language is still spoken as a first language by many people within rural communities. For instance, in the northern province Imbabura, where I conducted my research, 77.3 to 100% of the population of rural communities spoke Quichua as a first language in the 1990s (Büttner 1993:97).

Ninyoles (1975) described a situation with a dominant and a minority language as a situation of languages in conflict, when talking about the contact between Spanish and Catalan. According to Ninyoles, there are two solutions to this conflict situation:

*normalization* or *substitution*. Normalization is the situation in which speakers of the minority language maintain their own language and learn in addition the dominant language for the sake of communication. One can talk of substitution when minority language speakers shift to the dominant language.

In Ecuador the first process seems to have taken place: Quichua speakers have preserved their language until now and most of them learned Spanish as well. This preservation can be explained partially by the loyalty to the language. This loyalty is caused by the fact that Quichua is very important for the ethnic and cultural identity of the indigenous people (Haboud 1998:54-56). Chambers (2003:241-246) would call this *covert prestige*. Although Spanish is the prestige language in society, Quichua also maintains prestige for its speakers, due to its significance for the indigenous culture and their identity.

However, the fact that Quichua has been preserved for such a long time does not mean that the language will not be abandoned by its speakers in the future. Not all Quichua speakers speak Quichua as a first language; as Haboud (1998:52) states, there is a continuum of bilingualism in Ecuador: one can find a range from almost all monolinguals of Quichua, to speakers that only know a few words of Quichua. In the interviews held in this investigation, many indigenous informants said that parents often do not speak Quichua to their children. This explains why many of the younger indigenous generation do not speak Quichua, although they are still in direct contact with the language.

Dorian (1982) found a similar case of exposition to a language in East-Sutherland, Scotland. In this region some speakers understand Gaelic and take part in Gaelic conversations, but do not have a high proficiency in the language. Despite this, Dorian still considers them part of the Gaelic speech community. Dorian calls these members *semi-speakers*. It seems that in Ecuador this category, in the case of Quichua, is growing; there is a clear loss of the language. Nevertheless, these *semi-speakers* are still exposed to the indigenous language.

## 2.2. Language change in contact situations

The most striking characteristic of language contact situations is both the number and frequency of innovations that can be found within the languages in contact. Silva-Corvalán (2001:269) explains that a situation of language contact is the most favorable for language transformation and therefore changes tend to occur rapidly. Some changes in spoken language are only incidental, but others occur structurally and form part of the new variety of the language. This influence is called *interference* (among others Weinreich 1953:1) or *transfer* (among others Heath 1984; Romaine 1989; Silva-Corvalán 1995; Winford 2003). Many scholars (among others Romaine 1989:50; Silva-Corvalán 2001:269) consider interference incidental, whereas a transfer is a stabilized change in the language.

Change can occur at every level of the language: the phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax can all be influenced by another language. An example of phonological influence of Quichua on Spanish is the realization of the /f/ as [h<sup>w</sup>] by bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish; *familia* is pronounced as [h<sup>w</sup>amilia] (Lipski 1994:249). There is also lexical influence from Quichua on Spanish: words like *guagua* (small child), *ñaña* (sister) and *taita* (father) are also used by monolinguals of Spanish in Ecuador. The Quichua influence on morphology and syntax is less transparent and is harder to identify.

The influence of language contact is not always transparent. Transfer can be divided into direct and indirect transfer. The examples of phonological and lexical influence that were noted above are cases of direct influence of Quichua on Spanish. It is also possible that Quichua has an indirect influence on Spanish. Since it is not transparent, Heath (1984:367)

considers most of the morphological and syntactic transfers as indirect influence. Direct morphological transfer does not take place often, because it is hard to integrate foreign morphological material into a grammatical system. An example of direct syntactic transfer would be the borrowing of the word order from another language, but because this borrowing generally only takes place in a large process, it is also referred to as indirect transfer.

An example of indirect transfer is the change that occurred in the Ecuadorian clitic-pronoun system. In Ecuador the third person indirect object pronoun *le* is used much more frequently than the third person direct object pronoun *la/lo*, even if it refers to a direct object. García & Otheguy (1983) explain this by the fact that no gender exists in Quichua and due to this fact, speakers choose the neutral form which does not differentiate the gender *le*.

Another phenomenon that occurs in relation to pronominal clitics is the following. Pronominal clitics are often omitted in Ecuadorian Spanish. This seems to be an influence from Quichua; in Quichua direct and indirect objects are omitted when they can be deduced from the context. Ecuadorians also leave out direct and indirect objects in Spanish (Suñer & Yépez 1988). Martínez (2000), who studied the omission of clitics in the Argentinian Spanish-Quechua contact situation, shows that most clitics are used to refer to animate arguments and preferably humans.

Another indirect transfer from Quichua in Ecuadorian Spanish is the innovative use of the gerund (Haboud 1997, 1998; Niño-Murcia 1998; Toscano Mateus 1953). The gerund has obtained new functions in Ecuadorian Spanish. An example of this new use is presented below:

- (3) Vengo comie-ndo.  
Come:1SG eat-GER  
Ecuadorian Spanish: 'I come after having eaten.'  
Standard Spanish: 'I come while I am eating.'

In example (3), we see that the gerund, in this case, does not have a simultaneous meaning in Ecuadorian Spanish as is the case in standard Spanish; the new Ecuadorian meaning is that of consecutive action. This means that at the moment that the speaker stops eating, she/he will come. This use of the gerund was called *Ecuadorian gerundianism* by Niño-Murcia (1995:83).

