

Andean Ecuadorian Spanish Gerund Complexes: Grammatical Change in Language Contact Environments

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1. Introduction

■ Topic of this paper

- **Non-prototypical values of gerunds** in Ecuadorian Spanish (ES) and other varieties of Spanish spoken in the Andean region → **gerunds in ES exhibit a temporal value of anteriority** which contrasts with the prototypical aspectual values found in Standard Spanish.
- **In Standard Spanish (SS)** → simultaneity as well as other aspectual values (from immediacy to posteriority between the events encoded in the inflected verb and the gerund)
- **In Andean Spanish (AS)** → an action that precedes the one denoted by the inflected verb. **SS lacks this reading.**

1. Introduction

■ Gerunds

- Non-finite verbal forms lacking agreement and temporal features –Fernández Lagunilla (1999), RAE (2009), (2010), and Rodríguez-Ramalle (2016).
- Morphological defectiveness → Syntactically dependent: constrained to combine with an inflected verb.
 - a periphrasis with an auxiliary verb:
 - *Está lloviendo*
'it is raining'
 - or an adjunct to a lexical verb:
 - *Salieron de casa lloviendo*
'they left home while it was raining'
- Temporal meaning → usually interpreted as simultaneous with regard to the action or the process expressed by the main verb – RAE (2010: § 27.3.1).

1. Introduction

■ Goals

- 1)** to examine the behavior of the gerunds of anteriority in Ecuadorian Spanish and to provide a syntactic analysis of these constructions.
- 2)** to draw the connection between Ecuadorian gerunds and converbs in Quechua.
- 3)** to provide relevant diachronic evidence that the aspectual values of Ecuadorian gerunds are also attested in the history of Spanish.
- 4)** to offer a preliminary explanation of the nature of the contact-induced linguistic change.

1. Introduction

■ Hypotheses

- There are **two patterns** in which the aspectual value of anteriority is present in gerund verbal complexes in AS (we provide a syntactic analysis to account for each of these constructions):
 - one which is better analyzed as a case of embedding,
 - and another one which is better approached in terms of pseudo-periphrases.
- **This value of gerunds stem from the aspectual features of gerunds in Spanish** (both current and historical) and are not only the result of borrowing from Quechua as has been often assumed (for example, in R.A.E., 2009, 2010).
- It was triggered in Andean Spanish as **a consequence of linguistic contact between Spanish and Quechua**.

1. Introduction

■ Gathering the data: Methodology

- Relevant **literature** on this topic.
- Two **surveys** with native speakers (which contained mostly grammaticality judgements):
 - **Informants:**
 - 64 native speakers of Highlands Ecuadorian Spanish divided into 2 groups (one of 31 people who took the first survey and a second one of 33 people who took the second).
 - Students of the *Universidad de Investigación en Tecnología Experimental Yachay*, aged between 17 and 20.
 - **Judgements:**
 - Sentences that received a score between 3 and 4 would be considered grammatical,
 - those under 2 ungrammatical and those between 2 and 3 marginally acceptable.
- Additional **data** from native speakers' personal communications.
- And **corpora analysis**: *CORDE*, *CORDIAM* and *CREA* (to extract data concerning the evolution of gerunds in Spanish).

1. Introduction

■ Structure of the talk

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2. Two patterns of gerunds of anteriority

- Besides their apparent homogeneous behavior, ES gerunds of anteriority fall into two patterns: I) adverbial subordination and II) pseudo-periphrases.

- (1)
- El doctor se fue dejándome todos los medicamentos [Haboud (2005: 17)]
the doctor left leavingCLDAT all the medicines
'The doctor went away **after** leaving me all the medicines'
 - Acabando la sopita te invito a un Oporto [Haboud (2005: 28)]
finishing the soup CLDAT invite.1P.sg to a Porto
'**After** finishing the soup, I invite you to a Port wine'
 - Saliendo de la escuela vamos trabajar en el pueblo [Haboud (2005: 26)]
leaving the school, go.1P.pl to work in the village
'**After** leaving school, we go to work in the village'
 - Me voy limpiando la casa y ni siquiera dice gracias [Lipsky (2013: 233)]
I leave cleaning the house, and not even say.3P.sg thank you
'I leave **after** cleaning the house and s/he doesn't even say 'thank you''
 - Lloviendo voy al cine [Lipsky (2013: 233)]
Raining go.1P.sg to the cinema
'**After** it rains, I'm going to the movies'
 - Ya subo regando las plantas. [Haboud (2005: 17)]
Now go-up.1P.sg watering the plants
'I go up **after** watering the plants'
(Situation: a housekeeper that has watered the plants in her garden and then goes up to the second floor)
 - ¿Por qué regresas enojándote?
why come-back.2P.sg being angry?
'Why do you come back being angry?'

2.1. Adverbial gerunds

- Gerunds share a number of **relevant properties** in ES and SS.
- They occur in adverbial subordinates with different semantic values (temporal, causal, conditional, etc.) –Haboud (2005), Muysken (2005), Avellana (2012), among other authors.
- However, it is worth noting that gerunds in SS habitually take a simultaneous aspectual value.

- (2)
- a. Limpiando la casa, Pepe se rompió una pierna
cleaning the house, Pepe broke a leg
'While cleaning the house, Pepe broke his leg'
 - b. Después de limpiar la casa... (*SS)
After cleaning the house...
 - c. Mientras limpiaba la casa...
While he was cleaning the house...

- **First**, Ecuadorian adverbial gerunds (EAGs) can both precede or follow the main verb.

- (3)
- a. Acabando la sopita te invito a un Oporto [= (1b)]
finishing the soup CLDAT invite.1P.sg to a Porto
'After finishing the soup, I invite you to a Port wine'
 - b. El doctor se fue dejándome todos los medicamentos [= (1a)]
the doctor left leavingCLDAT all the medicines
'The doctor went away after leaving me all the medicines'

2.1. Adverbial gerunds

- The same distributional pattern holds for adverbial gerunds in SS.

(4) Pepe se rompió una pierna limpiando la casa
'Pepe broke his leg cleaning the house'

- **Secondly**, EAGs can take a different subject from that of the main verb –see Muysken (2005: 41):

(5) En cambio matando ya te ponen preso [[0j V-ndo] Subji Verb]
in contrast killing already CL.2sg.ob. put.3P.pl captive
'In contrast if you kill someone, they put you in jail' [Muysken (2005: 41)]

- Additionally, the subject of the gerund may also be overt, as observed by Batllori, Hernanz & Rubio-Alcalá (in press):

(6) a. Llegando el petróleo, todos querían irse [Haboud (2005: 26)]
arriving the oil, everyone wanted to leave
'Once the oil arrived, everyone wanted to leave'

b. Terminando fiesta, todos duermen hasta tarde [Haboud (2005: 26)]
concluding party, everyone sleep till late
'Once the party was concluded, everybody slept till late'

2.1. Adverbial gerunds

- The ability of licensing their own subject shows that EAGs, like their correlates in SS, behave as true adverbial subordinates:

(7) Creyendo María que nadie la quería, intentó suicidarse
believing María that nobody CLAC loved, attempted to commit suicide
'Since María believed that nobody loved her, she attempted to commit suicide'
[Adapted from Fernández Lagunilla (1999: 3473)]

- **A third property** of adverbial gerunds is that they can be clefted.

