Typological and social constraints on language contact: Amerindian languages in contact with Spanish
Gomez Rendon, J.A.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
APPENDICES
Annotated samples

Paraguayan Guaraní
Sample 1

Name: Mirta
Age: 30
Sex: Femenine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Teacher
Place: Tobatí
Spanish level: compound bilingual

Che-ngo che-reñoi-vá’ekue táva Atyra-pe, táva Atyrá-pe,
1S-EMPH 1S-be.born-PST town Atyra-LOC lugar Atyra-LOC
‘Well, I was born in Atyra town, the town of Atyra’

ha upéi a-ju-ma a-ñe-malcria la táva Tobatí-me,
and then 1S-come-already 1S-REFL-grow DET town Tobatí-LOC
‘and came to this town of Tobatí to grow up and’

a-guereko trentitrés ary, ha upéi a-studia ñepyru-va’ekue
1S-have thirty-three year and then 1S-study begin-PST
‘I am thirty-three years old, and I began to study’

escuela P.J.C.-pe, che a-ju cinco año a-guerekó-rô-guare
School P.J.C.-LOC 1S 3-come five year 1S-have-COND-when
‘in School P.J.C., I came (to Tobati) when I was five’

a-juma-va’ekue la Tobati-me, ha a-ñepryru-mba-ite la a-studia
1S-come-already-PST DET Tobatí-LOC and 1S-begin-CMP-SUP DEM 1S-study
‘I came to Tobati already and I begin to study’

ko táva, táva Tobati-me ha uperire a-ha kuri avei
DEM town town Tobatí-LOC and after 1S-go RECPST also
‘in this town and afterwards I also went’

mbo’ehaó P.J.C.-pe, upéi kuri a-ha a-je-tavy’o la ſnane
school P.J.C.-LOC then RECPST 1S-go 1S-REFL-learn DET 1PL.POSS
‘to P.J.C. high school, then I studied’
ñe’e guaraní-me, ajépa, upérô a-je-abri kuri

language Guaraní-LOC right:INT then 1S-REFL-abrir RECPST

“Guaraní, right? then It was the time”

la [Ateneo de Lengua y Cultura Guaraní] [Colegio Nacional D.M.-pe]
DET [Institute of Guaraní language and culture] [National highschool D.M.-LOC

“that Ateneo de Lengua y Cultura Guaraní opened the National High School D.M.”

ha upépe oi-ko raka’e la Ateneo upépe o-funciona kuri

and there 3-ser REMPST DET Ateneo there 3-operate RECPST

‘Ateneo was there, and there it was open’

pyharekue, ha upépe ore ro-ho kuri [todos los días]

all.night.long and there 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go RECPST [everyday]

‘all the night long, and there we went everyday’

la ro-studia upé-pe, ñane ñe’e guaraní

DET 1PL.EXCL-study there 1PL.POSS language Guaraní

“there we studied our Guaraní language”

[por tres años]

[for three years]

“for three years”

ha re-mohu’a upéa?

and 2S-finish PRO.DEM

“And did you finish?”

si, a-mohu’a péa, a-mohu’a, ndai-katu-i-nte

yes 1S-finish PRO.DEM 1S-finish NEG-3-be.able-NEG-only

‘Yes I finished it up, it is just that I could not’

la ko’aga-ité-peve hasy-eterie la rubro ñe-conseguí la

DET now-only-until hard-SUP DEM post PASS-get DET

“until now get a teaching post for it is difficult”

ña-mbo’e haguã ko’aga a-ha-mi-mi a-poro-rremplaza-ha ba’e.

1PL-teach for now 1S-go-MIT-MIT 1S-PRO.ACC-replace-NMLZ at.least

‘Now I am replacing a teacher at least’
upéva la a-japo-va-jepi,
PRO.DEM DET 1S-make-NMLZ-often
‘there, that is what I often do’

ha upéi... re-menda?
and then 2S-get.married
‘And then did you get married?’

hē, ha a-menda-va che a-menda-rire-ma-voi kuri
yes and 1S-marry-NMLZ.PRS 1S 1S-marry-after-already-then RECPST
‘Yes, I got married, and after I got married’

la a-ha a-studia la guaraní, a-menda-rire-ma,
DET 1S-go 1S-study DET Guaraní 1S-marry-after-already
‘I studied Guaraní, after I got married’

a-guerekó-ma mokōi mitā, peteī kuīmba’e ha peteī mita-kuña,
1S-have-already two child one boy and one girl-PL
‘I got two children, one boy and two girls’

ha péicha hīna a-ha, ha ko’āga che róga-pe-nte
and so 1S.PROG 1S-go and now 1S.POSS house-LOC-just
‘and so I am now, now just at home’

a-pyta hīna, a-je-dedika a-reko peteī boliche-’i,
1S-stay 1S.PROG 1S-REFL-devote 1S-have one store-DIM
‘I stay, I have a small store’

ha upéva-pe a-mba’apo hīna ko’āga, peicha-ite...
and PRO.DEM-LOC 1S-work 1S.PROG now so-only
‘and I work for it now’

ha mamo avei re-ñemoarandu ambue mba’épe?
and where also 2S-learn other thing-LOC
‘And where else did you study?’

ha, che-ngo a-ha-va’ekei táva Pedro Juan Caballero-pe, pépe
and 1S-EMPH 1S-go-PST town Pedro Juan Caballero-LOC there
‘and I went to Pedro Juan Caballero, there’
ja-jo-topá-va’ekue ne-mandu’á-pa upépe a-há-va’ekue ha upéi a-ha
1PL-RECP-find-PST 2S-remember-INT there 1S-go-PST and then 1S-go
‘we met, do you remember?, there I went and then I went’

avei kuri Caacupé-pe pete curso a-japo avei kuri [por 6 meses]
also RECPST Caacupé-LOC one course 1S-do also RECPST [for 6 months]
‘there I went and also to Caacupe to do a course for six months’

Pedro Juan-pe piko mba’e reho re-japo ra’e?
Pedro Juan-LOC INT thing 2S-go 2S-do PRF
‘To Pedro Juan, what did you go for?’

Pedro Juan-pe [sobre bilinguismo] kuri ha upéi a-ha a-conoce
Pedro Juan-LOC [on bilingualism] PRF and then 1S-go 1S-know
‘To Pedro Juan, bilingualism, afterwards I visited’

avei [la ciudad] upépe nde nde-reñói ra’e, ajépa?
also [DET city] there 2S 2S-be.born PRF right?
‘the city, you were born there, right?’

che upépe che-reñói, Pedro Juan Caballero-pe, upeicha-ite
1S there 1S-be.born Pedro Juan Caballero-LOC so-EMPH
‘there I was born, in Pedro Juan Caballero, that is right’

ha ro-ho avei kuri ro-aprende heta-mba’e
and 1PL.EXCL-go also RECPST 1PL.EXCL-go-learn many-thing
‘and we went to learn many things’

upépe, ro-hecha heta-mba’e avei de-paso
there 1PL.EXCL-see many-thing also in.passing
‘there, we saw lots of things, and in passing’

ha upei-ngo, a-surí-mi-mi siempre la capacitasió-á-rupi,
and DET-EMPH 1S-look.for-MIT-MIT always DET training-REL-around
‘to get some traning as well, always about training’

ramoite avei kuri a-ha kuri avei
recently also RECPST 1S-go RECPST also
‘recently I went also’
to the artisan village, where there was a training course on theater

that includes our subject matter

and we go to have a training on it

you finish your Guaraní studies, right?

did you finish your studies?

yes, I finished and became Guaraní teacher

And afterwards did you not teach?

no, I don’t teach, I just go to replace

for some of my boys, and then only for three months

then I went to the high school
ha avei o-ñe-koteve-rõ che-rehe a-je-hecha avei ha a-ha.
and also 3-REFL-need-if 1S-for 1S-REFL-see also and 1S-go
‘if they need me and look for me, I go’

ha J.R. oi-ramo upepe [de director] na-nde-gueraha-i raka’e
and J.R. 3-if there [of director] NEG-2-take-NEG PST
‘but if J.R. was there as director, why did he not take you in?’

No, porque che-ngó upéro a-studia-ramo colegio-pe,
not because 1S-EMPH then 1S-study-if high.school-LOC
‘no, because at that time I was still going to the highschool’

ne’ira-gueteri, ha’é-ngo che mbo’e-hara-kue no tanto…
NEG-yet 3-EMPH 1S teacher-NMLZ-PST not much
‘I was not a teacher yet?’