The Ecuadorian gerundianism seems to be the result of Quichua transference according to various scholars (Haboud 1997, 1998; Niño-Murcia 1995; Toscano Mateus 1953). In Quichua a form exists which is similar to the gerund in Spanish: the suffix *-shpa*. This suffix is a part of a set of subordinate clause markers. Quichua has a switch reference system, wherein *-shpa* marks the predicate of a subordinate clause with the same subject as the main clause and *-jpi* marks the predicate of a subordinate clause with a different subject than the subject of the main clause. Cole (1982) gives the following examples to illustrate this:

- (4) Kitu-man chaya-shpa-mi rijisi-ta riku-rka-ni.  
Quito-to arrive-SUBCL:SS-EV acquaintance-ACC see-PAST-1SG  
'When I arrived in Quito, I saw my friend.' (Cole 1982:61)
- (5) Kito-man chaya-jpi-mi rijisi riku-wa-rka.  
Quito-to arrive-SUBCL:DS-EV acquaintance see-1SG:OBJ-PAST  
'When I arrived to Quito a friend saw me.' (Cole 1984:61)

The suffix *-shpa* and *-jpi* in example (4) and (5) both mark a consecutive action. The two suffixes are mostly interpreted as consecutive action markers. Only when an extra suffix *-ju* is

added or in few other occasions can the subordinate clause be interpreted as simultaneous with the main clause.

Although the gerund is not part of a set of switch-reference subordinate clause markers, it has a similar interpretation. The suffix *-shpa* in Quichua and the gerund in Spanish have similar functions. First of all, they are both markers of same subject subordinate clauses. Secondly, both forms are infinite. This similarity has probably led to the reinterpretation of the gerund as a consecutive-action marker. Haboud (1998:68) describes this type of structural transfer as the incorporation of the meaning of a form in one language, to a structurally similar form in another language: the gerund incorporated the consecutive meaning under influence of the temporal interpretation of the suffix *-shpa*, because the two forms are structurally similar.

There are also changes found in contact areas that are not cases of transference from the other language. Languages often undergo changes due to internal mechanisms that are caused by the process of second language learning. These mechanisms include *simplification*, *overgeneralization*, *expansion*, *analysis* (Silva-Corvalán 1995:5-12) or *analogy* (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006:23). The concepts *simplification* and *overgeneralization* are in some way related; if a form is overgeneralised, this leads to the simplification of the system. Martínez (2000) prefers to call this *expansion*, because the use of a form is expanded. The Ecuadorian gerundianism could also be seen as expansion of the gerund. It is in some way also a simplification; where in standard Spanish a subordinate clause with inflection should be used, it is sufficient for an Ecuadorian-Spanish speaker to use a gerund. *Analysis* (Silva-Corvalán 1995:5-12) is the process in which bilinguals prefer using analytic forms instead of the opaque synthetic forms. This also occurs in the process of second language acquisition. *Analogy* takes place when second language learners regularize a system; the number of exceptions is often reduced in contact situations.

All these processes are language internal processes, but may be the result of contact with other languages. It is important to remark, as Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006:9) do, that the boundaries between *transfer* and *internal change* through language contact, are not very clear-cut. The example of the Ecuadorian gerundianism might have both internal and external factors. Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006:9) call this *multiple causation*.

Many scholars (among others Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006; Haboud 1998; Heine & Kuteva 2005) identified an internal process that often occurs in contact situations: the process of grammaticalization. According to Aikhenvald (2000:1), the term grammaticalization 'includes the development of grammatical items out of lexical ones.' According to Haboud (1998:70) language contact situations can accelerate the process of grammaticalization. Because of language contact induced changes, other changes such as grammaticalization can rapidly emerge; one might call this the *snowball effect* of language contact. Grammaticalization consists of a few language internal processes: *semantic reduction*<sup>6</sup>, *expansion* and *recategorization*. The process of *semantic reduction* is the slow loss of semantic meaning of a morpheme (Bybee et al. 1994:5). *Expansion* refers to the use of the form in new contexts, as previously mentioned (Martínez 2000). *Recategorization* implies that the form loses its lexical category, such as verb, noun or adjective and obtains a morphemic function (Haboud 1997). Haboud (1998) concludes that due to the different processes within the process of grammaticalization, on the one hand, a form loses lexical complexity, but often gains functional complexity.

Grammaticalization in language contact situations can either take place in one language or can be a parallel development in the languages of contact. Heine & Kuteva (2005) mention the latter type under *replica grammaticalization*. Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006:23-24) call it

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<sup>6</sup> This process is also referred to as *bleaching* (Givón 1975), *desemanticalization* (Haboud 1997, 1998) and *erosion* (Heine & Reh 1984; Lehmann 1995).

*rarely induced grammaticalization*. If languages in contact develop in the same direction and begin to resemble each other structurally, one might deem this *convergence*. Gumperz & Wilson (1971) first used this term to describe the linguistic situation of the Indian village Kupwar. The languages there had converged so much that almost their entire structure was the same. In the long Ecuadorian period of language contact, it is quite possible that Spanish and Quichua also have converged partly, although the structures of the language are still very different.

It is also interesting to look at the directions of the language contact induced change. Haugen (1953) made the following claim:

‘It is the language of the learner that is influenced, not the language he learns. English is hardly influenced by the immigrant languages, but these are all influenced by English; in Latin America the Indian languages acquire material from Spanish, but Spanish shows very little influence from Indian.’ (Haugen 1953:370)

In many aspects, however, Haugen’s claim is not correct. We have already seen that second language learners do have influence on the language they learn; it probably depends on the quantity of second language learners as to whether their change has an influence on the learned language. We find too many changes in Ecuadorian Spanish to say that it is not influenced by Quichua. Granda Gutiérrez (2002:123-135) describes the change in the Spanish-Quechua contact-zone as a process of *successive bidirectional transfer*.

Haugen (1953) might have a point though, that there are more influences from Spanish on Quichua than the other way around. The reason for this is that Spanish is the official language and holds more prestige in Ecuador. Escobar (2000) also takes into account the prestige of the languages in contact. Because of the different levels of prestige, the two languages influence each other in another way. According to Thomason & Kaufmann (1988), we find two different types of influence: *proper borrowing* and *substratum transfer*. In the case of proper borrowing, a prestige language influences a minority language. In this type of situation, one first finds lexical transfer and after some time of contact, the language also borrows structural features. In the case of substratum transfer, the prestige language is influenced by the minority language. This process is just the opposite from proper borrowing: the prestige language first borrows structural features, which are not highly transparent influences of the minority. In the first stages, the speakers of the prestige language will resist using obvious minority language features. After some time their resistance might weaken, hence they will start using some direct transfer features. Therefore, it is possible that the direction of transfer influences the type of changes that are to be found in the languages. The attitude of the speakers toward a language might be a key-notion in language change within contact situations.