- (8) a. Me robaron el bolso paseando por el parque
CLAC stole.3P.pl the handbag walking through the park
'My purse was stolen while I was walking through the park'
- b. Fue paseando por el parque cuando me robaron el bolso
was walking through the park when CLAC stole.3P.pl the handbag
'It was walking through the park when someone stole my handbag'
- (9) a. Saliendo de la escuela vamos trabajar en el pueblo [= (1c)]
leaving the school, go.1P.pl to work in the village
'After leaving school, we go to work in the village'
- b. Es saliendo de la escuela cuando vamos a trabajar en el pueblo
is leaving the school when go.1P.pl to work in the village
'It is after leaving school when we go to work in the village'

2.1. Adverbial gerunds

- (10) a. Lavando la ropa recordaba a su madre [Avellana (2012: 305)]
washing the clothes remembered.3P.sg to her mother
'While she was washing clothes, she remembered her mother'
- b. Era lavando la ropa cuando recordaba a su madre [Avellana (2012: 306)]
was washing the clothes when remembered.3P.sg to her mother
'It was washing clothes when she recalled her mother'

■ **In the fourth place**, in accordance with their temporal adjunct status, EAGs can be replaced by the interrogative adverb *cuándo* ('when'):

- (11) a. ¿Cuándo vamos [a] trabajar en el pueblo?
when go.1P.pl to work in the village?
'When do we go to work in the village?'
- b. ¿Cuándo recordaba a su madre? [Avellana (2012: 306)]
when remembered.3P.sg to her mother?
'When did she remember her mother?'

2.1. Adverbial gerunds

- **In the fifth place**, given the biclausal nature of the sentences in which EAGs appear, it is expected that clitic climbing is not allowed in such constructions.

- (12) a. Comprando la fritada comemos [Adapted from Haboud (2005: 26)]
buying the fritada eat.1P.pl
'After buying the fritada (fried pork), we eat'
- b. Comprándola comemos
buyingCLAC eat.1P.pl
- c. *La comemos comprando
CLAC eat.1P.pl buying.
- (13) a. Vendiendo papas vengo de mercado [Haboud (2005: 26)]
selling potatoes come.1P.sg from market
'After selling potatoes, I come from the market'
- b. Vendíéndolas vengo de mercado
selling CLAC come.1P.sg from market
'After selling them, I come from the market'
- c. *Las vengo de mercado vendiendo
CLAC come.1P.sg from market selling

- Clitic pronouns cannot move from the gerund clause to the main clause.

2.1. Adverbial gerunds

- **Finally**, EAGs, being adjuncts, behave like syntactic islands with respect to wh-movement. Consequently, the underlined elements in (14a) and (15a) cannot be extracted from the gerund domain:

- (14) a. El profesor habló saliendo de la clase [Avellana (2012: 309)]
the teacher talked leaving the classroom
'The teacher talked after leaving the classroom'
- b. *¿Dé dónde habló el profesor saliendo?
from where talked the teacher leaving
- (15) a. El doctor se fue dejándome todos los medicamentos [= (1a)]
the doctor went away leaving CLDAT all the medicines
'The doctor went away after leaving me all the medicines'
- b. *¿Qué se fue el doctor dejándome?
What went away the doctor leaving CLDAT

- **Summarizing:** the basic properties of EAGs are basically parallel to those displayed by adverbial gerunds in SS adjuncts, the only relevant difference being their different aspectual value, as discussed above.

2.2. Pseudo-periphrases

- A second group of gerunds must be considered which we will label “pseudo-periphrastic gerunds” (PPGs).

- (16) a. Vengo preparando mi tarea de quichua [Haboud (2005: 31)]
Come.1P.sg preparing my task on Quechua
(SS Vengo de preparar /estuve preparando/ mi tarea de quichua)
'I come just after finishing my Quechua homework'
- b. Vengo viendo una película buenísima
come.1P.sg seeing a film very good
(SS Vengo de ver / acabo de ver una película buenísima)
'I come after just having watched a very good film'
- c. (After coming back from a shopping center)
Susana viene comprándole un vestido a su hija
Susana comes buyingCLDAT a dress to her daughter
(SS Susana viene de comprarle / acaba de comprarle un vestido a su hija)
'Susana has just bought a dress to her daughter'
- d. Me pasaron dejando [Bruil (2008: 96)]
CLAC passed.3P.pl dropping off
'They dropped me off'
(SS Me dejaron en casa al pasar (ellos y yo) por aquí)
'They left me at home when they passed around here'
- e. Ya subo regando las plantas [= (1f)] [Haboud (2005: 17)]
Now go-up.1P.sg watering the plants
'I go up after watering the plants'
- f. ¿Por qué regresas enojándote? [= (1g)] [Haboud (2005: 17)]
why come-back.2P.sg being angry?
'Why do you come back being angry?'

2.2. Pseudo-periphrases

- They share a number of syntactic properties with canonical verbal periphrases, although both kinds of structures differ in relevant aspects.
- A salient property of the examples in (16) is that the finite verb is always a verb of movement: *venir* ('come'), *pasar* ('pass'), *subir* ('go up') and *regresar* ('go back').
- This constraint does not hold for adverbial gerunds discussed in § 2.1, which can modify other verbs apart from verbs of movement –for instance, *invitar* ('invite') in (1b), *querer* ('want') in (6a), *dormir* ('sleep') in (6b), *recordar* ('remind') in (10a), etc.
- Putting aside this restriction, PPGs display **a set of properties that clearly indicate they are monoclausal structures.**

2.2. Pseudo-periphrases

- **First of all**, PPGs cannot be topicalized, which can be taken as evidence that these constructions, contrary to adverbial gerunds, are monoclausal:

(17) a. Me pasaron dejando [(16d)]
b. *Dejando me pasaron

(18) a. Ya subo regando las plantas [(16e)]
b. *Regando las plantas ya subo

(19) a. ¿Por qué regresas enojándote? [(16f)]
b. *¿Por qué enojándote regresas?

- **A second hallmark** of PPGs is that they cannot be clefted:

(20) a. Vengo viendo una película buenísima [(16b)]
b. *Es viendo una película buenísima como / cuando vengo
'It is seeing a very good film how / when I come'

(21) a. Susana viene comprándole un vestido a su hija [(16c)]
b. *Es comprándole un vestido a su hija como / cuando viene Susana
'It is buying a dress to her daughter how / when Susana comes'

2.2. Pseudo-periphrases

- **Thirdly**, on the assumption that PPGs are monoclausal structures, it would be predicted that clitic climbing is allowed in such structures.