[Quiero que me cuentes toda la experiencia que tienes como profesora…]
[I want you to tell me about your experience as a teacher…]

[Poco, porque no estoy ejerciendo]
[Just a bit, because I am not teaching now]

[Pero de lo que has ejercido, algo ejerciste]
[But about your past teaching, you taught something]

[Si, ejercí por dos meses]
[Yes I taught for two months]

[Qué experiencia tuviste de eso ?]
[What is your experience from it?]

che-ngó a-ha voi kuri la che colegio-kue-pe
1S-EMPH 1S-go recent RECPST DET 1S 1S-high.school-PST-LOC
‘I just went to my former high school’

ha a-vey-a-iterei-voi kuri la a-je-hechá-ramo-guare
and 1S-happy-SUP-EMPH RECPST DET 1S-REFL-see-if-when
‘and I was very happy when I was welcome’

la a-ha haguã la a-rreemplaza pe mbo’éhára
DET 1S-go for DEM 1S-replace DEM teacher
“I went to replace a teacher”
Guaraní-me-guá-pe ha a-vy’a-iterei kuri
Guaraní-LOC-ABL-ACC and 1S-happy-SUP RECPST
‘of Guaraní and I was very happy’

porque che-rayhu-eteriei la che remimbo’e-kuera,
because 1S-love-SUP DET 1S student-PL
‘because my students loved me’

ha upéa kuri che la a-logra chugui-kuéra,
and PRO.DEM RECPST 1S DET 1S-get 3.ABL-PL
‘and I got that from them’

hasta o-jeu-re che-rehe híkuai la director-pe kuri
up.to 3-ask.for 1S-for 3.PROG DET director-DAT RECPST
‘they asked the director for me’

la a-pyta haquá porque he’i cheve hikuai ajepa
DET 1S-stay for because 3.say 1S.OBJ 3.PROG right:INT
‘so that I could stay because they told me, right?’

de-que la a-mbo’e por-iteriei chape-kuera ha que
of-that DET 1S-teachgood-SUP 3.OBJ-PL and that
‘that I teach them good and that’

che-paciencia ha hese-kuéra nda-ha’é-i por lo-que la
1S-patience and 3.with-PL NEG-3.ser-NEG for that-which DET
‘I am patient with them, and that is because’

na-mbo’e-vai-gui aje,
NEG-teach-bad-because right:INT
‘I do not teach badly, right?’

che igual-nte la a-mbo’e-ramo
1S equal-only DET 1S-teach-if
‘When I teach all of them’

upéicha-nte avei che-paciencia-ta hese-kuera igual
so-only also 1S-patience-FUT 3.with-PL equal
‘I am also patient with all of them’
Appendices

Paraguayan Guaraní
Sample II

Name: Eduardo
Age: 49
Sex: Masculine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Teacher
Place: Tobati
Spanish level: coordinate bilingual

Eduardo, mba'èicha nde re-jahu ko ňe'è Guaraní?
Eduardo, how 2S 2S-find DEM language Guaraní
‘Eduardo, how do you find the Guaraní language?’

mbo’ehaó-pe ha ňande róga-py-pe?
school-LOC and 1PL.POSS house-inside-LOC
‘In schools and at home?’

ñande ňe’è guarani ningo ajépa jai-kuaa háicha
1PL.POSS language Guaraní EMPH right:INT 1PL-know like
‘our Guaraní language, right, as we know’.

yma ňande voi na-ña-ñe’è-i-va’ekue, che ai-ko-va’ekue Pedro Juan-pe
before 1PL self NEG-1PL-speak-NEG-PST 1S 1S-live-PST Pedro Juan-LOC
‘in the past we did not speak the language ourselves, I lived here in Pedro Juan’

veinticuatro año a-guereko’akue ko’ápe ai-ko ha
twenty-four years 1S-have-PST here 1S-be and
‘until I was twenty-four years I lived and’

na-ñe’è-i-va’ekue che familia apyté-pe Guaraní, o-sea-que
NEG-speak-NEG-PST 1S family inside-LOC Guaraní, that.is
‘I did not speak Guaraní at home, I mean’

na-ñe’è-gausu-i pe Guaraní sa’i-voi a-ñe’è pe Guaraní
NEG-speak-big-NEG DEM Guaraní few-AFF 1S-speak DEM Guaraní
‘I did not speak much Guaraní, just a bit’
porque o-je-prohibi-voi-va’ekue ñande época-pe, ore
‘because in our times it was forbidden to talk in Guaraní’

epoca-pe pe Guaraní ña-ñemongue-ta, ha upéi a-sê
age-LOC DEM Guaraní 1PL-talk-FUT and then 1S-leave
‘but we talked in Guaraní anyway, hen I left’
a-ha ko’á-gui, a-sê a-ha pe ñande Paraguái
1S-go here-ABL 1S-leave 1S-go DEM 1PL.POSS Paraguay
‘from here I left for Paraguay’

ryepy-pe, ryepy-re ha’é-va hína peteí táva Santani
inside-LOC, inside-by 3.be-NMLZ 3.PROG one town Santani
‘the hinterland of it, a town named Santani’

San Estanislao o-pytá-va hína [departamento de San Pedro]
San Estanislao 3-stay-NMLZ 3.PROG [District of San Pedro]
‘San Estanislao which is located in the district of San Pedro’

ha upépe a-ñepyr-va’ekue mil novecientos noventidos-pe
and there 1S-begin-PST thousand nine.hundred ninety:two-LOC
‘and there I began in 1992’

ai-ke pe educación-pe ha uperô ne’ra
1S-enter DEM education-LOC and then NEG:there.be
‘I entered the field of education, by then there was no’

pe reforma-educativa oí pe educación ryepy-pe
DEM education.reform 3:be DEM education inside-LOC
‘reform inside the education’

este oí-va gueteri pe programa ymaguare ja’e chupe
this 3:be-NMLZ still DEM program past 1PL:say 3:OBJ
‘there was still the the so-called old program’

ha ai-ke’akue a-mbo’e pe campáña-re umi campesino
and 1S-enter-PST 1S-teach DEM countryside-by DEM peasant
‘I began to teach peasants in the countryside’
i-táva-pe  ha  upé-pe  che  manda’a  a-ha-mi-va’ekue
3.POSS-town-LOC and there 1S remember 1S-go-MIT-PST
‘in their towns and I remember I went there’

ou  umi  sy-kuera,  sy  ha  tuva-kuéra,
3:come DEM mother-PL mother and father-PL
‘mothers and fathers came’

tuva-kuéra  ou  o-ñemongue-ta  chendive
father-PL 3:come 3-talk-FUT 1S:with
‘fathers came to talk with me’

ha  che  a-ñe’ê  chupe-kuéra  Guaraní-me-nte  ajea,
and 1S 1S-speak 3.OBJ-PL Guaraní-LOC-only right:INT
‘and I spoke to them only in Guaraní, right’

pero  sy  ou-jave  o-ñemongue-ta  che-ndive
but mother 3:come-when 3-speak-FUT 1S:with
‘but if mothers came to talk with me’

che  a-mbohovái  chupe-kuéra  castelláno-pe  ha’e  o-ñe’ê  chéve
1S 1S-answer 3.OBJ-PL Spanish-LOC 3 3-speak 1S.OBJ
‘I talked to them in Spanish but they spoke to me’

ha’ekuéra  Guaraní-me  ha  a-mbohovái  chupe-kuéra  castellano-pe,
3.PL Guaraní-LOC and 1S-answer 3PL.OBJ Spanish-LOC
‘in Guaraní and I answer them in Spanish’

ha  mba’ere  upéa,  porque  che  a-ha  Pedro Juan-gui
and why PRO.DEM because 1S 1S-go Pedro Juan-ABL
‘and why? Because I came from Pedro Juan’

a-gueraha  peteî  cultura-diferente  ja’e  chupe,
1S-take one different.culture 1PL:say 3.OBJ,
‘and I brought a different culture, so to say’

mba’ere,  kuña-pe  ña-ñe’ê-ya’erã  castellano-pe
why women-ACC NEG-1S-speak-OBLG Spanish-LOC
‘why? because men have to talk to women in Spanish’
porque  
\textit{cuña}  
\textit{ñande}  
\textit{recha-rō},  
\textit{ñande}  
\textit{rendu-rō}

because women IPL see-if IPL listen.to-if

‘because if they see us speaking’

guaraní  
\textit{ña-ñe’è},  
\textit{ñande}  
\textit{rechaza}  
\textit{hikuái}  
ajéa,

Guaraní IPL-speak IPL reject 3.PROG right:INT

‘Guaraní, they reject us, right’

\textit{ha  péa-re \ cho sy-kuéra-pe  a-ñe’è}  
\textit{castellano-pe},

and PRO.DEM-for 1S mother-PL-ACC 1S-speak Spanish-LOC

‘that is why I spoke to the mothers in Spanish’

\textit{ha  upéi-katu  ko  a-guapy  peteï  ára-pe}

and then-EMPH DEM 1S-sit.down one day-LOC

‘And then one day I sat down’

\textit{ha  a-je-py’a-mongueta,  pero  mbá’ei-ko \ cho  la  a-japó-va},

and 1S-REFL-inside-speak but what-INT 1S DET 1S-do-NMLZ

‘and thought to myself ’what on earth am I doing?’

\textit{marã-piko  \ cho  péicha  a-ñe’è}  
\textit{hendivekuéra}

for.what-INT 1S so 1S-speak 3:with-PL

‘What do I talk to them in this way for?’

\textit{che  ningo  nairi  Pedro-Juán-pe,  che  ningo  ai-mé  ápe},

1S EMPH NEG.be Pedro-Juan-LOC 1S EMPH 1S-be here

‘I am not in Pedro Juan, but I am here’

[Compañía 25 de Diciembre]  
\textit{péa  ha’e-kuéra}  \textit{la  i-realidad},

[Compañía 25 de Diciembre] PRO.DEM 3-PL DET 3.POSS-reality

‘in Compañía 25 de Diciembre, that is their reality’

\textit{marã  \ cho  a-gueru-se  peteï  realidad}  
\textit{nda-ha’è-i-va}  
\textit{i-mba’è-kuéra}

why 1S 1S-bring.want one reality NEG-3.be-NEG-NMLZ 3.POSS-thing-PL

‘why do I want to bring them a reality that is not theirs?’