### 3. Characteristics of *dar + gerund*

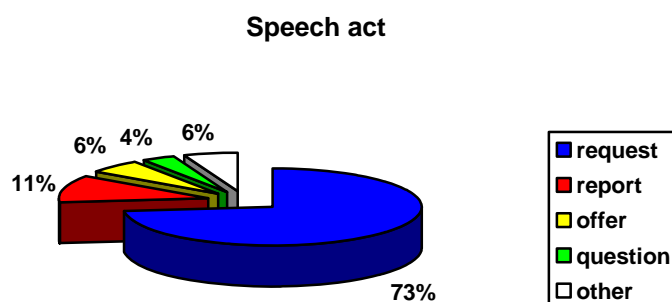
Before analysing the origin and development of the construction *dar + gerund*, it is important to examine the construction itself. Two aspects of the construction will be discussed. First of all, we will investigate when the construction is used and what functions the construction has in those contexts. Secondly, we will take a look at what the implications are of these functions for the structure of the construction. For the study of these two aspects, I will use both previous studies on the construction and the material gathered in my Ecuadorian fieldwork. The latter consists of questionnaires that were completed by 117 speakers of Ecuadorian Spanish, a sample of occurrences in natural discourse of the construction *dar + gerund* in

daily speech and meta-linguistic interviews on structural issues related to the construction. The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part was a production test, in which the informant was presented 32 contexts. An example of a question is: *A mother offers her son to iron his trousers, what would she say?* This question provokes the informant to produce an offer. The second part of the questionnaire asked the informants to give their linguistic intuitions on sentences with *dar* + gerund. Different linguistic factors were tested, such as the use of either intransitive or transitive verbs, the number of arguments, the location and omission of the indirect object governed by *dar* arguments and the use of different finite verb forms.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.1. Functions of *dar* + gerund

In examples (1) and (2) in the introduction, some instances of the construction *dar* + gerund were already presented. The first example illustrates the use of *dar* + gerund in requests. Hurley (1992, 1995a,b) studied the construction within the context of this type of speech act. Other scholars (Albor 1975; Bustamante-López & Niño-Murcia 1995; Kany 1951; Niño-Murcia 1992, 1995; Toscano Mateus 1953:287) also associated the *dar* + gerund with requests or orders. The reason that the construction is associated with requests probably is that the majority of *dar* + gerund in the sample of occurrences in natural discourse is a request. This is shown in figure 1.

Figure 1. Speech acts of the instances of *dar* + gerund in the sample of natural discourse, expressed in percentages



In figure 1, we can observe that almost three quarters of the instances of *dar* + gerund in our sample of natural discourse are requests. In the various articles on the construction, an explanation is given for this; a function of *dar* + gerund softens the request hence making it more polite. The verb form in which *dar* appears in requests is mostly some form of the imperative. When this form is combined with *dar* + gerund the request is less direct and therefore more polite.

Nevertheless, Haboud (1998:216) states that there are no restrictions with respect to the use of tense or mood in the construction and as we can see in figure 1, the construction is not only used in requests. Therefore, the softening and added politeness is probably not the only function of the construction. Another function of the construction, mentioned by Hurley (1992, 1995a,b), Niño-Murcia (1992) and Olbertz (2002), is the expression of an offer. To illustrate this function an example is presented below:

<sup>7</sup> All the factors were analyzed in my MA-thesis, but they do not all attribute to a better understanding of the construction *dar* + gerund and to the description of its origin. Therefore, they will not all be included in this article.

- (6) ¿Te doy plancha-ndo el pantalón?  
 2SG:IO give:1SG iron-GER the trousers  
 ‘Shall I iron your trousers for you?’

In example (6), the action of ironing is presented as a favour that the speaker offers to do for his/her interlocutor. This was a regularly occurring answer in the context of the mother offering to iron her son’s trousers. Many informants confirmed that the construction *dar + gerund* has a favourable function in fieldwork conversations.

Another function, which is mentioned by Haboud (1997, 1998), Niño-Murcia (1992) and Toscano Mateus (1953), is related to the expression of favour; the construction also expresses that the action is done by another person instead. In (6), the ironing of the trousers is done by the mother instead of the interlocutor. In the results of the production tests an indication of this kind of function can be found. One of the variables in the production tests included how in the context the person profiting from the action was expressed. The beneficiary was either expressed by an indirect object, a prepositional phrase with *para* (for), a prepositional phrase with *en vez de* (instead of) or it was not expressed overtly. The variable in the production test in which *en vez de* was used, was very important for the functional interpretation of the construction. If in the cases in which the beneficiary was expressed with *en vez de* the construction was used more, that would indicate clearly that the expression of doing something instead of another person is a main function of the construction. The results of this test are presented in the table below:

Table 1. The distribution of the use of *dar + gerund* in contexts with different beneficiary expressions in the production tests of the questionnaire

Beneficiary	Beneficiary is combined with <i>dar + gerund</i>	Total
IO	934 56,2%	1663 100%
<i>para</i>	199 49,6%	401 100%
<i>en vez de</i>	71 76,3%	93 100%
covert	373 48,0%	777 100%
Total	1577 53,7%	2934 100%

In table 1, it is shown in how many occurrences of each beneficiary expression we find *dar + gerund*. From this table it can be observed that the construction *dar + gerund* was in terms of percentage most often used in contexts in which the beneficiary was expressed by a prepositional phrase *en vez de*; in 76.3% of all cases, whereas in the other contexts the informants used *dar + gerund* only in between 48% and 56.2% of the cases. The difference between the percentage of *dar + gerund* in contexts with *en vez de* and the percentages of its use with the other beneficiary expressions is statistically significant ( $\chi^2 = 0.278$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p = 0.598$ ). Therefore, it seems that the meaning of *in stead of* is a main function of the construction.