(22) a. Vengo viéndola (una película buenísima) [(16b)]
Come.1P.sg seeingCLAC (a very good film)
'I come seeing it' / 'I come after just having watched it'

b. La vengo viendo
CLAC come.1P.sg seeing

(23) a. Susana viene comprándole un vestido a su hija [(16c)]

b. Susana le viene comprando un vestido a su hija
Susana CLDAT comes buying a dress to her daughter

(24) a. Vengo preparándola (mi tarea de quichua) [(16a)]
Come.1P.sg preparing my task on Quechua
'I come just after finishing my Quechua homework'

b. La vengo preparando
CLAC come.1P.sg preparing

- The behaviour of PPGs in this respect clearly contrasts with that of EAGs, in which clitic climbing is precluded – See examples in (12) and (13).

2.2. Pseudo-periphrases

- On the contrary, in canonical verbal periphrases clitics easily move from the gerund domain to the auxiliary verb –Yllera (1999: § 3399), García Fernández (2006: 15), and RAE (2010: § 28.1.2e), among others.

(25) a. La soprano estaba / seguía cantándola (el aria)
The soprano was /continued singingCLAC (the aria)
b. La soprano la seguía / estaba cantando

(26) a. Vengo recomendándosela (esta medicina a Julia) desde hace tiempo
I come recommending it to her (this medicine to Julia) for a long time
b. Se la vengo recomendando desde hace tiempo

- **Finally**, given our claim that PPGs are monoclausal in nature, we would expect that no island effects arise in such structures.

(27) a. Vengo viendo una película buenísima [(16b)]
b. ¿Qué vienes viendo?
What come.2P.sg seeing?
'What do you come seeing?'

(28) a. Susana viene comprándole un vestido a su hija [(16c)]
b. ¿Qué viene comprándole Susana a su hija?
what come.3P.sg buyingCLDAT Susana to her daughter?

2.2. Pseudo-periphrases

- PPGs, unlike EAGs, are monoclausal structures.
- The verb of movement in PPGs does not qualify as a TAM (Tense-Aspect-Mood) marker like in prototypical periphrases
- It retains its literal reading of movement. In (27), the movement value of *venir* ‘coming’ is preserved.
- The role played by *venir* (and other verbs of movement) in PPGs is to add a “secondary movement predication” to the primary predication supplied by the finite verb.
- The role of movement verbs in PPGs reminds that of some morphemes that express the meaning of ‘go’ and ‘come’: “*In many languages, ‘andative’ (‘itive/ventive’) or ‘distantive’ morphemes are attested which can be glossed in English as ‘go/come’*” – see Cinque (2004: 166, footnote 4).
- A similar picture arises with regard to the *-mu* particle in Quechua, which has been analyzed as a verbal derivate denoting that the agent comes back from doing an action: *Maña-mu-ni* = ‘Vengo de pedir’; *Micu-mu-rca-ni* = ‘Vengo de comer’ – see
 - Haboud (2005: 22).

3. Towards an analysis of Ecuadorian gerunds

3.1. Adverbial gerunds

- Instances of adverbial subordination will be analyzed following Haegeman (2007, 2010).
- In Haegeman's approach there are two kinds of adverbial clauses: peripheral and central. The first are less intimately connected to the matrix clause, whereas the second kind depends more on it.

(29) If (as you say) it is going to rain this afternoon, why don't we stay at home?

(30) If it rains, we will get terribly wet.

- The first type (29) is more related to the speech act (and can therefore often be paraphrased adding *as you say*) and display a wider range of Main Clause Phenomena.
- The second type (30) does not display many Main Clause Phenomena (for example, in English and other Germanic languages, conditional clauses of this sort can contain no Topics of Foci between the complementizer *if* and the clause subject)

3.1. Adverbial gerunds

- Under Haegeman's (2012:170) proposal, peripheral adverbial clauses are generated as adjuncts to CP, whereas central adverbial clauses are generated in lower positions (TP, vP or below), "[d]epending on the particular type of central adverbial clause".
- In order to determine the adjunction site for EAGs, we use a test based on reconstruction effects of possessives.

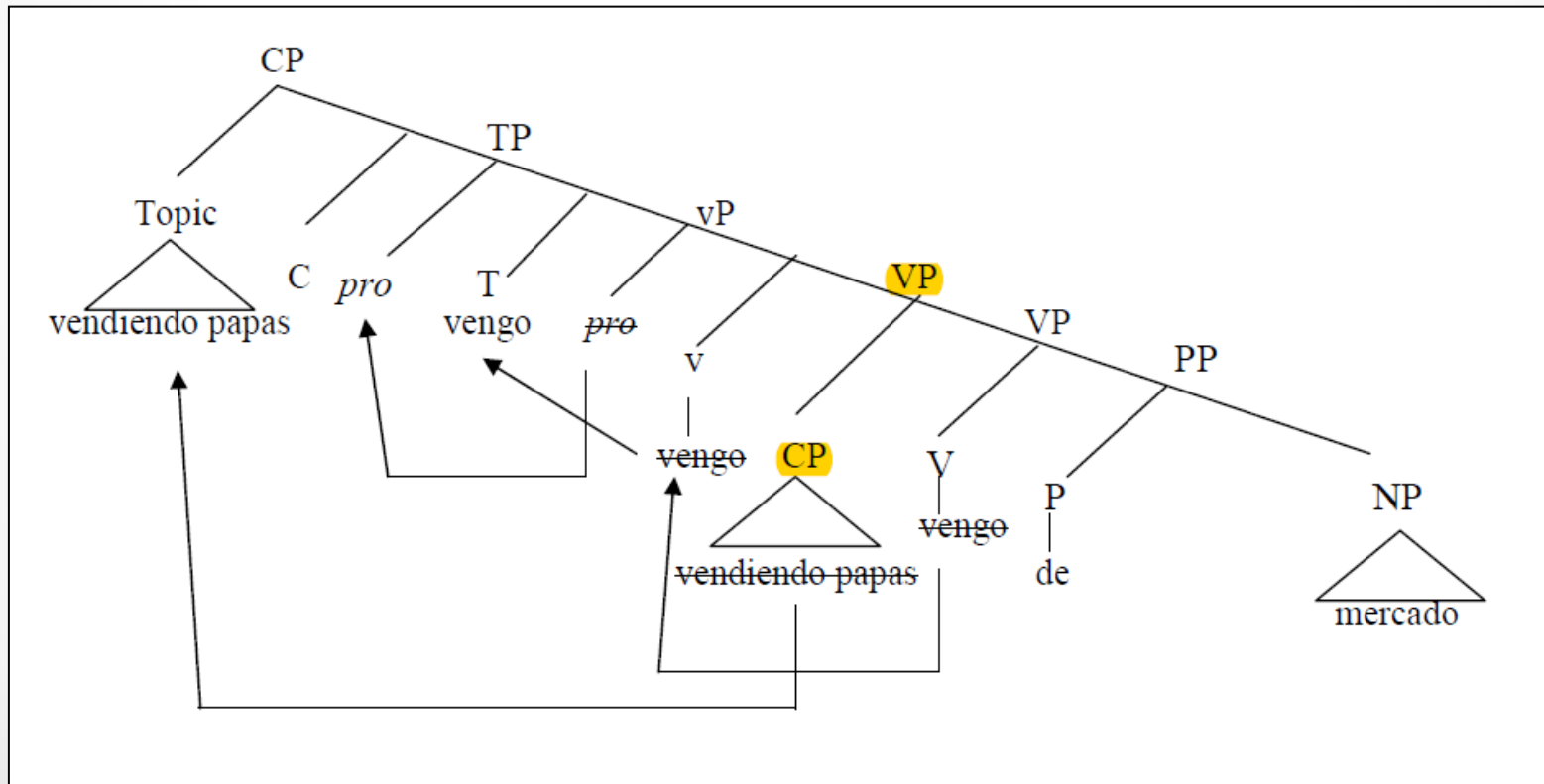
(31) Saliendo sus papás de casa, Pedro tuvo mucho miedo.
going-out his parents from home, Pedro was very scared.
'After his parents left the house, Pedro got very scared'