\textit{ha  upépe  \ cho  a-je-hecha-kuuaa}

and there 1S 1S-REFL-see-know

‘then I realized’
de-que peteĩ mba’ẽ vai ningo raka’e pe Guaraní ja-kyhyje
of-that one cosa ugly AFF REMPST DET Guaraní 1PL-fear
(that it was something bad that we are afraid)

ña-ñe’ẽ haguã, vai ningo pe Guaraní ña-gueroĩ
1PL-speak for ugly EMPH DEM Guaraní 1PL-be.ashamed
(of speaking in Guaraní, that we are ashamed of speaking Guaraní)

ha upẽi a-ñepyruũ noventidos-pe a-ñepyruũ-’akue
and after 1S-begin ninety-two-LOC 1S-begin-PST
(and then I began in year ninety-two)

avei a-je-tavy-’o ja’e chupe pe Guaraní-me ha a-aprende
also 1S-REFL-study 1PL:say 3.OBJ DEM Guaraní-LOC and 1S-learn
(to study Guaraní and learned)

pe Guaraní i-porâ-va avei pe amo-gotyo lado
DEM Guaraní 3-good-NMLZ also DEM there-side side
(that it is nice to speak Guaraní also in other places)

ai-ke mbo’ehaó-pe Ateneo-pe ai-ke a-aprende pe mba’ẽicha-pa
1S-enter school-LOC Ateneo-LOC 1S-enter 1S-learn DEM how-INT
(I entered Instituto Ateneo to learn how)

ña-mbo’e-va’erã pe Guaraní ajepa, ha upẽicha
1PL-teach-OBLG DEM Guaraní right:INT and so
(to teach Guaraní, right, and in this way)

mbeguetatũpe oi-ke avei pe reforma-educativa,
little.by.little 3-enter also DEM education-reform
(little by little the Education Reform started)

[mil novecientos noventicuatro] oi-ke pe reforma-educativa
[thousand nine.hundred ninety-four] 3-enter DEM reform-educative
(the Education Reform began in 1994)

ha che escuela che ai-me-haguẽ-pe,
and 1S school 1S 1S-be-NMLZ.PST-LOC
(and the school where I taught)
pe mbo’ehao che ai-me-hague-pe o-je-poravo i-katu-haguã-icha
DEM school 1S 1S-be-NMLZ.PST-LOC 3-PASS-choose 3-be.able-for-so
‘that school I was teaching was chosen somehow’

[modalidad Guaraní hablante] o-ñe-implémen ta upépe ha che
[Guaraní-speaking system] 3-REFL-implement there and 1S
‘for the implementation of the Guaraní-speaking system, and there I was’

la primer mbo’ehara upépe a-implémenta-’akue Guaraní-hablante
DET first teacher there 1S-implement-PST Guaraní-speaking
‘the first teacher who implemented the Guaraní-speaking system there’

che a-ja ko’á-gui na-ñe’ê-gausu-i-’akue Guaraní
1S 1S-go here-ABL NEG-speak-big-NEG-PST Guaraní
‘when I left from here, I did not speak Guaraní’
a-ja a-je-recibi amo-ite [profesor-de-Guaraní] noventaicuatro
1S-go 1S-REFL-graduate there-very [Guaraní of teacher] ninety-four
‘I went there and graduated as a Guaraní teacher, in ninety-four’

o-je-elegi la che escuela [para modalidad Guaraní hablante]
3-PASS-choose DET 1S school [for the Guaraní-speaking system]
‘my school was chosen for the Guaraní-speaking system’

ha che a-encabeza-va [la enseñanza de Guaraní hablante]
and 1S DEM 1S-head-NMLZ [the Guaraní-speaking education]
‘and I was leading the Guaraní-speaking education’

oi-ke-pa-ite-voi ko de-uno-ite-pe ajea
3-enter-CMP-very-well DEM of-one-very-LOC right:INT
‘everybody entered at the same time, right’

ha a-ñeypyrù a-mbo’e, a-mbo’e la mitã-nguéra-pe
and 3-begin 1S-teach 1S-teach DEM child-PL-ACC
‘and I began to teach, to teach children’

ou hikuáí pe hóga-gui guarani-me o-ñe’ê,
3:come 3.PROG DEM house-ABL Guaraní-LOC 3-speak
‘who came from home as monolingual Guaraní speakers’
ha mba’e-icha-voi piko re-mbo’e-ta chupe-kuéra castellano-pe mba’e and how-well INT 2S-teach-FUT 3.OBJ-PL Spanish-LOC what ‘and how could I teach in Spanish or something’

hóga-gui ou Guarani ha re-mbo’e chupe-kuéra Guarani jey house-ABL 3:come Guarani and 2S-teach 3.OBJ-PL Guarani again ‘If they speak Guarani at home and you teach them Guarani again’

o-veve-pa-ngo hikuai o-aprende porá hikuai 3-fly-CMP-EMPH 3.PROG 3-learn good 3.PROG ‘they learn fast and very good’

ha mbeguekatúpe pe castellano re-moïngue re-ho-vo and little.by.little DEM Spanish 2-introduce 2-go-when ‘and little by little you introduce Spanish’

nda-ha’e-i ku de-un-golpe e-j-agarra re-moïngue-se NEG-3.be-NEG DEM of-one-blow 2.IMP-EUPH-catch 2-introduce-want ‘it is not overnight that you introduce’

pete’ lengua nda-ha’e-iva i-mba’e-kuéra ha o-pyta one language NEG-3.be.NEG-NMLZ 3.POSS-thing-PL and 3-stay ‘a language that is not theirs and if so’

hikuai ndo-aprende-rí mba’eve, sin-embargo nde re-mbo’e-ramo 3.PROG NEG-3-learn-NEG nothing however 2 2-teach-if ‘they do not learn anything, however, if you teach them’

chupe-kuéra-voi pe i-lengua-materna pe i-lengua-matérna-pe 3.OBJ-PL-AFF DEM 3.POSS-tongue-mother DEM 3.POSS-tongue-mother-LOC ‘in their own language, in their mother tongue’

re-mbo’e hína re-ho-vo ha mbeguekatu re-moïngue chupe-kuéra 2S-teach 3.PROG 2S-go-when and little.by.little 2-introduce 3.OBJ-PL ‘and little by little you go introducing to the’

pete’ segunda-lengua upépe o-aprende porâve o-aprende porá one second.language there 3-learn better 3-learn good ‘a second language, then they learn better, they learn well’
pe *segunda lengua* ha aivei oi-pytvô o-aprende porâve
DET second-language and also 3-help 3-learn better
‘a second language, and it also helps them learn better’

haguâ pe *i-primer-a-lengua* aivei ha upêicha a-mbo’e
for DEM 3.POSS-first-language also and thus 1S-teach
‘their first language as well and so I taught’

upépe [seis años] aivei upêpe a-mba’apo-mi umi mbo’ehara-kuéra-ndi
there [six years] also there 1S-work-MIT DEM teacher-PL-with
“For six years, I worked with several teachers’

ro-hecha mba’elicha-pa i-porâ añete pe [enseñanza de Guaraní]
1P.EXCL-see how-INT 3-good certainly DEM [Guaraní teaching]
‘and we see that teaching in Guaraní is really good’

este péa peteî [modalida Guaraní hablante] o-guereko-’akue,
this PRO.DEM one [Guaraní-speaking system] 3-have-PST
‘that was the Guaraní-speaking modality’

pero o-guereko i-ñ-inconveniente ajea,
but 3-have 3.POSS-EUPH-trouble right:INT
‘but it has its own troubles, right’

o-reko la inconveniente o-reko la tropiezo [es por varios factores]
3-have DEM trouble 3-have DEM stumble [because of many factors]
‘it has difficulties, it has stumbles, for many reasons’

porque la [un ejemplo] a-moi-ta peê-me ko’âga, ko’âga
because DEM [one ejemplo] 1S-put-FUT 2PL.ACC now now
‘because, let’s say, you, now, at this moment’

pe ñande educacion ape Paraguay-pe [es inclusiva] he’i mba’e
DEM 1PL.POSS education here Paraguay-LOC [is inclusive] 3:say what
‘our education in Paraguay is, they say, inclusive, something like that’

he’i-se péa [de que en cualquier escuela] i-katu-ma oï-ke
say-want PRO.DEM [that in any school] 3-be.able-already 3-enter
‘what does this mean? It means that you can enter any school’

ya sea sordo, mudo, ciego como un alumno regular normal sin distinción
“be it deaf and dumb, blind, as a regular, normal student, without distinction’
Ecuadorian Quichua
Sample 1

Name: Rafael
Age: 53
Sex: Masculine
Education: Elementary
Work: Peasant
Place: Casco Valenzuela (Imbabura)
Spanish level: compound bilingual

Ñuca ca-ni Rafael ñuca Casco Valenzuela-manda ca-ni.
1S be-1S Rafael 1S Casco Valenzuela-ABL be-1S
‘My name is Rafael, I am from Casco Valenzuela’