The last function of the construction can be deduced from the other functions and is the most abstract; the construction introduces a beneficiary to the action. This function has been

described by other scholars as well (Bustamante-López & Niño-Murcia 1995; Haboud 1997, 1998; Hurley 1995a,b; Niño-Murcia 1992; Olbertz 2002). If one looks at example (6) we are able to see that the indirect object of the verb *dar*, which, in this case, is *te* and therefore the interlocutor, is the person that benefits from the action: he is the beneficiary. This seems to be another important function of the construction *dar* + gerund; in almost every case a beneficiary can be isolated from the utterance.

In summary, we have seen that the main functions of the construction *dar* + gerund are the addition of politeness in requests, the expression of favour and the meaning *instead of* and the introduction of a beneficiary. Not all of these functions are as predominant in every context. Already it has been mentioned that the addition of politeness is only relevant for requests, i.e. in other contexts it is not considered more polite to use this construction. In other contexts, it is not possible to say that someone does the action instead of another person. An example of this is presented in (7):

- (7) Da-me            pasa-ndo    el pan.  
       Give-1SG:OI   pass-GER   the bread  
       ‘Please, pass me the bread.’ / ‘Please, pass the bread to someone else for me.’

Similar cases to example (7) are regularly uttered during meals. This example can be interpreted in two ways: either the bread should be passed to the speaker, or the speakers ask his/her interlocutor to pass the bread to another person. This person is not overtly expressed, but is to be understood from the context. The second interpretation shows a clear *instead of*-meaning. In the first interpretation, however, the interlocutor cannot pass the bread instead of the speaker to the speaker him/herself. We can still understand the expression of favor and the introduction of a beneficiary in example (7).

Toscano Mateus (1953) presents an example in which it is hard to identify any of the above described functions:

- (8) Pedro me        dio                    daña-ndo    el reloj.  
       Pedro 1SG:IO give:3SG:PERF   break-GER the watch  
       ‘Pedro broke my watch.’ (Toscano Mateus 1953:284)

As for the addition of politeness, example (8) is a report of information; it is not necessary to add an extra level of politeness. The other functions are also not clearly presented. To break one’s watch can, in most circumstances, not be interpreted as a favour. It is even less believable that Pedro broke the watch instead of the speaker, because the speaker most likely had no intention of breaking the watch. Finally, the speaker does not benefit from the action of breaking the watch. The only way this use of the construction can be interpreted is, that the speaker uses it to express that she/he is affected by the action of breaking the watch. Contexts like these are very rare and most of my informants did not accept this use of the construction. One informant stated that he could only use this example, if he wanted Pedro to break his watch. For him the function of expressing a favour was crucial to the use of the construction. To conclude, *dar* + gerund is in most cases used for various reasons, affectivity and favour seem to play a significant role in the selection of the construction.

### 3.2. The structure of *dar* + gerund

Another interesting aspect of the construction is its structure. In the introduction it was already mentioned that *dar* + gerund is a verbal periphrasis (see Olbertz 2002). This means

that *dar* together with the gerund has grammaticalized and the combination of the two developed new functions. These functions of *dar* + gerund were described above. Haboud (1997) describes this grammaticalization process as the process of clause union, which will be discussed later.

*Dar* has only partly been grammaticalized; it still maintains an important function of its original ditransitive character, that is, it governs an indirect object. One can draw this conclusion from the following examples:

(9) Yo                    le    di                            escribie-ndo    la carta.  
1SG:SUBJ 3SG:IO give:1SG:PERF write-GER    the letter.  
'I wrote the letter for him/her.' (Toscano Mateus 1953: 284)

(10) Da-me                    baja-ndo    una cobija.  
Give:IMP-1SG:IO lower-GER a blanket.  
'Please, get a blanket for me from upstairs.' (Haboud 1998:215)

In example (9) and (10), the indirect object *le* and *me* appear just before or just after the inflected form of *dar*. In Spanish, a clitic pronoun can also follow the gerund, but in the case of *dar* + gerund that is not possible. This is shown in example (9a) and (10a):

(9) a. \*Yo                    di                            escribié-ndo-le    la carta.  
1SG:SUBJ give:1SG:PERF write-GER-3SG:IO the letter

(10) a. ??Da                    baja-ndo-me                    una cobija.  
Give:IMP lower-GER-1SG:IO a blanket

In example (9a), it is ungrammatical to place the indirect object adjacent to the verb and in (10a) it is at the very least odd. In our sample of *dar* + gerund in natural discourse, the indirect object was found adjacent to the gerund only once. In the intuition tests, informants accepted the contexts with the indirect object following the gerund significantly less than the contexts in which it occurred together with *dar*. This is a clear indication that this indirect object is governed by *dar*.

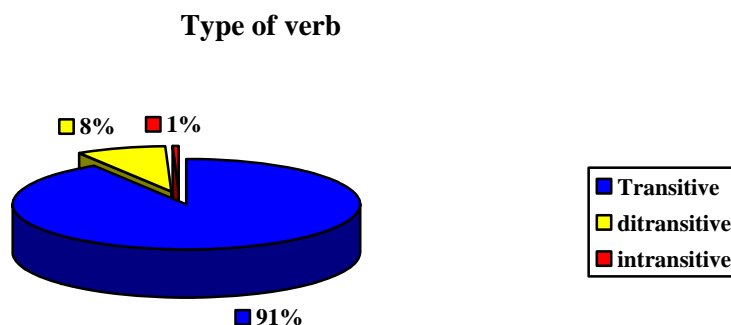
Other scholars also found that the beneficiary indirect object always occurs together with *dar* (Haboud 1998; Niño-Murcia 1992, 1995; Olbertz 2002). Niño-Murcia (1995) claims that this characteristic is exotic for the standard Spanish system. According to her, this shows either the archaic character of Ecuadorian Spanish or the influence of Quichua on Spanish. When discussing the origin of the construction, another view on this characteristic will be presented.

In the case of the verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund the indirect object is not the recipient of an inanimate object, but it is the beneficiary or recipient of the action that is expressed by the gerund. *Dar* no longer governs an inanimate direct object and the gerund therefore seems to have taken its place. This became clear when a few informants were asked, what was given (*¿Qué es lo que se da?*) after they had used *dar* + gerund. They answered the question with the gerund they had used just before.