- In spite of *Pedro* 'Peter' appearing below the possessive in the linear order of the sentence, *sus* 'his' is bound by this antecedent in the main clause.
- Under the standard assumption that subjects are generated as specifiers of vP, the initial adjunction point of the adverbial clause should be below it.

3.1. Adverbial gerunds

- **Our proposal:** an initial adjunction site at VP, so that the subject of the matrix clause can bind an anaphora inside the adverbial clause by c-commanding it.

(32) Vendiendo papas vengo de mercado.



3.1. Adverbial gerunds

- What is the internal structure of the adverbial clause?
 - The subject of the adverbial clause (i.e., the gerund) must appear post-verbally – see (6).
 - The left periphery of this clause seems to be very impoverished, since it does not allow Foci or Topics.

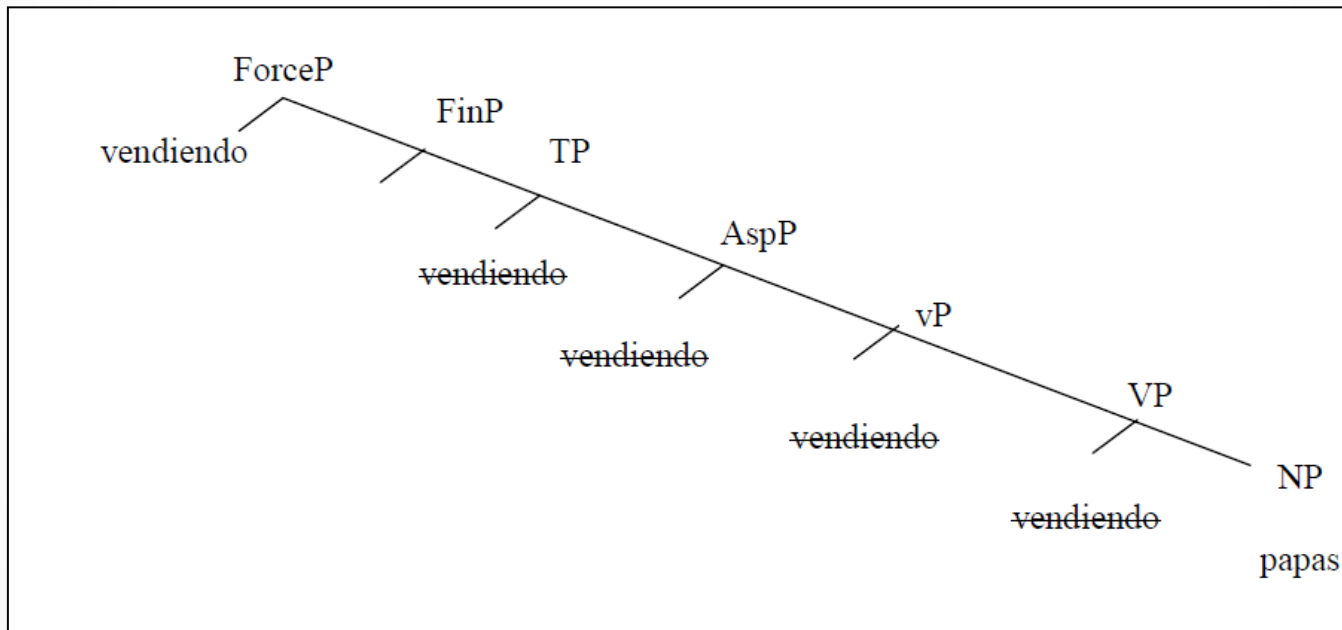
- (33)
- a. Comiendo pollo venimos de mercado.
eating chicken come-1P.PL from market
 - b. *Pollo comiendo, venimos de mercado.
chicken eating come-1P.PL from market

- There are two alternatives:
 - 1) Truncation:** The adverbial clause lacks a fully-fledged left periphery.
 - 2) Operator movement:** It blocks any other movement (intervention effects). This is the approach adopted in Haegeman (2007) and subsequent work.

3.1. Adverbial gerunds

- **Our proposal: movement of the gerund to ForceP**, blocking the possibility of having extra material to its left and providing the syntactic interface with the main clause.

(34) Vendiendo papas



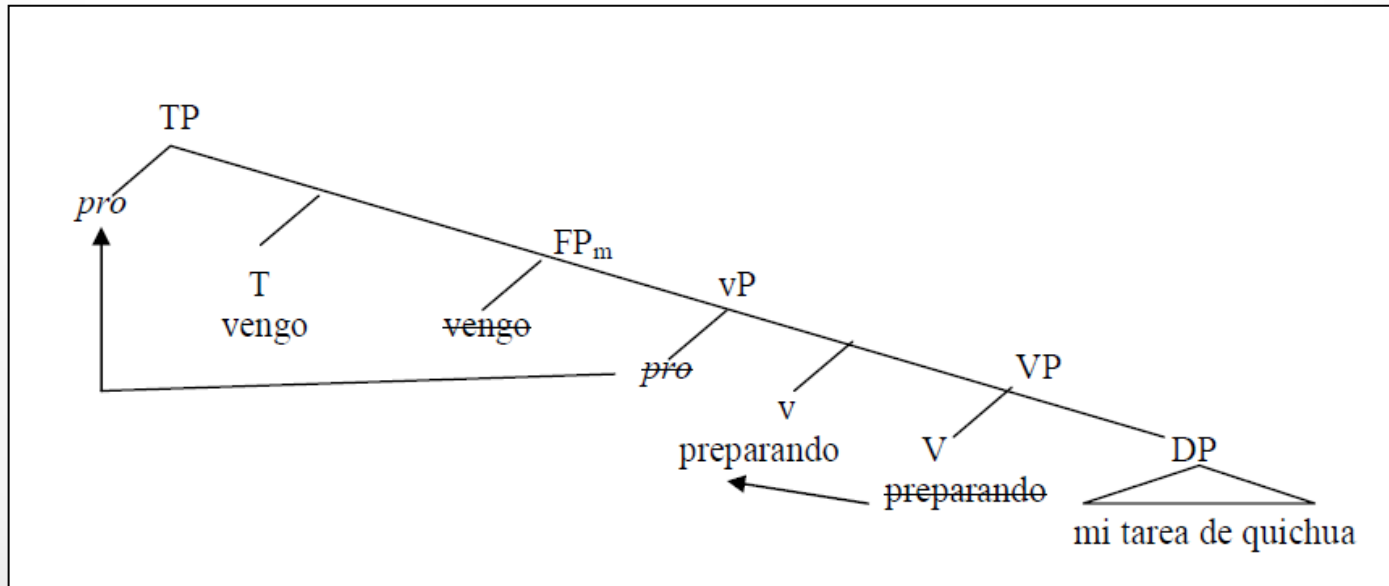
- The final landing position of the adverbial clause in cases when it precedes the main clause is a Topic position in the periphery of the main clause – see (32).