ñuca chari-ni sincuintires añus-ta cai pascuhua-ta pacta-ni.
1S have-1S fifty-three years-ACC DEM.PROX Easter-PROL reach-1S
‘I will be fifty-three years old in the coming Easter’

trabaja-ní cai empresa-pi-lla-ta mutu-huan masuminos
work-1S DEM.PROX company-LOC-LIM power.saw-INST more.or.less
‘I have been working with the power saw in this company approximately’

ochu huata-ta mutu-huan.
eight year-PROL power.saw-INST
‘for eight years with the power saw.’

masuminos socio-cuna ca-shpa baju-lía gana-naju-rca-nchi
more.or.less member-PL be-GER low-LIM earn-PL-PST-1PL
“as members, we earn relatively few”

pero cunun-ga ya jornal-gu-ta aumenta-shpa cati-n
but now-TOP already wage-DIM-ACC increase-GER continue-3
‘but now the wages are going up’

shina trabaju-shpa cati-naju-pa-nchi
so work-GER continue-PL-HON-1PL
‘so we keep working’
Chapa-huan presidenti caura ñuca-pash trabajas shpa cati-rca-ni
‘When C. was president, I was working for him’

chaipa cati-rca Miguel cati-rca chay-ura-ca chay-ura
DEM continue-PST Miguel be-PST DEM-hour-TOP DEM-time
‘Miguel came after him, at that time’

nishca-ca ochumil moto-huan-ga docimil-gu gana-c
say-TOP eight.thousand power.saw-INST-TOP twelve.thousand-DIM earn-HAB
‘I earned twelve thousand, working with the power saw’

ci-rca-nchi Chapa-huan ca-shpa
be-PST-1PL Chapa-INST be-GER
‘during C’s term’

huarmi-cuna-pa ochumil ca-rca shina ashata puri-naju-rca
woman-PL-BEN eight.thousand be-PST so few walk-PL-PST
‘women earned eight thousand, that little, we went’

tanda-naju-shpa-ima o por ray-ima trabajac ca-rca-nchi
gather-RECP-GER-INDEF or by line-INDEF work-HAB be-PST-1P
‘collecting money, or we worked per piece of land’

trabajac-i callari-rca-nchi lentejas pamba-pi
work-INF begin-PST-1PL lentil:PL cultivated.field-LOC
‘we began to work in a piece of land cultivated with lentils’

mutu-cuna-ima prestamu llucshi-shpa
power.saw-PL-INDEF loan go.out-GER
‘after we got a loan, we bought several power saws’

empresa-man poste-cuna-ta intriga-ngapac
company-DAT log-PL-ACC deliver-PURP
‘to deliver logs to the company’

chai cullqui-cuna-huan mutu-cuna-ima randi-shpa
DEM money-PL-INST power.saw-PL-INDEF buy-GER
‘we bought several power saws with the money’
trabaja-i callari-rca-nchi posti-ta intriga-shpa
work-INF begin-PST-1P log-ACC deliver-GER
‘we began to work and delivered logs’

chai prestamu-cuna-ta paga-shpa cati-rca
DEM préstamo-PL-ACC pay-GER continue-PST
‘we continued to pay these debts’

pristamu-ta-ca lluczshimu-gri-shca ca-rca
loan-ACC-TOP go.out-INCH-PTCP be-PST
‘the debts were paid off’

chai-pa ña Alberto-ta chura-shpa cati-rca
DEM-BEN already Alberto-ACC put-GER continue-PST
‘when Alberto was appointed’

Albertu-ta llucchi-shpa ña cutin gringu-ta chura-rca
Alberto-ACC go.out-GER already again gringo-ACC put-PST
‘once they fired Alberto, they appointed Gringo’

punda-cuna-ca shina mutu-huan-lla trabaja-shpa puri-rca-ni
before-PL-TOP so power.saw-INST-LIM work-GER walk-PST-1S
‘so I used to work with the power saw in the past’

chainanda cati-rca-ni cai hacienda-pi trabaja-shpa
afterwards begin-PST-1S DEM landholding-GER work-GER
‘afterwards I was working in this landholding’

chainanda empresa-pi trabaja-shpa cati-rca-ni
afterwards company-LOC work-GER continue-PST-1S
‘afterwards I went to work in the company’

cunan agricultura-cuna-pi tanda-ju-shpa cati-shca-nchi
now cultivated.field-PL-LOC gather-PROG-GER continue-PRF-1PL
‘now we keep meeting in the cultivated fields’

trabaja-c ca-shca-nchi huauquin-cuna raya-cuna desigual
work-HAB be-PRF-1PL some-PL line-PL uneven
‘some of us used to work in pieces of land of different sizes’
punda *presidinti*-cuna-huan-ca [lo que raya avance] *producto*-cuna-ta-pash
before president-PL-INST-TOP [that which line reaches] product-PL-ACC-ADIT
‘with the former presidents, we worked per piece of land, also per product’

*shuc*  *huasi-manda-lla*  *ishcai-pura-ima*  *trabajá-shpa*
one  house-ABL-LIM  two-COM-some  work-GER
‘Two members of the family working in several pieces of land’

*raya*-cuna-ta  *chari*-c  *ca-rca*,  *ca*  *producto*  *parti*-pi-ca
line-PL-ACC  have-HAB  be-PST  DEM  product  part-LOC-TOP
‘in the pieces of land they have, as for products, we did not work for sure’

*na*  *siguru*  *trabajá-shpa-ca*  *casi*  *libra*-gu-ima  *ishcai*  *libra*-gu-ima
NEG  safe  work-GER-TOP  almost pound-DIM-some  two pound-DIM-some
‘we hardly gather one pound, two pounds’

*japi-shpa*  *llaqui*  *shayana-c*  *ca-rca-nchi*
catch-GER  difficult  stand.up-HAB  be-PST-1PL
‘and we had to stand really bad times’

*huaquin chai*  *siguro*  *trabajá-cuna-ca*
some DEM  safe  work-PL-TOP
“some had permanent work”

*propio*  *cozicha-shca-shina*  *mundu-na*  *ca-rca*
own  harvest-PTCP-like  lean-INF  be-PST
“like their own piece of land they live on”

*chaimanda*  *ña*  *cai*  *ultimo*  *prisidinti*  *Agustin*  *yaicu-shpa-mi*
aterwards already DEM last president Agustín enter-GER-FOC
‘then, when the last president was appointed, the groupd were finally formed’

*tucuchi-rca*  *grupu-ta*  *forma-shpa*  *grupu*  *forma-shpa*
finish-PST  group-ACC  form-GER  group  form-GER
‘after the groups were eventually formed’

*raya-ta*  *igualá-shpa-mi*  *igual*  *parti*-ri-rca-nchi
line-ACC  equal-GER  equal  split-REFL-PST-1PL
‘the pieces of land were divided equally’
already according be-PST-1PL
‘we agreed all with that’

uneven not.according continue-PL-PST-1PL
‘if they were uneven, we did not agree’

directamente directly Casco-INSTR Topo-INSTR good get.along-PRF-1PL
‘we have got along well with Casco and Topo in particular’

Angla-PL-INSTR problem get.along-PFT-1PL problem continue-PRF-1PL
‘but we continued to have problems with Angla’

already division-PL-ACC discuss-3 some-ADIT there.be-GER already
‘we argue about the divisions, if there is some issue’

claim.RECP-PRF so problem-PL-ACC have-PRF-1PL
‘there are claims, and we still have problems’

DEM already grupo-PL-ACC form-REFL-PRF DEM president good-SUP
‘because this president formed the groups properly’

DEM-PL-ACC TOP NEG lose-CAUS-REFL-PRF
‘the groups have not been dissolved’

mita dejarse-PRF
‘the collective work has not stopped’

now DEM divide-REFL-PTCP-PL-TOP some
‘today, the lots of land some people’
ultimamente cua-nchi Cascu lado kida-naju-nchi proyectu-huan
lately be-1PL Casco lado remain-RECP-1PL project-INST
‘lately we from Casco keep on working for the project’

trabaja-shpa ricu-gri-nchi cai huata-gu-cuna imashina-mi cati-nchi
work-GER see-INCH-1PL DEM year-DIM-PL as-FOC continue-1PL
‘we are going to see how to continue with the project in the following years’

proyectu-huan proyectu-huan tarpu-shca-nchi asha vicia, cebada trigu
project-INST project-INST sow-PRF-1PL few vetch barley wheat
‘for the project we have cultivated a bit of peas, barley, and wheat’

shuc lote siri-ju-n papa-pac alfalfa-cuna risto cuyera-gu-cuna-pash,
one lot be-PROG-3 potatoe-GEN lucerne-PL rest cuyera-DIM-PL-ADIT
‘one lot has potatoe and lucerne and the rest is guinea-pig rearing’

planta nativa-cuna ashtahuan mirachi-ngapac plantación cati-ngapac
plant native-PL more produce-PURP plantación begin-PURP
‘native plants grow better, they are better for cultivation’

shina catina-ju-nchi bosqui-pi division-ia [no-se]
begin-DUR-1PL forest-LOC division-ACC [I don’t know]
“so we keep cultivating them, about the division of the forest, I don’t know”