The fact the gerund can also govern one or two arguments makes the construction even more complex. The quantity of arguments governed by the whole construction can increase to four when the gerund is a ditransitive verb, i.e. the subject of the construction, the indirect object of *dar*, the direct object of the gerund and the indirect object of the gerund. Some scholars (Hurley 1995a; Niño-Murcia 1992) found that it is impossible to use an intransitive verb in the form of the gerund within the construction. Nevertheless, other scholars (Haboud

1998; Olbertz 2002) have found examples in which an intransitive verb is used. In my sample of instances of the construction in natural discourse, there were also some intransitive verbs. This is shown in the figure below:

Figure 2. The types of verbs used as gerund in the sample of occurrences of *dar* + gerund in natural discourse, expressed in percentages



In figure 2, we can see that transitive verbs occurred most frequently. In less than ten percent, we found other types of verbs. The majority of these cases were ditransitive verbs. One explanation of the minor use of ditransitive verbs compared to transitive verbs is that in natural discourse, far more transitive verbs are used. Nevertheless, it could also have to do with the origin of the construction. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Only six cases contained an intransitive verb. Although only a few intransitive verbs are used, this shows that intransitive verbs may be used in combination with the construction. The reason that the gerund in the construction *dar* + gerund can only be expressed by an intransitive verb in very few occasions seems to have a semantic background. It seems to be important that, when an intransitive verb is used, the subject should be able to carry out the action instead of the beneficiary. This will be illustrated by the following example. The example uttered by a girl is better understandable if the context is explained. She has an uncle that is professor at a university. She explains that her uncle is going to speak to the university secretary, so that one of her friends will be able to take courses in the afternoon, instead of at night. The girl's words are presented in the following example:

- (11) Mi tío        le        va a dar    habla-ndo.  
 My uncle    3SG:OI go to give    speak-GER  
 'My uncle is going to speak for him.'

In example (11), we see that the intransitive verb *hablar* 'to speak' is used in the function of gerund. In interviews, informants pointed out that normally it is not possible to use *hablar* in combination with *dar* + gerund, because one cannot always talk instead of some else. The informants explained that it is not plausible to look into the thoughts of the other person and therefore one does not know what she/he wants to say. Nevertheless, in this case because the friend has expressed his wishes, the uncle is able to speak instead of the friend. The uncle is more likely to achieve what the friend wants, because, as a professor, the uncle has more influence.

Intuition tests demonstrated that intransitive verbs are rarely accepted in combination with the construction *dar* + gerund. The results are presented in the following table:

Table 2. The grade of acceptance with respect to the type of verb in the form of a gerund

Verb type	Accepted	Total
Intransitive	31 4,5%	693 100%
Transitive	2227 61,8%	3605 100%
Ditransitive	702 46,5%	1510 100%
Total	2960 51,0%	5808 100%

In table 2 we can see that the contexts with intransitive verbs were accepted by very few informants (4,5%). The difference between the intransitive verbs and other verbs is significant ( $\chi^2 = 680.568$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). The difference between the grade of acceptance of transitive and ditransitive verbs is also significant ( $\chi^2 = 101.602$ ;  $df = 1$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ). The lower grade of acceptance of ditransitive verbs might have to do with the complexity of the contexts. In the meta-linguistic interviews, informants explained that contexts with four overt arguments (the subject, the indirect object governed by *dar*, the direct object governed by the gerund and the indirect object of the gerund) are more difficult to understand. Nevertheless, 46.5% of the contexts with ditransitive verbs were still accepted.

The contexts with intransitive verbs, on the other hand, were only accepted in a very small number. In the interviews, the informants made it clear that the contexts with intransitive verbs are not possible. This will be explained using the intransitive contexts from the intuition test:

(12) \*Da-me camina-ndo.  
Give-1SG:IO walk-GER  
'Please, walk for me.'

(13) \*Da-me llora-ndo.  
Give-1SG:IO cry-GER  
'Please, cry for me.'

(14) \*Da-me comie-ndo.  
Give-1SG:IO eat-GER  
'Please, eat for me.'

According to the informants, *caminar*, *llorar* and *comer* cannot be used in combination with *dar* + gerund, but not because the verbs do not govern any arguments. The reason that was given in the interviews is that it was hard to imagine that the three actions are done as a favour or instead of someone else. This also applies to verbs like *salir* 'to go out', *estar* 'to be', *ir* 'to go', but also transitive verbs such as *conocer* 'to know', *saber* 'to know'. These types of verbs were not found in our sample of natural discourse. Therefore, the meaning *instead of* and *favour* seem to have implications for the verbs that can be used as gerund in the construction. Still, it is quite possible that this is not the only reason why intransitive verbs are used so little in the function of gerund in the construction. Another reason might be found in the origin of the construction which will be discussed in section 4.

The most complex appearance of the construction *dar* + gerund, when it comes to

arguments, is when the gerund is expressed by a ditransitive verb, as mentioned before. In that case, the entire construction governs four arguments. Utterances with a ditransitive verb in the form of the gerund and four overt arguments do not often occur. In our corpus of natural discourse, some examples can be found. One of these examples is presented in (15):

- (15) Yo le doy entrega-ndo la revista a la María.  
 1SG:SUBJ 2SG:IO give:1SG hand in-GER the magazine to the Mary  
 ‘I will hand the magazine to Mary for you.’

In example (15), there are four arguments: the subject *yo*, the beneficiary indirect object *le*, which is the polite form for the second person indirect object, the direct object *la revista* and finally the indirect object *a la María*, which is governed by the gerund.