3.2 Pseudo-periphrases

■ Our proposal:

- **an analysis in terms of a single syntactic structure** in which the gerund is the main verb.
- **the inflected verb is generated as an auxiliary** in a functional projection and later moves to TP to check its features with those of the subject.
- **the gerund is born under VP**, where it establishes its thematic relations before landing at vP.

(35) Vengo preparando mi tarea de quichua
Come.1P.sg. Preparing my task of Quechua
'I'll come after preparing my Quechua homework'



4. Converbs in Quechua and their Spanish equivalents

■ **Converbs** (Bruil, 2008: 1):

1. The form has to be part of the verbal paradigm.
2. It is a non-finite form.
3. It is used adverbially, that is, to modify the verb.
4. It is a subordinated form.

■ **Two main types of morphemes** that have been **identified with gerunds** in Quechua:

- those that codify simultaneity between two actions
- those used to create adverbial subordinate clauses, which can codify anteriority of one action with respect to another or simultaneity like in the previous kind.

4.1. Morphemes of simultaneity / progressive tense

- *-chka/-shka/-sha* (differing according to different varieties; Avellana, 2012:301) indicate simultaneity with the speech act:

(36) a. Amun. \ Amuchkan.
'He comes. \ He's coming'
b. Apani \ Apachkani.
'I carry. \ I'm carrying'

- In Ecuadorian Quechua, this morpheme is *-ju-*, as in the following example, from Cole (1982:150).

(37) Shamu-ju-ni.
Come-progr-1P.
'I am coming.'

- Cole (1982) also mentions how this morpheme "is used with both active and stative verbs" (1982:150), which links with the following observed facts in contact with Spanish.

4.1. Morphemes of simultaneity / progressive tense

- (38) a. La urpilíta, la palomita chica, llora cuando nace un varón, porque **está sabiendo** que el varón es el que la mata al cazarla.
'The urpilíta, the small dove, weeps when a male is born, because she is knowing that it is the male who kills it when hunting'.
- b. Eran la gente mala que tenían plata y siempre **estaban queriendo** más.
'Those were evil people who had money and they were always wanting more'.
- c. Tú no más **estás sabiendo** las penas que estoy pasando.
'Only you are knowing the sorrows I'm going through'.
- The varieties of Spanish in contact with Quechua exhibit this progressive tense in contexts which are impossible in Standard Spanish, most notably stative verbs (Avellana, 2012: 299-300; following Vidal de Battini, 1980; and Kany, 1969):

4.2. Morphemes of adverbial subordination

- In Ecuadorian Quechua there are two morphemes that indicate adverbial subordination (Cole 1982), which in turn depend on whether the subjects in the matrix and the embedded clause are identical or not. They are interpreted as time clauses:

Identical subjects. Morpheme -shpa

(39) Kitu-man chaya - **shpa** - mi rijsi - ta riku-rka-ni.
Quito-to arrive-adverbial -validator acquaintance-acc see-past-1P
'When I arrived in Quito, I saw a friend.'

Non-identical subjects. Morpheme -jpi

(40) Ñuka Kitu-man chaya - **jpi** - mi rijsi riku-wa-rka
I Quito-to arrive-adverbial-validator acquaintance see - 1-past 3
'When I arrived in Quito, a friend saw me.'

- Other varieties of Quechua use a different morpheme *-spa* or simply *-s* in its short form (Avellana, 2012:316; following Albarracín et al, 2002:112):

(41) a. Ñan-ta puri-ni maska-su-**spa**.
road-ACC walk-1 seek-2AC-**SPA**
'I walk on the road looking for you.'

b. Qayna amu-**s** tare-ra-yki
yesterday come-**SPA** find-PAS-12
'I found you yesterday while coming.'

4.2. Morphemes of adverbial subordination

- An important feature of these morphemes is that they bear no time marking → they admit **two interpretations**: **simultaneity** with the verb in the matrix clause or **succession** of events one after the other.

(42) **Taki-spa** hamu-n
sing-**SPA** come-3
'He came singing / He came after singing' [Courthès 1999]

- This would explain why Spanish in contact with Quechua admits both interpretations of gerunds:

Value of simultaneity [Avellana, 2012:305; following Merma Molina, 2007:313]

- (43) a. **Lavando** la ropa recordaba a su madre.
'Washing the clothes he remembered his mother'.
b. Carlos **bañándose** cantaba una bonita canción.
Carlos [while] washing sings a pretty song.
c. **Haciendo** las tareas, hablaba y hablaba con Marisol.
'Doing her housework, she talked and talked with Marisol'.

Value of anteriority [Haboud, 2005:26]

- (44) a. **Vendiendo** papas vengo de mercado.
Selling potatoes I come from [the] market.
'After selling potatoes, I come from the market.'
b. **Saliendo** de la escuela vamos trabajar en el pueblo.
Getting-out from the school we go to work in the village.
'After going out from school we go to work in the village'

4.2. Morphemes of adverbial subordination

- Finally, adverbial morphemes in Quechua can take additional semantic values, like conditional and causal.

Conditional value

- (45) a. yacha-**spa** ri-nki
know-**SPA** go-2
'If you know, you'll go.' (Lit.: Knowing, you'll go.)
- b. muna-**spa**-qa re-n-qa
want-**SPA**-TOP go-3- TOP
'If he wants to, he'll go.' (Lit.: Wanting to, he'll go.)
- (46) Utavalu-man ri - **shpa** - ka ruwana - ta randi - sha (Ecuadorian Quechua)
Otavalo-to go -adverbial -topic poncho -acc buy-future 1
'If I go to Otavalo, I will buy a poncho.'