Casco lado y Topo na diacuerdo ca-nchi-sha-lla-yrin
Casco lado and Topo NEG de.acuerdo be-1PL.FUT.LIM-EMPH
‘people from Casco and Topo do not agree with them’

divienda rura-shpa ashta llaquica-gri-nchi
division do-GER much suffer-INCH-1PL
‘if we divide, we are going to have many problems’

huaquin parti-cuna-ca planada
some part-PL-TOP plain
‘some parts are plain’
huaquin parti-cuna-ca ladera jacu-cuna-ima ricuri-n
some part-PL-TOP hillside rock-PL-some seem-3
‘other parts are hillsides, they look rocky’

chai-cuna-pi ashta llaqui urma-gri-nchi-yarin chucta chai-ta
DEM-PL-LOC much problem drag-INCH-1PL-EMPH Intj DEM-ACC
‘in those cases we will certainly have problems’

cua-nchi ingenieru-cuna-huan diunavez no dividi-shpa
be-1PL engineer-PL-INST once.and.for.all NEG divide-GER
‘we agree with the engineers, if we do not divide now’

shina bosqui-ta-ca jatu-shpa mantini-shpa cullqui-ma tanta-chi-shpa
so forest-ACC-TOP sell-GER maintain-GER money-FOC gather-GER
‘we keep the forest to sell it afterwards and we save money’

refuerzo-ta rura-shpa-chari alli-man ni-naju-shca-nchi dividi-shpa
effort-ACC do-GER-DUB good-ALL say-PL-PRF-1P divide-GER
‘if we make an effort, then the arguments will be for good’

cunan dividi-shun ni-naju-n division-ga na ashta alli sintirin
now divide-1PL-FUT say-PL-3 division-TOP NEG much good feel-3
‘if we divide now, the division will not be good for all’

bosqui ladera-cuna jacu-cuna ladera-cuna
forest hillside-PL rock-PL hillside-PL
‘the wood hillsides, the rocky sides’

imashina-ta llucchri-nga no siguro chari-nchi entrada-cuna illa-nchi
as-INT peel.off-FUT NEG safe have-1PL income-PL be.missing-1PL
‘how will they be cleared, we will not have a warranty, an income will be missing’

shina-ta-mi llaqui-ta ricu-naju-nchi-ra.
so-ACC-FOC problem-ACC see-PL-1PL-still
‘thus problems will remain’

Cai pata potreru-pi ashta problema-lla ca-n-mi
DEM plain pasture-LOC much problema-LIM be-3-TOP
‘this plain pasture land is a big problem’
Because wood material board-ACC do-PURP-TOP
‘because the wood to make boards’

neg sirvi-shca cuenta ca-n.
NEG serve-PTCP account be-3
‘it turned out useless’

Cunan-ga rura-naju-nchi rollizu-ta jatu-ngapac
now-TOP do-PL-1PL woode.log-ACC sell-PURP
‘now we make little logs to sell’

chai-ca no material llucshi-ju-n
DEM-TOP NEG material go.out-PROG-3
‘but the material do no go out’

ñan-da tamia-shpa huaglich-cpi carru-cuna na yaicu-n na-chu
road-PROL rain-GER spoil-GER car-PL NEG enter-3 NEG-INT
‘cars do not come this far because the roads are spoiled by the rains, right?’

material chai ca-shca-pi amuntuna-ri-n
material PRO.DEM be-PRF-LOC pile.up-REFL-3
‘and the material piles up’

ni-ma na producto llucshi-ju-n carru no avanzan
NEG-FOC NEG product go.out-PROG-3 car NEG advance-3
‘because cars do not come and the produce cannot go out’

claro cuan-pi-ca cutin genti trabagu-ca mira-ta-ca
of.course now-LOC-TOP again people work-TOP increase-ACC-TOP
‘of course there is more work for people’

[pero soponte] material no llucshi-ju-shpa culqui
[but let’s suppose] material NEG go.out-DUR-GER money
‘but suppose the material cannot go out’

no llucshi-ju-c-ta sintiri-n chai llaqui-cuna-ta chari-nchi
NEG go.out-DUR-HAB-PROL feel-3 DEM problem-PL-ACC have-1PL
‘then money seems to be missing and we have problems’
Ecuadorian Quichua
Sample II

Name: Norma
Age: 24
Sex: Femenine
Education: Tertiary
Work: Development worker
Place: Gradas Chico (Bolivar)
Spanish level: coordinate bilingual

Cai ñuca causa-na comunidad Gradas Chico-manta-ca
DEM 1S live-INF community Gradas Chico-ABL-TOP
‘This community of Gradas Chico where I live’

historia-ta mana yacha-pa-ni-chu sino comunidad Gradas ca-shca-manta
history-ACC not know-HON-1S-NEG but community Gradas be-PTCP-ABL
‘I don’t know its history but the history of the Gradas community’

ñuca yuya-ni punda ñuca ñuapa-cuna abuelito-cuna
1S think-1S old 1S.POSS before-PL grandparent-PL
‘I think, in the past our forebears, our grandparents’

parla-shpa chai Gradas urani huaiçu huichi-cuna-mi Gradas
talk-GER DEM Gradas down rift hill-PL-FOC Gradas
‘they used to tell that Gradas was located down on the slope of the ravine’

Grada-cuna ca-shca nin,
Grada-PL be-PRF EVID
‘and there was steps, they say’

chai-manta comunidad Gradas-ta shuti-chi-shca
DEM-ABL community Gradas-ACC name-CAUS-PRF
‘hence they named the community Gradas’

pero comunidad Gradas Chico ima-manta ca-shca-ta
but community Gradas Chico what-ABL be-PRF-ACC
‘but where Gradas Chico came’
‘I do not know, I think, maybe, for the same reason’

‘they named the community Gradas Chico, I think’

‘In the past people used to tell, our fathers’

‘and grandparents used to tell that Gradas’

‘was a neighbor to the nearby community’

‘of Gradas Grande, the community up the hill’

‘down this side, there was like a community boundary’

‘hence the community we live now in’

‘is the community of Gradas Chico, I think’

‘How were the first years of your life?’
‘well, my early years, I was born in this community’

‘Gradas Chico, and in this community’

‘I grew up afterwards’

‘I have preserved my way of life, my Indian culture’

‘since I was a child’

‘and my language, my way of speaking’

‘I live speaking in Quichua’

‘does your parents live?’

‘I have living parents, I have a mother’

‘and I have a father, I have one sister’
ishcai churi-ta chari-ni.
two son-ACC have-1S
‘I have two sons’

Canca yacha-shca-ngui-chu huahuahuasi-man
1S-TOP know-PRF-2-INT nursery-ALL
yachanawasi-cuna-man ri-shca-chu
school-PL-ALL go-PRF-INT
‘Did you go to kindergarten and school?’

Bueno ñuca yachanahuasi-man ri-shca-ni comunidad Gradas Grande-pi
well 1S school-ALL go-PRF-1S community Gradas Grande-LOC
‘Yes, I went to school, in the community of Gradas Grande’

escuela-ta tucuchi-shca-ni y chashna-lla-tac colegio-ta
school-ACC finish-PRF-1S and so-LIM-EMPH high.school-ACC
‘I finished school, and the highschool’

tucuchi-shca-ni Guaranda Colegio Instituto Técnico Guaranda-pi
finish-PRF-1S Guaranda highschool Instituto Técnico Guaranda-LOC
‘I finished in Guaranda, at the Instituto Técnico of Guaranda’

y chashna-lla-tac cunan caipi estudia-cu-ni
and so-LIM-EMPH today here study-PROG-1S
‘and thus now I am studying here’

Universidad Estatal de Bolivar ultimo huata-pi ca-ni.
State University of Bolivar last year-LOC be-1S
‘at Universidad Estatal de Bolivar, I am in the last year’

Shina-shpa-ca chai yacha-shca-huan-ca ima-ta yuya-ngui
so-GER-TOP DEM know-PTCP-INST-TOP what-INT thing-2S
‘With that knowledge, what do you think?’

mai-pi-tac llanca-ngui chai yuyai-cuna-huan pactari-shpa?
where-LOC-INT work-2S DEM thought-PL-INST get-GER
‘where can you get a job with that knowledge?’

bueno ñuca-ca cai yachai-cuna-huan-ca
well 1S-TOP DEM knowledge-PL-TOP
‘well, I with this knowledge’
punta mamita-cuna mana ashca preparación-ta yacha-shca-manta
older mother.DIM(Sp)-PL not much education-ACC know-PTCP-ABL
‘because women did not have much education in the past’

huarmi-cuna cashpapish
woman-PL although
‘being women’

mana shuc abuelo-ta chari-shca ñaupa mamita-cuna
not one grandfather-ACC have-PTCP before mother.DIM(Sp)
‘They did not have parents who care for them’

ñucanchic cunan ya chai-cuna-huan-ca
1PL today already DEM-PL-INST-TOP
‘today, with that knowledge’

huarmi-cuna-pish ashtahuan ñaupac-man rima-shca-manta
woman-PLADIT more front-ALL speak-PTCP-ABL
‘women too can make progress, as they say’

ñuca-ca cai asha yachai-cuna-ta
1S-TOP DEM few knowledge-PL-ACC
‘I do not know much’

ñuca shuctac compañeras-cuna-wan comparti-na yuyai-ta muna-shca-ni
1S one-EMP partners-PL-INST share-INF thought-ACC want-PRF-1S
‘I wanted to share my thought with my fellow women’

ñuca pudi-shca-ta sociedad sirvi-na yuyai-ta chari-pash ca-ni
1S able-PTCP-ACC society serve-INF thought-ACC have-ADIT be-1S
‘It is also my idea to serve the society in what I can’

y chashna ayuda-shpa catina-ta muna-pa-ni.
and so help-GER follow-ACC want-HON-1S
‘and thus I want to continue helping’