Not all arguments of the construction are always overtly expressed. We already saw that direct and indirect objects are often omitted in Andean Spanish (Argüello 1983; Martínez 2000; Suñer & Yépez 1988). In all varieties of Spanish it is common to omit the subject. In the case of the verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund, we also found that arguments are omitted, but some arguments are omitted more often than others. These differences are presented in table 3:

Table 3. The expression or omission of the different arguments in the corpus of natural discourse

Argument	Argument is expressed	Total
IO of <i>dar</i>	897 95,2%	942 100%
DO	461 49,3%	936 100%
IO of the gerund	56 67,5%	83 100%

The number of cases per argument type differs, because the gerund is formed by different types of verbs. Only a ditransitive gerund, for example, can have an indirect object. The indirect object of *dar* is omitted the least. This could be caused by the fact that the construction is used to introduce the benefactive element, which is the indirect object of *dar*. The direct object is omitted most often. If the direct object is clear from the context, it is not necessary to express it. The direct object was only in a few cases expressed as a clitic. This was mostly the case when the referent was human. The indirect object of the gerund is also omitted when its identity is clear from the context. It is omitted less frequently than the direct object, because the indirect object has normally a human referent and therefore is often expressed by a clitic.

The fact that the arguments governed by *dar* + gerund are often omitted, might have to do with the complexity of the construction. Because the construction can govern up to four arguments, Ecuadorian Spanish speakers might omit some of the arguments more often. In interviews concerning the expression of arguments, the informants declared that when some arguments are omitted, the sentence is less complex and thereby more comprehensible. Therefore, it is possible that in the context of the construction *dar* + gerund, more arguments are omitted than in other contexts. However, this is still to be investigated.

#### 4. Borrowing or evolution?

It has been stated that the construction *dar* + gerund is not part of the standard Spanish system. Many linguists (among others Hurley 1995a,b; Kany 1951; Toscano Mateus 1953) attribute the existence of the construction to the existence of a similar construction in Quichua: *-shpa + cuna*. In (16), an example of this construction is presented and in (17) the Spanish counterpart is shown:

(16) Tanda-ta      apamu-shpa      cu-hua-i.      (Niño-Murcia: 1995:90)  
 Bread-ACC    get- SUBCL:SS    give-1SG:IO-IMP  
 ‘Please, get the bread for me.’

(17) Da-me            traye-ndo    el pan.  
 Give-1SG:IO    get-GER    the bread  
 ‘Please, get the bread for me.’

In example (16) and (17), we find very similar constructions respectively in Quichua and in Spanish. First of all, in both examples, an equivalent of the imperative form of *to give* (*cuy* in (16) and *da* in (17)) is used as an auxiliary verb. Another similarity is the use of an infinite verb as the main verb in the clause. We already saw that the Quichua subordinate clause marker *-shpa* and the Ecuadorian Spanish gerund are very similar and can often be interpreted in the same way (see section 2.2). Another similarity in example (16) and (17) is the fact that the beneficiary of the action is expressed by the indirect object of *to give*: the clitic for first person singular indirect object (the clitic *hua* in (16) and the clitic *me* in (17)). Both *apamuna* and *traer* ‘to get’ govern the direct object *bread* (*tanda* plus the direct object marker *-ta* in (16) and *el pan* in (17)).

Therefore, it is quite understandable that many linguists (Albor 1973; Hurley 1995a,b; Kany 1951; Toscano Mateus 1953) interpreted the construction *dar* + gerund as a calque from Quichua. Nevertheless, there are various indications that the construction was not literally translated from Quichua. These indications show that it is more likely that the construction developed in a prolonged bidirectional process of morpho-syntactic transfer, as was suggested by Haboud (1998) and Olbertz (2002).

##### 4.1. Quichua or Spanish structure?

An important reason why linguists interpret the construction *dar* + gerund as a calque of the Quichua construction *-shpa + cuna* is that it does not exist in any other variety of Spanish except in Ecuador. However, the Quichua construction *-shpa + cuna* is also only used in the Ecuadorian variety, as Olbertz (2002) observes. This implies that the construction is not a typical Quichua construction either.

Another indication of the rareness of this construction in the Quechua language family, is that bilingual speakers of Quichua and Spanish use the construction *-shpa + cuna* more than Quichua-speakers with little contact with Spanish (Hurley 1992; Olbertz 2002). The monolingual speakers of Quichua have another strategy instead of *-shpa + cuna*; they use the suffix *-pa*:

(18) Apa-mu-pa-y.  
 Get-DIR-BEN-IMP  
 ‘Could you please get it (for me).’ (Taylor 1982:60).

According to Haboud (1998:219-222) *-pa* has the same functions as the construction *dar + gerund*: *favour, instead of*, increasing politeness and introduction of the beneficiary.

Another indication in favour of the hypothesis that the construction is not originally Quichua was presented by Haboud (1998). She states that that the structure is not common in Quichua. Quichua does not have many auxiliary verbs in combination with infinite verbs. Normally, when a verb is nominalized, it can be used as an argument of the conjugated verb, adding a case marker. The suffix *-shpa* is not a nominalizing suffix, and there is no case marking suffix added either. The suffix *-shpa* marks, as said before, the predicate of a subordinate clause. There are no other attestations of the use of the verb *cuna* as an auxiliary verb. Therefore, it is very remarkable that a verbal periphrasis such as *-shpa + cuna* is used in Quichua.

In Spanish, on the other hand, it is very normal to use verbal periphrases. There are many verbal periphrases formed by an auxiliary verb and a gerund in standard Spanish. Examples (19) and (20) illustrate this point:

(19) Estoy        canta-ndo.  
       Be:1SG     sing-GER  
       ‘I am singing.’

(20) Sigue        busca-ndo        las llaves.  
       Continue:3SG look for-GER    the keys  
       ‘S/he keeps looking for the keys.’

Both *estar + gerund* and *seguir + gerund* are verbal periphrases that are frequently used in all varieties of everyday Spanish. Therefore, the structure of the construction *dar + gerund* does not seem to be exotic.

Nevertheless, Niño-Murcia (1995:90-91) presents an indication of the Quichua origin of the construction *dar + gerund*; the position of the clitic within the auxiliary verb and the gerund, when the imperative is used:

(21) Da-me        dicie-ndo.  
       Give-1SG:IO say-GER  
       ‘Please say it for me.’ (Niño-Murcia 1995:91).