Causal value

- (47) a. qollqe-ta mana api-s, mana miku-ni
money-AC NEG have-SPA NEG eat-1
'Since I don't have any money, I don't eat.' (Lit.: Not having any money, I don't eat.)
- b. mancha-ku-s mana amo-ra
be scared-REFL-SPA NEG come-PAS
'Since he was scared, he didn't come.' (Lit.: Being scared, he didn't come.)

- In the same way, Spanish gerunds have been shown to appear in conditional, causal and other types of adverbial clauses – see Fernández Lagunilla (1999), among other authors.

4.2. Morphemes of adverbial subordination

Quechua morphemes of simultaneity

Ecuadorian Quechua -ju-

Shamu-ju-ni.
Come-progr-1P.
'I am coming.'

Other Quechua -chka/-shka/-sha

Apachkani.
I'm carrying.

Quechua morphemes of subordination

Ecuadorian Quechua

Kitu-man chaya - **shpa** - mi rijsi - ta riku-rka-ni.
'When I arrived in Quito, I saw a friend.'

Ñuka Kitu-man chaya - **jpi** - mi rijsi riku-wa-rka
'When I arrived in Quito, a friend saw me.'

Other Quechua

Ñan-ta puri-ni maska-su-**spa**.
road-ACC walk-1 seek-2AC-**SPA**
'I walk on the road looking for you.'

Spanish gerunds

Stative verbs

Eran la gente mala que tenían plata y siempre **estaban queriendo** más.
'Those were evil people who had money and they were always wanting more.'

Event verbs

Estoy viniendo.
'I am coming.'

Spanish gerunds

Simultaneity

Lavando la ropa recordaba a su madre.
'Washing the clothes he remembered his mother.'

Anteriority

Vendiendo papas vengo de mercado.
'Selling potatoes I come from [the] market.'

Conditional clauses

Sabiendo que estabas enfermo te habría visitado.
'If I had known you were sick I'd have come to visit you'. (Lit: 'Knowing...')

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- In Early Spanish *en+gerund* is already attested expressing different adverbial values.
- Until the end of the 13th century, there seems to be free variation between the use of *en+gerund* and the gerund without preposition.

(48) viníen, **en ffurtando**, **en ascondiendo**, e **tolliendo** a los ssennores ssu derecho
came PREP stealing, PREP hiding, and leaving-without to the sirs their right

e la tierra donde eran naturales e **menguándoles** ssus onrras quanto podían
and the earth where be natural and diminishingCLDAT their honour as could

[..] Otrosí **metiéndose** por ffijos dalgo los que lo non eran nin podrían sser,
Also appearingCLREFL for noble-people the that CLDAT not be nor might be

e **los malos metiéndose** por buenos, e los ssin entendimiento por entendidos.
and the bad appearingCLREFL for good and the without knowledge for experts

'They came stealing, hiding and taking the rights of sirs away, and the earth from where they were native, and depriving them of their honour as much as they could [...] Besides, the ones that were not noble and those who might never be, came there pretending to be noble, and the bad ones pretending to be good and the ones that were ignorant pretending to be experts.'

[CORDE: c 1252 – 1270. Alfonso X, *Setenario*, ESPAÑA, 10. Tratados jurídicos, Kenneth H. Vanderford, Instituto de Filología de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires), 1945]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- Gerunds are frequent in all types of documents: in charters, in legal documents and notarial deeds, in narrative, historiographical, scientific and religious prose, as well as in epic poetry and all poetry in general.
- Aspectual values encoded from Early Spanish onwards: anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority.

[Simultaneity]

(49) a. Clerigo o lego o menestral que tenga aprendiz pora en sennar clerezia o
Clerk or layman or artisan who has apprentice to teach clerical-work or

su menester & **castigando lo** o **en sennando lo** le firiere de fferida, qual
its activities & punishing CLAC or teaching CLAC CLDAT hurt of injury that

deue como con correa o con palma o con uerdugo delgado o con otra cosa ligera,
must like with belt or with palm-leaf or with whip thin or with other thing light

& daquellas feridas muriere por [f. 83r] ocasion, non sea tenjdo por omezillo.
& of-those injuries died for occasion not be considered as homicide

'In case a scholar or layman or artisan who has an apprentice so as to teach him clerical work or its activities, injured him when punishing him or teaching him, as he must, either with a belt or a palm leaf or a thin whip or another light thing, and the apprentice actually died due to these injuries, it should not be considered a homicide'

[CORDE: c 1196. Anónimo, Fuero de Soria, ESPAÑA, 10.Ordenamientos y códigos legales, Galo Sánchez, Centro de Estudios Históricos (Madrid), 1919]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

[Simultaneity]

(49) b. las vnas ante del baptismo e **las otras en baptizando** e las otras
the ones before the baptism and the others PREP while-baptizing and the others

después del baptismo.
after the baptism

'these ones before baptism and the other while baptizing, and the other ones after baptism'

[CORDE: c 1252 – 1270. Alfonso X, Setenario, ESPAÑA, 10.Tratados jurídicos, Kenneth H. Vanderford, Instituto de Filología de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires (Buenos Aires), 1945]

c. & quien en la defesa segare yerua, peche çinco sueldos [...]; pero por el ganado
& who in the meadow reaped grass pay five coins but for the cattle

que **en pasando por el camino, paciendo en la dehesa**, non peche
that PREP passing through the path, grazing in the meadow not pay

ningunna calonna
any duty

'And who reaped grass in the meadow, should pay five coins, except for the cattle which would not pay any duty for going through the path or grazing in the meadow.'

[CORDE: 1284 – 1295, Anónimo, Fuero de Cuenca, ESPAÑA, 10.Ordenamientos y códigos leg Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, Academia de la Historia (Madrid), 1935]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

[Simultaneity]

(49) d. Et ssi matare o fferiere **en tomando lo o en rrobando lo** muera por ello
and if killed or hurt PREP grabbing CLAC or PREP stealing CLAC died for it

ssi rrico omne non ffuere
if rich man not be

'And if anyone killed or injured someone when grabbing him or when stealing something from him, he should die because of it unless he was a rich man.'

[CORDE: a 1260. Anónimo, Espéculo de Alfonso X. BNM 10123, ESPAÑA, 10.Tratados jurídicos, Pedro Sánchez-Prieto Borja, Universidad de Alcalá de Henares (Alcalá de Henares), 2004]

[Anteriority]

(50) a. E estonce deue mandar [...] que los echen de fuera / della. E en
and then must order (them) to CLAC turn-out of-outside of-it and PREP

echando los; deuen ir los clerigos empos ellos; diziendo un responso
turning-out CLAC must go the clergymen after them saying a prayer

'And then they must tell them to turn them out, and after turning them out, the clergymen must go after them saying a prayer for the dead.'