ñuca chai-ta muna-pa-ni tucui tucui-cuna-huan pacta
1S DEM-ACC want-HON-1S all all-PL-INST equally
‘I want it that way, everybody’
tandanacu-shpa ima tandanacui-cuna-pi organización-cuna-pi
gather-GER what meeting-PL-LOC organization-PL-LOC
‘gathering from meetings and organizations’

trabaja-shpa tucui tanda-lla ashtahuan ñaupac-man ri-na ca-nchic
work-GER all bread-LIM more front-ALL go-INF be-1PL
‘to work together, and all of us make progress’

ñucanchic pueblos-indígenas-cuna-pish ashtahuan fuerza-ta
1PL.POSS peoples-indigenous-PL-ADIT more strength-ACC
‘our Indian peoples too may become stronger’

api-shca ñaupac-man tucui-cuna rina-ta chai-ta,
get-PRF front-ALL all-PL go-INF-PROL DEM-ACC
‘and make progress, all of us’

chai yayai-huan chai-ta muna-shpa puri-ni, yupai-cha-ni
DEM thought-INST DEM-ACC want-GER walk-1S think-DUB-1S
‘I continue with this idea in mind’

Cai aillu llacta-pac-ca ima-tac ca-ngui?
DEM family community-BEN-TOP what-INT be-2S
‘what is your role in this community?’

Ñuca cai aillu llacta-pi-ca grupo-de-mujeres ni-shca-ta
1S DEM family community-LOC-TOP women’s.group say-PTCP-ACC
‘In this community, the so-called grupo de mujeres’

chai grupo-ta apa-ni, shina-lla-tac huahua-cuna-pac
DEM group-ACC lead-1S so-LIM-EMPH child-PL-BEN
‘this group I lead, also for children’

chai [centro educativo] ni-shca-ta apa-rca-ni
DEM [education center] say-PTCP-ACC lead-PST-1S
‘I used to led the so-called education center’

y chai-huan caica-man-ca jati-cu-shca-nchic
and DEM-INST DEM-ALL-TOP follow-PROG-PRF-1PL
‘and we continued with this center until now’
ashtahuam ñaupac-man jatina-ta
more front-ALL follow-PROL
‘making progress’

cai grupo-de-mujeres-cuna-huan-pish muna-shca-ni
DEM women’s group-PL-INST-ADIT want-PRF-1S
‘I want to do the same with the grupo de mujeres’

*actualmente* ñuca cargu-pi trabajita-cu-shca-ni
presently 1S post-LOC work-DUR-PRF-1S
‘at present I work in my post’

[como vicepresidenta de junta parroquial]
[as vicepresident of the parish council]

[en representación] ñuca parroquia-manta ri-shca-ni,
[as a representative] 1S parish-ABL go-PRF-1S
‘I am the representative of my parish’

chaimanta chai- cuna-huan
therefore DEM-PL-INST
‘therefore, with them’

[siete comunidades pertenencientes a la parroquia San Simon] tandari-shpa
[seven communities belonging to the Parish of San Simon] gather-GER
‘gathering the seven communities belonging to the parish of San Simon’

cunan asha presupuesto-cuna chari-shca-manta
today few budget-PL-ACC have-PTCP-ABL
‘as now we have only a small budget’

asha obra-cuna-ta rura-shpa chai comunidad-cuna-huan trabajita-cu-shca-ni
few work-PL-ACC do-GER DEM community-PL-INST work-PRF-1S
‘we only make few works with these communities’

chashna-lla-tac cai parroquia-pi-ca
so-LIM-EMPH DEM parish-LOC-TOP
‘nevertheless, in this parish’
mestizos y indígena-cuna ca-shca-manta
mestizo:PL(Sp) and Indian-PL be-PTCP-ABL
‘because mestizos and Indians live here’

chai ishecai grupos-cuna-huan tandanacu-shpa travaña-shpa
DEM two group-PL-INST gather-GER work-GER
‘gathering these two groups and working together

ashca ñaupac-man jaticu-shca-nchic.
much-ACC front-ALL follow-PRF-1PL
‘we have made a lot of progress.’
Querétaro Otomí
Sample I

Name: Pedro
Age: 53
Sex: Masculine
Education: Elementary
Work: peasant
Place: Santiago Mezquititlán
Spanish level: incipient bilingual

met'o-'bɔ mi jù-gya xido ya jà'ì ne mi
before-LOC 3.IMPF build-DEF.PL tepetate DEF.PL people and 3.IMPF
In the past people build their houses with tepetate and

pant'-ar bɔhài mi wɔ-ya xido, mi hɔkg-se txi nguì
knead-DEF.S mud 3.IMPF put-DEF.PL tepetate 3.IMPF make-alone DIM house
mixed mud, put tepetate and so they built their own houses

nu mi nu tɔ'mi hɔk-ya tehà, mi pant'-ar bɔhài
DEM 3.IMPF DEM wait make-DEF.PL tile 3.IMPF knead-DEF.S mud
those who made tiles, kneaded mud

ne mi ut'i, gem'bya ne mi pet'e, pet'e,
and 3.IMPF bake then and 3.IMPF weave weave
baked it, and then wove and wove

mi wɔ-ya ðzɔ ya muriyo ne ya sìnta, ne ja
3.IMPF put-DEF.PL wood DEF.PL rolling.stone and DEF.PL band and be
put wood, rolling stones and bands, and there

da jù-gya ya tehà, da go'ma da met'-ar txi nguì
3.FUT put- DEF.PL DEF.PL tile 3.FUT cover 3.FUT weave-DEF.S DIM house
put the tiles to cover their houses

nu'bya ya jèntè jà'ì-bya ya tang-ya blɔk-ì-bya,
today DEF.PL people people-ACT DEF.PL buy-DEF.PL block-ACT
nowadays, people buy blocks

tang-ya nu-yà nànnì, hok-ar meskla ne hok-ar jɔ'tì
buy-DEF.PL DEM-PROX.PL lime make-DEF.S mixture and make-DEF.S wall
buy lime, make a mixture and build walls
gem’bya ne da ya da kwadi ne da gax-ar
then and 3.FUT DEF.PL 3.FUT finish and 3.FUT set-DEF.S
‘and then finish the work and set’

da ’ñet'-ya nu-ya kastiyo ja ya ts’āt’i
3.FUT burry-DEF.PL DEM-PROX.PL tower be DEF.PL corner
‘burry the towers in each corner’

ne da kola ko-r semento
and 3.FUT glue with-DEF.S cement
‘and glue them with cement’

the bariya gem’bya da gaxu ‘nar trabe
carry rod then 3.FUT set INDEF.S crossbeam
‘carry rods, put a crossbeam above’

gem’bya ja da gom’-ña nu-ya ts’i laminā,
then be 3.FUT cover:3.EMPH DEM-PROX.PL DIM sheet
‘then cover with small sheets’

laminā-de-adbesto nu-ya t’axu laminā mās-byen.
sheet.of.asbestus DEM-PROX.PL white sheet rather
‘sheets of asbestus, rather white sheets’

(...)

Ar dāngo t’g'g'-wa ja-r hmini ar kinse,
DEF.S festival celebrate-LOC.PROX be-DEF.S community DEF.S fifteen
‘The festival we celebrate in the community on the fifteenth’

kinse ar māyo ar dāngo Nsansidro di embu-he,
fifteen DEF.S May DEF.S festival San.Isidro PRS call-PL.EXCL
‘the fifteenth of May, call it the Festival of San Isidro’

jaw-ar dāngo tso ya nxint’i nxint’i nuya nxint’i
inside-DEF.S festival come DEF.PL game game DEM.PROX.PL game
‘there come the games, these games’
'those with little horses turning around, the wheels of fortune’

‘the big games in which children come and sit on’

‘one year the wheel of fortune fell and broke’

‘then the game killed the little horses’

‘the children fell down but nobody was killed’

‘nobody died, just a dear godfather’

‘who probably is dead by now and whom I call Panchito’

‘he got his finger broken’
'Nar pa xi t'otu ar t'ete?
INDEF.S day 3.PRF make DEF.S sorcery
‘Has someone ever done sorcery to you?’