According to Niño-Murcia (1995:90-91) the position of *-me* in example (21) is an indication of the Quichua origin or of the use of archaic Spanish. However, there are examples in standard Spanish in which the clitic is positioned between the auxiliary verb and the infinite verb. To illustrate this, the structure of *dar + gerund* will be compared to that of the causative verbal periphrasis *hacer + infinitive* in the following examples:

(22) Me        da        vendie-ndo    el libro    a la María.  
       1SG:IO give:3SG sell-GER    the book to the Mary  
       ‘(S)he sells the book to Mary for me.’ (Haboud 1998:216).

(23) Le        hago        vender    el libro    a María.  
       3SG:IO make:1SG sell:INF the book    to Mary  
       ‘I make him/her sell the book to Mary.’

In both examples (22) and (23), we find an auxiliary verb which governs an argument: in

example (22) *da* governs the indirect object *me* and in (23) *hago* governs the indirect object *le*. Both examples have the ditransitive verb *vender* ‘to sell’ as infinite verbs. Therefore, both predicates govern four arguments each. Another similarity is that in both constructions, the indirect object of the auxiliary verb is grouped together with the auxiliary verb. This is illustrated in example (22a) and (23a):

- (22) a. Da-me                      vendie-ndo    el libro      a la María.  
           Give:IMP-1SG:IO    sell-GER      the book    to the Mary  
           ‘Please, sell the book to Mary for me.’
- (23) a. Hága-le                    vender    el libro      a María.  
           Make:IMP-3SG:IO    sell:INF    the book    to Mary  
           ‘Make him/her sell the book to Mary!’

In Spanish, clitics are placed behind the imperative that governs it. Because in both (22a) and (23a) an imperative is used as an auxiliary verb, the indirect object which it governs is placed after the auxiliary. Example (23a) is perfectly acceptable in standard Spanish.

Therefore, it is not the structure of *dar* + gerund that is exotic in Spanish; it is only the combination and the newly obtained functions that are exotic in standard Spanish. In the Quechua language family, however, the structure is unique. That is, in the Quechua family, semantic elements are normally expressed by suffixes. Because of the fact that verbal periphrases are common in Spanish and not in Quichua, one might argue that the structure is more Spanish than Quichua. Therefore, it does not seem probable that the construction *dar* + gerund is a calque from Quichua.

#### 4.2. A possible process of grammaticalization of the construction

If *dar* + gerund is not a calque from Quichua, one would like to know how the construction came into existence at all. To be able to discuss an alternative hypothetical development of the construction, the example of the Quichua construction *-shpa* + *cuna* should be taken into account once more:

- (16) Tanda-ta      apamu-shpa      cu-hua-i.  
       Bread-ACC    get-SUBCL:SS    give-1SG:IO-IMP  
       ‘Please, get the bread for me.’  
       ‘Give the bread to me after getting it for me.’ (Niño-Murcia 1995:90)

Example (16) has two possible translations, as shown above. The first translation of the combination of *-shpa* + *cuna* was already presented in the previous section, and is parallel to the translation of *dar* + gerund in Ecuadorian Spanish; the Quichua combination is a verbal periphrasis with the same functions as the Spanish periphrasis. Nevertheless, as was already mentioned above, verbal periphrases are not common whatsoever in the Quechua language family. In the second translation of example (16) the combination of *-shpa* + *cuna* is not interpreted as a verbal periphrasis; *cuhuai* (give me) is the predicate of the main clause and *apamushpa* (get) is the predicate of a temporal subordinate clause. The Quichua equivalent of *to give*, *cuna*, maintains its meaning of *handing over* and the combination has not grammaticalized. The Quichua word for *bread*, *tandata*, is in this interpretation the direct object of both the action of *giving* and *getting*; it is not necessary to express the direct object overtly in the main clause, because it is already clear from the subordinate clause that *the*

*bread* is the direct object of *cuhuai*.

In the past, bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish started using the gerund in Spanish, due to the process analogy of the subordinate clause marker *-shpa* in Quichua. This was described above as the Ecuadorian gerundianism; the gerund does not only have a simultaneous meaning, but also obtains a consecutive meaning. Example (3) is repeated here to illustrate this.

- (3) Vengo comie-ndo.  
 Come:1SG eat-GER  
 Ecuadorian Spanish: ‘I come after having eaten.’  
 Standard Spanish: ‘I come while I am eating.’

The action expressed by the gerund occurs before the action of the main clause. It is probable that this perfective use of the gerund, as Haboud (1998:205-209) calls it, was also introduced for the verb *dar*. Verbs like *venir* ‘to come’, *ir* ‘to go’ and *llegar* ‘to arrive’ are still used in the original perfective way. The combination of *dar* and the perfective gerund, however, changed in function and meaning. The question arises then, why in the case of *dar* these changes have taken place.

A probable answer can be found in the complexity of the arguments that are governed by *dar* and the gerund. That is, a verb like *venir* is intransitive and, therefore, has only its subject as an argument. The verb *dar*, on the other hand, governs not only a subject, but also two internal arguments. When using the verb *dar* in combination with the perfective gerund, the direct object did not have to be expressed twice. As we have seen before, it is quite common in Ecuadorian Spanish to omit arguments due to Quichua influence. An example of this perfective use of the gerund in combination with *dar* is shown in (24):

- (24) Da-me Ø traye-ndo el pan.  
 Give-1SG:IO DO get-GER the bread  
 ‘Give (it) to me after getting the bread.’

In the Spanish example (24) it is not very clear that *the bread* is not only the direct object of *getting*, but also of the action of *giving*, as would be the case in Quichua. This confusion is due to the fact that the only place where the direct object of *dar* can appear in Spanish is empty under the influence of Quichua. Because of the confusion about the direct object, the gerund could take the empty place of the direct object and be reanalyzed as the direct object of *dar*, as is shown in example (24a):

- (24) a. Da-me Ø traye-ndo el pan.
- 

In (24a) the given entity is not *the bread* any more, but the action of *getting the bread*. The process of reinterpretation of the gerund as the direct object of *dar* is called *clause union*: a main clause with a predicate and *dar* plus a subordinated clause, formed by the gerund becomes one verbal periphrasis, that is, one clause. This whole process can be described as a type of grammaticalization.