[CORDE: 1256 – 1263. Alfonso X, Primera Partida. British Library Ms. Add. 20787, ESPAÑA, 10.Ordenamientos y códigos legales, Lloyd A. Kasten y John J. Nitti, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison), 1995]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

[Anteriority]

(50) b. quando morio su muger mando quela vntasen [...] segund su costunbre
when died his wife ordered that-CLAC put-ointment according to his tradition

para la quemar enel fuego E **en vntando** la lleugo alli &
to CLAC burn in-the fire and PREP putting-ointment CLAC arrived there and

començo de llorar & besarla & metiose la espada por el cuerpo & cayo muerto
started of cry & kissCLAC & putCLREFL the sword for his body & fell dead

'When his wife died, he ordered to spread ointment on her according to tradition so as to burn her on a funeral pyre. After spreading the ointment on her, he got there and started to cry and kiss her, and he drove his sword into his body and fell dead.'

[CORDE: 1293. Anónimo, Castigos. BNM ms. 6559, ESPAÑA, 14.Literatura sapiencial, William Plamer y Carig Frazier, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison), 1992]

c. & **en acabando dezir estas / palabras** ally delante del rrey cayo su
and PREP finishing say these words there before of-the king fell his

hermano muerto dela ferida / que auja rrescebido
brother dead of-the wound that had received

'And after saying these words, his brother fell dead there, before the king, due to the wounds he had suffered.'

[CORDE: c. 1313-1400. Anónimo. Cuento de don Tristán de Leonís. Roma, Vaticana 6428. ESPAÑA. 12. Relato breve culto. Ivy A. Corfis, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison), 1995]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

[Anteriority]

(50) d. **En falleciendo** su hermano el inclito rey don Johan. luego [...]
PREP dying his brother, the illustrious king sir John, then

leuaron al palacio real dela ciudad [...] a la señora duquesa
brought to-the palace royal of-the city to the lady duchess

'Then, after dying his brother, Sir John, the illustrious king, they moved the lady duchess to the royal palace.'

[CORDE: 1499. Gonzalo García de Santa María, Traducción de la Corónica de Aragón de fray Gauberto Fabricio de Vagad. ESPAÑA. 19. Historiografía. José Carlos Pino Jiménez, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison), 2002]

[Posteriority]

(51) a. E fazer les deuen onra; **en besando les** las manos todos / los xpistianos.
& do CLDAT must honour PREP kissing CLDAT the hands all the Christians

'And they must honour them; all Christians must kiss their hands.'

[CORDE: 1256 – 1263. Alfonso X, Primera Partida. British Library Ms. Add. 20787, ESPAÑA, 10.Ordenamientos y códigos legales, Lloyd A. Kasten y John J. Nitti, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies (Madison), 1995]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

[Posteriority]

(51) b. ¿No entendedes que toda cosa que entre en el ombre nol puede ensuziar
not understand2p.pl. that all thing that get in the man notCLAC can dirty

ca no entra en el coraçon sino en el uientre, e sale fuera **en alimpiando** todas
since not get in the heart but in the guts & goes out PREP cleaning all

las uiandas?
the intestines

'Don't you understand that what gets into the human being cannot get him dirty because it does not get into his heart but into his guts, and it goes out and leaves all the intestines clean?'

[CORDE: a 1260. Anónimo, El Nuevo Testamento según el manuscrito escurialense I-j-6. ESPAÑA, 17.Biblias, Thomas Montgomery; Spurgeon W. Baldwin, Real Academia Española (Madrid), 1970]

c. Adam non fue engannado, mas la mugier fue engannada **en quebrantando**
Adam not was misled, but the wife was misled PREP breaking

el mandamiento de Dios.
the commandment of God

'Adam was not misled, but his wife was misled and broke God's Commandment.'

[CORDE: a 1260. Anónimo, El Nuevo Testamento según el manuscrito escurialense I-j-6. ESPAÑA, 17.Biblias, Thomas Montgomery; Spurgeon W. Baldwin, Real Academia Española (Madrid), 1970]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- The data contained in *CORDE* shows that the use of *en+gerund* and the *gerund* alone increases significantly until up to the 17th century and that after that period there is a remarkable decrease in the use of this structure.

Table 1. Prepositional gerund: its evolution in Peninsular Spanish (Pato 2014:838)

	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	TOTALES
<i>en + gerundio</i>	531	282	634	3640	3348	615	545	21	9616
% totales	6%	3%	7%	38%	35%	6%	6%	0%	100%
peso palabras	79.07	105.64	77.68	213.69	271.13	62.65	28.24	0.92	
posición	4	3	5	2	1	6	7	8	1-8

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- From the beginning of the 18th century onwards Peninsular Spanish develops several other strategies to express the same values encoded by Medieval and Golden Age gerunds:
 - *después de* + infinitive and *en cuanto* + finite verb in the 18th century
 - *al* + infinitive and *una vez que* + finite verb in the 19th century
 - *nada más* + infinitive in the 20th century
- The use of gerund constructions in general decreases from the 18th century onwards in Peninsular Spanish.

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

Table 2. Decreasing frequency in the 18th century (Pato 2014:851)

	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	TOTALES
<i>en llegando</i>	29	14	89	447	443	102	79	2	1205
% totales	2.40	1.16	7.38	37	36.76	8.46	6.55	0.16	100
peso palabras	4.32	5.24	10.90	26.24	35.88	10.39	4.09	0.09	
<i>llegando</i>	417	63	322	1373	1266	530	548	437	4956
% totales	8.41	1.27	6.49	27.70	25.54	10.69	11.05	8.81	100
peso palabras	62.09	23.60	39.45	80.60	102.52	53.99	28.40	19.15	
<i>al llegar</i>	-	-	1	27	61	69	735	436	1329
% totales	-	-	0.07	2.03	4.58	5.19	55.30	32.80	100
peso palabras	-	-	0.12	1.59	4.94	7.03	38.09	19.10	

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- *CORDE* shows that in Peru and Colombia, prepositional gerunds are also used in the 16th and 17th century and, what is more, the prevailing reading is that of anteriority since their structures are equivalent to temporal embedded clauses.

(52) a. **En muriendo** hasta cinco días no le enterrauan.
PREP dying until five days not CLDAT buried

'Once he had died, he was not buried until five days after his dead.'

[CORDE: c 1595 – 1615. Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno. PERÚ. 16.Turismo y viajes. John V. Murra; Rolena Adorno; Jorge L. Arioste, Historia 16 (Madrid), 1987]

b. **En acauando el yndio chasqui su tarea**, conforme al tiempo
PREP finishing the Indian messenger his task, according to-the time

que se le había señalado [...], venía otro [...] y entraba en su lugar
that CLPASSIVE CLDAT had remarked came another & entered in his place

'Once the Indian Messenger had finished his task, according to what had been established, there came another one and took his place.'

[CORDE: a 1613. Fray Martín Murúa, Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los incas. PERÚ. 19.Historiografía. Manuel Ballesteros-Gaibrois, Joyas Bibliográficas (Madrid), 1961]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

(52) c. **En acabando de leer** se bolví al Convento
PREP finishing of read CLREFL went-back to-the monastery

'Once he finished reading, he went back to the monastery.'