Dige-ku-ga hinti t'otu-ga ar t'ete,
about-1.OBJ-1.EMPH nothing make-1.EMPH DEF.S sorcery
‘As for that, nobody has ever done any sorcery to me’

hinti ja-ku-ga, xi-ku-ga,
nothing make-1.OBJ-1.EMPH tell-1.OBJ-1.EMPH
‘they have done nothing to me’

'ra ya tsi jwâdâ 'meg'ô-bü
INDEF.PL DIM brother before-LOC
‘some dear brothers before’

tsi ermâno 'meg'ô-bü enâ
DIM brother before-LOC say
mi 'büi xingu ya tsi jâ'i
3.IMPF be many DEF.PL DIM people
‘some brothers told me that in the past there were many people’

mi ho yâ tsi ñohü zâ mi ngo zâ mi 'büi
3.IMPF kill 3.POSS.PL DIM friend maybe 3.IMPF as maybe 3.IMPF be
‘who killed their friends perhaps there was something like that in the past’

pe nu'bya hinti ngo hinti di nu-he-'bya
but now nothing as nothing 1.PRS see-PL.EXCL-ACT
‘but nowadays we don’t see anything like that’

hinti di hinti di handu-he-'bya,
nothing 1.PRS nothing 1.PRS see-PL.EXCL-ACT
‘nothing, nothing like that is seen nowadays’

horse nu-'g mâ enâ 'büi enâ ya zone,
only DEM-3.DIST.PL say be say DEF.PL vampire
‘it’s just that they say there are vampires’

ts'âg'-ya tsi bâtsi,
suck-DEF.PL DIM child
“who suck little children”
'yo-r xai pe enō mismo se go ma m'ño-se-je es-ke
go-DEF.S night but SAY very alone PRED 1.POSS friend-own-PL is-that
they go out in the night, but they say they are our friends'

nu'ā ya 'naño henti
DEM.DIST.PL DEF.PL different people
"it is because they are different people"

ya tsu es-kwenta yoho yā nuya txi mgi.
DEF.PL suck is-like two 3.POSS DEM.PROX:PL DIM heart
"it is like if the suckers had two hearts"

tanto ar mui nā'ā hingī za tanto ar mui-'bya-'ā
much DEF.S heart which NEG good much DEF.S heart-now-3.EMPH
"one which is not good and their real heart"

jurye ir zip-ya txi ji
therefore TMLS suck-DEF.PL DIM blood
"therefore, they suck blood"

ya nu-ya txi bātsi t'olo txi bātsi.
DEF.PL DEM.PROX:PL DIM child childish DIM child
‘from the little children’

(...)  

Ar tsu gi petu-gu 'naxti dige nor ár hñeni
DEF.S be.able 3.PRS tell:1.OBJ something about that 3.POSS disease
‘Can you tell me something about the disease’

ya meči bi zuði nu m-ar jeya 'na'mo guro-nthebe
DEF.PL ox 3.PST arrive DEM 3.IMPF-DEF.S year thousand nine-hundred
‘of the cattle in the year nineteen’

yoho-ŋate ma yoto ne yogo'ā ya ts'uy'gbi
two-twenty TEMP seven and why DEF.PL authority
‘forty-seven and and why the authorities’

mi kah-ya bi kah-ya já'ī?
3.IMPF deceive-DEF.PL 3.PST deceive-DEF.PL people
‘deceived people?’
In forty-seven the mestizo came

and killed the cattle

when Miguel Alemán became president

who ordered that the cattle be killed

and they paid for the cattle and they buried them

they dug a hole and then the machines came

dug holes and bury them [the cattle]

they say they gave one big bull

ten people cut off [the bull], everything, his legs, his skin
‘his trunk, all they buried, only pure meat’

‘they brought just meat, it was ten people who cut it off’

‘they gave and paid, I do not know how much’

‘how much they paid at that time, how much they buried’

‘but always, now, only God knows if they buried or not’

‘that was in the forty-seven when Alemán was president’

‘he killed the cattle, he ordered that’
Queretaro Otomi
Sample II

Name: María
Age: 18
Sex: Femenine
Education: secondary
Work: services
Place: Toliman
Spanish level: compound bilingual

Hô, nuga dá pódi ge nô Tilya Rey bi dingi bojô
yes PRO.1S 1.PST know that DEM Tilya Reyes 3.PST find money
‘Yes, I know that Tilya Reyes found money’

’na bi dingi ’na tsi surru
INDEF 3.PST find some DIM hide-bag
nô mi oxi ar jôdo
DEM 3.IMPF lie.on DEF.S fence
’someone found a hide bag on a fence’

lwego bi nêxthi ba xipa-bi Tyofi Rey ’na
then 3.PST run 3.PST say-BEN Tyofi Rey INDEF
a bi ’nêm-babi
and 3.PST leave-BEN
’he run and told Tyofi Reyes and he left it with him’

a hin-go rá meê gh na nô bi ’ñenô ge hô
and NEG-COP 3.POSS money and DEM 3.PST say that yes
‘and that the money was not his and he said yes’

’na lwego bi hîôm-babi a nu’bya nô tsi jô’î
INDEF then 3.PST take.away-BEN and now DEM DIM person
‘and then he took it away from him and now the person’

bi go sin-nada a hinte bi um-bi nixi
3.PST remain without-nothing and NEG 3.PST give-BEN not.even
‘remained without a penny, he did not even give him’
'nar kut’a a nu-ya tsi jö’i todabya ‘bui
INDEF.S fifty.cent.coin and DEM.PROX-PL DIM person still live
'a fifty-cent coin, those people are still alive'
nö Tyofi Rey ko Tilya Rey.
DEM Tyofi Reyes with Tilya Reyes.
'Tyofi Reyes and Tilya Reyes'

(...)
Este es-ke nuwa gehni to ya nxutsi
uh it.is.that here there REL DEF.PL girl
‘Uh, it is like, here, there, as for girls, their parents come’

bi e rá dada ra nönö
3.PRS come 3.POSS father 3.POSS mother
pa a nö nxutsi asta hña-ki
for ask DEM girl until 3.times
‘their parents come to ask the girl in marriage up to three times’

pa da t’em-bi hä a lwego dege bya da este
for FUT say-BEN yes and then just now 3.FUT uh
‘for ‘yes’ to be said and at that moment’

da gö ya thuhme nöö metsi
3.FUT make DEF.PL bread DEM.S boy
ko rá dada ko rá nönö
with 3.POSS father with 3.POSS mother
‘the boy makes bread with his father and mother’
da t’um-bi nö nxutsi, lwego ya da t’umbi ’na
3.FUT give-BEN DEM girl then already FUT give-BEN INDEF
‘and he gives to the girl some’

tsí plazo, da t’umbi nö plazo,
DIM deadline 3.FUT give-BEN DEM deadline
‘deadline, he gives her the deadline’

lwego da nibući nö tsí nö nxutsi
then 3.FUT marry DEM DIM DEM girl
ko nö metsi
with DEM boy
‘and then the girl marry with the boy’
ya lwego da ma pa da 'mg-wi rá dada
already then 3.FUT go for 3.FUT live-DUAL 3.POSS father
‘then she goes to live with her husband’s father’

nö rá rá tsa rá ka,
DEM 3.POSS 3.POSS mother.in.law 3.POSS father.in.law
ko rá döme
with 3.POSS husband
‘and her husband’s mother, her father, and her husband’

da 'mg-wi gatho 'mgí nat'a nö ha rá ngú.
FUT live-DUAL all live together DEM in 3.POSS house
‘all of them live together at home’

(…)
Este ja tsi ndunthi ya fyesta pero kasi tsi t'ulo,
uh EXT DIM many DEF.PL festival but almost DIM small
‘Uh, there are many festivals, but almost all of them are small’

porke lwego no mös ar döta ge nö rá rá
because then only DEF.S great COP DEM 3.POSS 3.POSS
‘because the greatest of all’

mgtí tsi dada 'Ñenxe,
property DIM father Saint.Michael
porke nö di fúti desde
because DEM 3.PRS begin since
‘it is property of Saint Michael, because that festival begins since’

desde julyo ne este ya nei ne lwego nö ya ndö
since July and uh DEF.S dancer and then DEM DEF.PL sponsor
‘since July and eh there are dancers and then the sponsors’

xa di ungi di ja ya dejü,
EMPH 3.PRS give 3.PRS EXT DEF.PL chocolate
ya hñuni, ya garbanso
DEF.PL food DEF.PL chick-pea
‘give chocolate, food, chick-peas’
"ya dejig ya tlumay ya lwego dege-pya"
DEF.PL chocolate DEF.PL bread already then DEM-now
‘chocolate, bread and after that’

di di ntonsi asta
3.PRS 3.PRS then until
nö el do nö ra yo-pa octubre
DEM ART twelve DEM DEF.S second-day October
‘until the twelfth, the second day of October’

di ja ya doni pa da um-babi ma ‘ra ya ndö
3.PRS EXT DEF.PL flower for 3.FUT give-BEN more INDEF.PL sponsor
‘there are flowers given by more sponsors’

pa ri jeya ge di da ungi ma ‘ra
for PROG year DEMCOP 3.PRS 3.FUT give more INDEF.PL
‘for the current year, and they will give more’

da ja ma ‘ra ya nei.
3.FUT EXT more INDEF.PL dancer
‘and there are more dancers’

(…)

Hö ya nei asta ‘rato kwadiyay
Yes DEF.PL dancer until six team
ya nxutsi ne ya metsi
DEF.PL girl and DEF.PL boy
‘Yes, there are up to six teams [of dancers], boys and girls’

‘rato ya nei principals ge Nxmge
six DEF.PL dancer principal COP Saint.Michael
‘six principal dancers from San Miguel’

lwego ‘mehni lwego me nu me Mulinu, me Nt’oha
then are sent then native DEM native Molino native Higueras
‘then people are sent from Molino, Higueras’
Higueras, me Loma,
Higueras native Loma
‘Higueras, Loma’