This grammaticalization process could only occur in combination with the reinterpretation of the meaning of *dar*. Haboud (1998) presents a condition under which this change could have taken place. It is the influence of the meaning of the suffix *-pa*, which, as we have seen, shares all the functions of *dar* + gerund. It seems to be the case that bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish started using the construction *dar* + gerund in Spanish to express the functions that

*-pa* has in Quichua. The fact that *dar* was used is not strange, because, like *-pa*, it introduces a beneficiary of the action.

The idea that the function of a form in a language, in this case *-pa*, influences the development of a new form in another language is not new. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf 1956) already implied that a language system influences the way the world is interpreted. When speakers of one language learn a new language, they will use the new system to express their way of interpreting the world; they might develop new characteristics to express non-existing functions in the new acquired language. In the case of *dar* + gerund, it seems that the learners of Spanish, of Quichua origin, used a common Spanish form to express the functions of *-pa*: they used a verbal periphrasis. This means that the verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund started to carry out functions in Ecuadorian Spanish that already existed in Quichua in the form of the suffix *-pa*.

This development can also explain why intransitive verbs are scarcely used as a gerund in the construction. First, only verbs could be used that governed a direct object, because the direct object of the gerund had to be the same as the direct object of *dar*. This is also the reason that not all transitive verbs can be used. For instance, the verb *llamar* ‘to call’ was not possible as a gerund in the construction *dar* + gerund. This will be illustrated in example (25):

- (25) Da-me            llama-ndo-le            a la María.  
 Give-1SG:IO call-GER-3SG:DO to the Mary  
 ‘Please, call Mary for me.’

In example (25), Mary cannot be interpreted as the direct object of both *dar* and *llamar*; it would be strange to ask to hand over Mary after calling her. Before the process of clause union had taken place, these types of verbs, together with the intransitive verbs, could not be used as a gerund. Ditransitive verbs with indirect object were also not commonly used, which will be shown in example (26):

- (26) Da-me            pasa-ndo    el vaso    a la María.  
 Give-1SG:IO pass-GER the glassto the Mary  
 ‘Please, pass the glass to Mary for me.’

In example (26), it would be strange to first pass the glass to Mary and then give it to the speaker. In general, only ditransitive verbs could be used, if the indirect object of the gerund was the same as that of *dar*. After the process of clause union and the reinterpretation of the verbal periphrasis, the action expressed by the gerund did not occur anymore after the action of *handing over*. It was now an action done instead of someone else. Therefore, the use of the construction could also be combined with ditransitive verbs that did not have the same indirect object as *dar*.

All of the steps described, clause union, semantic and functional reanalysis and the expansion of the use of the construction, are part of a grammaticalization process which *dar* + gerund may have undergone. This process is a complicated morpho-syntactic transference process which seems a more plausible explanation for the origin of the verbal periphrasis, than a literal translation from Quichua.

Interestingly, the morpho-syntactic influence does not only seem to be unidirectional from Quichua to Spanish; the process seems to be bidirectional. It is may be that under the influence of the verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund, bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish started using the combination of *-shpa* + *cuna* in the same way as the Spanish periphrasis.

The complexity of the morpho-syntactic transfer makes the influence of Quichua on Ecuadorian Spanish non-transparent and due to that monolinguals of Spanish do not realize

that the construction originated under influence of Quichua. Therefore, monolinguals of the prestigious language, Spanish, do use the construction, although it was developed under influence of the variety with little prestige, Quichua. The negative attitudes toward Quichua did not inhibit the construction's usage as it is today, because the Quichua influence on the rise of the construction is non-transparent.

### 5. Recommendations for future research

The bidirectional transfer in the case of the constructions *dar* + gerund and *-shpa* + *cuna* remain an interesting topic for future research. To fully understand this bidirectional process, it would be necessary to study the construction *-shpa* + *cuna* in Quichua. It is still unclear if the Quichua construction is used in the same way as the Spanish construction *dar* + gerund. In this case, one could speak of a convergent characteristic in the languages. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the Quichua construction still has characteristics of the use of *-shpa* + *cuna*, before the process of clause union took place and that the languages did not converge in the presumed way.

Another question that should be answered is, what the differences are between the use of construction *-shpa* + *cuna* and the suffix *-pa*; do the uses of the two overlap? It would be interesting to study whether monolinguals of Quichua and bilinguals of Quichua and Spanish use the construction and the suffix differently.

It would also be useful to consult historical sources on the use of the construction. It might be that in a Quichua grammar of a few centuries ago, the construction is described in an earlier stage. This would give some clues on how the construction *-shpa* + *cuna* developed. An earlier grammar could also give some insights into the earlier use of the suffix *-pa*. The anterior functions of the suffix might give some ideas on development of the Spanish construction *dar* + gerund and the Quichua construction *-shpa* + *cuna*.

Another interesting topic for future research is whether the development of *dar* + gerund and that of the other innovative verbal periphrases in Ecuadorian Spanish, such as *dejar* (to leave) + gerund and *mandar* (to send, to order) + gerund are related. The Ecuadorian gerundianism and the omission of arguments might also be important phenomena for the development of these constructions. The study of innovations in language-contact situations such as the Ecuadorian gerundianism and the omission of clitics, is not only interesting as such, it also helps to understand internal processes of change that were established based on contact induced changes.

### 6. Conclusion

In the case of *dar* + gerund, it is probable that both external and internal changes influenced the development of the construction; this is what Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006:9) would call an innovation due to multiple causation. The development of the verbal periphrasis *dar* + gerund would probably be best described as a long standing process of language contact induced change. It is very well possible that the verbal periphrasis did not only develop in Ecuadorian Spanish, but also in Quichua using material from the language itself. This means that it was probably a bidirectional process that helped to increase the convergence of Ecuadorian Spanish and Quichua.

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*Abbreviations*

ACC	= accusative case marker
BEN	= benefactive
DIR	= directional
DO	= direct object
DS	= different subject
EV	= evidential
GER	= gerund
IMP	= imperative
INF	= infinitive
IO	= indirect object
OBJ	= object marker
PAST	= past
PERF	= perfective
SS	= same subject
SUBCL	= subordinated clause
1SG	= first person singular
2SG	= second person singular
3SG	= third person singular