[CORDE: 1657. Bernardo de Torres, Crónica Agustina. PERÚ. 19. Historiografía. Ignacio Prado Pastor, Imprenta de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima), 1974]

d. **En saliendo de aquellos cenagales / Y montañas de gran desabrimiento,**
PREP going-out of those swamps and mountains of great roughness

Hallaron luego rastros y señales,
found then trails and traces.

'After leaving those swamps and the rough mountains, they found trails and traces.'

[CORDE: 1589. Juan de Castellanos, Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias. COLOMBIA. 22. Épico. Buenaventura Carlos Aribau, Ribadeneira (Madrid), 1847]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- *CORDIAM* offers a wide range of data illustrating the value of anteriority , which is still attested in 20th century Ecuadorian Spanish.

(53) a. me dijo Pedro López que **en comiendo** yria a casa de vn amigo
CLDAT said Pedro López that PREP eating would-go to house of a friend

‘Pedro López told me that, after eating, he would go to a friend’s house.’

[CORDIAM: 1586. De Pedro de Nájera a su hermano Diego González de Nájera... **Hombre español**. Documentos entre particulares: cartas y otros. PERÚ. Virreinato del Perú. Archivo: Archivo General de Indias, España]

b. se me / deben cerca de cuatro mil pesos de oro / **en pidiendo**
CLPASSIVE CLDAT owe about of four thousand pesos of gold PREP asking-for

a quien me debe luego acuden / a me azer mal
to whom CLDAT owe immediately come to me do harm

‘They owe me at about four thousand gold pesos; when I ask who owe them to me to pay for them, they come immediately to harm me.’

[CORDIAM: 1582. De Gonzalo Hernández a Juan Francisco, en Alcalá de Henares. **Hombre español**. EUCADOR. Quito. San Francisco de Quito. Audiencia de Quito. Virreinato del Perú. Documentos entre particulares: Cartas y otros. Archivo General de Indias. España]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

- (53) c. **en pasando / la esquina** desaparece
PREP going-round the corner, disappears

'Once he goes round the corner, he disappears.'

[CORDIAM: 1633. **Hombre mestizo**. PERÚ. Real Audiencia de Charcas. Virreinato del Perú. Documentos cronísticos. Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 3169]

- d. Estas cautelas de nuestros enemigos [...] no van encaminadas sino a sacarnos
this caution of our enemies not go directed-towards but to take-away CLDAT

el tesoro que ellos piensan que está en el Quito, para **en apoderándose de ello**
the treasure that they think that is in the Quito for PREP taking-possession of it

hacer lo mismo de nuestras mujeres e hijos
do the same of our wives and sons

'The carefulness of our enemies aims but at taking away the treasure they think there is in Quito so as to do the same with our wives and sons once they have taken possession of it.'

[CREA: 1994. Jorge Salvador Lara. Breve historia contemporánea del Ecuador. **ECUADOR**. 02. Historia. Fondo de Cultura Económica (México), 1994]

5. Gerunds in pre-contact Spanish

■ To sum up:

- Corpora provide us with evidence of the fact that gerund constructions, either introduced by a preposition or without it, displayed high frequency in 16th and 17th century Peninsular Spanish.
- Spaniards who settled in the area of the viceroyalty of Peru preserved the same structures and in the 17th century mestizos also used them (53c).
- A detailed analysis of the data in CORDIAM also shows that these constructions were better preserved in America (53d) than in Spain, where other strategies substituted for them.

6. Linguistic contact, transfer, SLA and convergence

- What mechanisms triggered the activation of this aspectual value in Ecuadorian gerunds due to contact between Quechua and Spanish?
- Ecuadorian Highlands are representative of a language contact environment in which we basically have 4 types of speakers:
 - Quechua monolinguals,
 - bilinguals with Quechua as their main language,
 - bilinguals with Spanish as their main language,
 - and Spanish monolinguals

[see Muysken (2005)]
- We are going to focus in the acquisition of Spanish by Quechua speakers.

6. Linguistic contact, transfer, SLA and convergence

- The **first generation** of speakers acquire **Spanish as a Second Language** (L2), in which case they may grammaticalize functional categories that belong to the interlanguage they develop to acquire the L2.
- Equivalence and structural isomorphism concerning functional categories and their features would bring about the contact-induced change undergone in Ecuadorian Spanish.

Contact-induced change:

- Speakers notice that in their L1 there is a grammatical category ASP_{L1}
- The PLD of the L2 they are exposed to provide the L2 learners with robust cues of the existence of a grammatical category ASP_{L2} comparable to ASP_{L1}
- The learner draws on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction ASP_{L3} in order to develop ASP_{L2} .
- The learner grammaticalizes ASP_{L3} to ASP_{L2} .

[Adaptation of Heine and Kuteva's (2005:81) contact-induced grammaticalization]

6. Linguistic contact, transfer, SLA and convergence

- In the preceding schema of **contact induced-change**, ASP_{L_3} is a property of the interlanguage representation on the L2 initial state which is eventually grammaticalized as ASP_{L_2} .
- **The second generation of speakers** would be the **bilingual** who had been exposed to the INPUT of the language of the first generation, which in fact was an L2 –Tsimpli, Sorace, Heycock and Filiaci (2003).
- Furthermore, language contact may have involved an additional **massive influence of monolingual Quechua and monolingual Spanish Primary Linguistic Data** –Weerman (1993).
- Bilingual speakers would acquire functional categories in a particular way.
- **Two systems** of specific features of functional categories **competing in the bilingual mind that converge**: “there is a subset of cases of cross-linguistic interference that result in convergence in the feature specification of the same functional categories in the two languages” –Sánchez (2003: 10)

6. Linguistic contact, transfer, SLA, convergence

- Sánchez's (2003) Functional Convergence Hypothesis (FCH) to explain the conditions under which a fusion of functional features takes place in the bilingual mind.

Functional Convergence Hypothesis.

- "Convergence, the specification of a common set of features shared by the equivalent functional categories in the two languages spoken by a bilingual individual, takes place when a set of features that is not activated in language A is frequently activated by input in language B in the bilingual mind."
- "Convergence may be the result of the fusion of features associated with a functional category in language A with other features associated with that category in language B or, in certain cases, **it may be the result of the emergence of a new functional category in one of the languages that is not present in the syntactic representation of monolingual speakers of that language.**" [Sánchez 2003: 15]

7. Conclusions

- We have put forward an analysis for verbal complexes with gerunds in Ecuadorian Spanish, showing that there are two existing patterns (adverbial subordination and pseudo-periphrases) that correspond to two very different syntactic structures.
- More importantly, we have shown that the properties of gerunds in Ecuadorian Spanish, like its “anomalous” anteriority reading, in fact stem from general properties of the gerund in Spanish that can be fully attested diachronically.
- We have also provided a preliminary explanation of the contact-induced linguistic change.
- An important corollary of this work is the reflection of how superficially opaque data, like the gerunds we have studied, can in fact be predicted when core properties of those data are combined in novel ways.

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Thank you!!