*a* nupya ya jö’i-wa ngu xa ti anima
and now DEF.PL people-here as.if EMPH 3.PRS cheer up
‘and people from here, it’s like there is spirit’

ngu xa ke ja ya johya entre-mös
as.if EMPH that EXT DEF.PL happy between-more
‘it’s like there is happiness among everybody’

ngu xa ke ja ya nts’i,
as if EMPH that DEF.PL food
‘it is like there is food’

ya bolunta xa ti pongi tat’i jeyya ja ya mponi,
DEF.PL contribution EMPH 3.PRS exchange each year EXT DEF.PL exchange
‘people exchange their contributions every year, there are exchanges’

mi dura mi dura kat’a goho ngeya a nupya hi’na
3.IMPF last 3.IMPF last five four year and now NEG
‘in the past it lasted five or four months a year, but not now’

tat’i jeyya di mpongi tsi nei.
each year 3.PRS exchange DIM dancer
‘every year dancers change’

(…)

Hö, ‘naki bi fox-kagi ‘raya sösi
yes once 3.PST grow-1.OBJ INDEF.PL pimple
‘Yes, once I got some pimples and’

ne dá ma ha doktor pe nixi te bi ja-kagi
and 1.PST go to doctor but not which 3.PST cure-1.OBJ
‘and I went to the doctor but he did not cure me’

a mejor dá tsöho dá ma ‘na a ‘na tsi jö’i
and better 1.PST arrive 1.PST go one and one DIM people
‘and I rather decided to go to some one’
pa bi thu bi du-gagi bi xa pi du-gagi
for 3.PST clean 3.PST clean-1.OBJ 3.PST bathe 3.PST clean-1.OBJ
‘to have a cleanse, and he cleansed me, he bathed me, he cleaned me’

ko tsi xöça ne bi ŋen-gagi ga pengi xudi,
with DIM enebro and PST tell-1.OBJ 1.FUT return tomorrow
‘with enebro and he told me to come back the next morning’

a dá pengi a ya lwego ya tsi ‘ramats’u dá hogi.
and 1.PST return and already then already DIM little.by.little 1.PST recover
‘and I came back and then already little by little I got better.’
## SPEAKERS

### Ecuadorian Quichua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DIALECT</th>
<th>COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>EDUCATION LEVEL</th>
<th>BILINGULISM LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amalia Imbabura Angla</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ascensio Imbabura Angla</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baltazar Imbabura Angla</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo Imbabura El Topo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen Imbabura Caluqui</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cesar Bolívar Gradas Grande</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge Bolívar Gradas Chico</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Maria Imbabura Casco Valenzuela</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizardo Imbabura Casco Valenzuela</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lourdes Imbabura Ilumán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Angel Bolívar Gradas Grande</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Imbabura Casco Valenzuela</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Imbabura Casco Valenzuela</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Bolívar Gradas Chico</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Rosa Bolívar Gradas Central</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Rosario Bolívar Gradas Grande</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurita Bolívar Gradas Chico</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norma Bolívar Gradas Chico</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael Imbabura El Topo</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto Imbabura Caluqui</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa Imbabura Angla</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segundo Pablo Imbabura Ugsha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age Groups: 1 = 0-12; 2 = 13-18; 3 = 19-30; 4 = 31-50; 5 = 51

Education level: 1 = 0 years; 2 = 1-3 years; 3 = 3-6 years; 4 = 7-10 years; 5 = 10 years

Bilingualism level: 1=Incipient Q/Sp; 2=Incipient Sp/Q; 3=Compound I Q/Sp; 4=Compound I Sp/Q; 5=Compound II Q/Sp; 6=Compound II Sp/Q; 7=Coordinate
### Paraguayan Guaraní

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>SOCIOLECT</th>
<th>COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>EDUCATION LEVEL</th>
<th>BILINGULISM LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agustín</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Pedro Juan Caballero</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celso</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Ponta Porã</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crispín</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Asunción</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cristian</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eduardo</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Pedro Juan Caballero</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fidelino</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Hernandarias</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerson</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Hernandarias</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladys</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Pedro Juan Caballero</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugo</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Luque</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Tobati</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Encarnación</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Ramón</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Tobati</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julián</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Ciudad del Este</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justo</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Ciudad del Este</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilio</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Encarnación</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lino</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Asunción</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martín</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Asunción</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melión</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Caacupé</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel Ángel</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Encarnación</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirta</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Tobati</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolás</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Encarnación</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Caacupé</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Age Groups:** 1 = 0-12; 2 = 13-18; 3 = 19-30; 4 = 31-50; 5 = 51

**Education level:** 1 = 0 years; 2 = 1-3 years; 3 = 3-6 years; 4 = 7-10 years; 5 = 10 years

**Bilingualism level:** 1=Incipient Q/Sp; 2=Incipient Sp/Q; 3=Compound I Q/Sp; 4=Compound I Sp/Q; 5=Compound II Q/Sp; 6=Compound II Sp/Q; 7=Coordinate
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>DIALECT &amp; COMMUNITY</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>EDUCATION LEVEL</th>
<th>BILINGULISM LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agustina</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrés Pedro</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angel Eduardo</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurora</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benito Felipe</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmela</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cirila</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concepción</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvira</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erika</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estela</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evelia</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felipe</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felipe Pedro</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fidel</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisca</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisco Juan</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frante</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabino</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isma</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José de Santiago</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Inés</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Eduardo</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonarda</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leticia</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Surname</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age Group</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Bilingualism Level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luisa</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarita</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Blasa</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María de Santiago</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Gregorio</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Guadalupe</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Luna</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María Matilde</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>María</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marina</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marpe</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marta</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marta</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximino</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosana</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teobaldo</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiná</td>
<td>Santiago Mezquititlán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versa</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Tolimán</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age Groups: 1 = 0-12; 2 = 13-18; 3 = 19-30; 4 = 31-50; 5 = 51

Education level: 1 = 0 years; 2 = 1-3 years; 3 = 3-6 years; 4 = 7-10 years; 5 = 10 years

Bilingualism level : 1=Incipient Q/Sp; 2=Incipient Sp/Q; 3=Compound I Q/Sp; 4=Compound I Sp/Q; 5=Compound II Q/Sp; 6=Compound II Sp/Q; 7=Coordinate

The calculation of the level of bilingualism is not based on the analysis of Spanish texts produced by the speakers but on their answers to the sociolinguistic questionnaire applied by Hekking (1995: 215-219). Each answer was assigned a discrete value and the results were tabulated according to the parameters on the last column. When no data were available for this calculation, n.a. is given.
### CHI-SQUARE TABLES

#### TABLE 10.23: GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF CODESWITCHING PER DIALECT OR SOCIOLECT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q_IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q_BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G_URBAN</th>
<th>G_RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1298</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>7963</td>
<td>2596</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>1345</td>
<td>14576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2418</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>9261</td>
<td>3401</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>17394</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors 0.139 0.028 0.532 0.196 0.027 0.078

degrees of freedom 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q_IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q_BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G_URBAN</th>
<th>G_RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>24.15</td>
<td>17.45</td>
<td>27.30</td>
<td>117.09</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>182.95</td>
<td>372.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>5.28</td>
<td>22.64</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>35.37</td>
<td>71.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28.82</td>
<td>20.82</td>
<td>32.57</td>
<td>139.73</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>218.32</td>
<td>443.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q_IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q_BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G_URBAN</th>
<th>G_RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.WGT</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
<td>86.0%</td>
<td>76.3%</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>98.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q_IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q_BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G_URBAN</th>
<th>G_RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>54.6%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AV.WGT 0.80 0.76 0.86 0.76 0.81 0.99
## Table 10.24: Distribution of Parts of Speech Per Dialect or Sociolect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G URBAN</th>
<th>G RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOUN</td>
<td>4404</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>2360</td>
<td>1413</td>
<td>3478</td>
<td>2856</td>
<td>14951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>4033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADV</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6464</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>4229</td>
<td>2324</td>
<td>4064</td>
<td>3342</td>
<td>21087</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors: 0.307 0.031 0.201 0.110 0.193 0.158

Degrees of freedom: 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G URBAN</th>
<th>G RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOUN</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td>135.93</td>
<td>33.44</td>
<td>123.51</td>
<td>99.87</td>
<td>401.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>198.99</td>
<td>78.27</td>
<td>183.11</td>
<td>136.31</td>
<td>605.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>13.68</td>
<td>18.08</td>
<td>102.04</td>
<td>14.30</td>
<td>119.45</td>
<td>90.33</td>
<td>357.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADV</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>12.63</td>
<td>40.08</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>21.87</td>
<td>79.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>28.71</td>
<td>33.67</td>
<td>477.05</td>
<td>128.04</td>
<td>428.60</td>
<td>348.39</td>
<td>1444.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant at the 0.5 % level
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Q_IMBABURA</th>
<th>Q_BOLIVAR</th>
<th>G_URBAN</th>
<th>G_RURAL</th>
<th>O_SANTIAGO</th>
<th>O_TOLIMAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOUN</td>
<td>68.1%</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
<td>55.8%</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
<td>85.6%</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADV</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.WGT</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 10.26 DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH BORROWINGS PER LEVEL OF BILINGUALISM (tokens)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2247</td>
<td>3115</td>
<td>7323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET</td>
<td>8833</td>
<td>7755</td>
<td>12408</td>
<td>28996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>10794</td>
<td>10002</td>
<td>15523</td>
<td>36319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors</td>
<td>0.297</td>
<td>0.275</td>
<td>0.427</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degrees of freedom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>21.32</td>
<td>26.30</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>47.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>6.64</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>12.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>26.70</td>
<td>32.94</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>59.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
<td>79.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV. WGT</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 10.26 DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH BORROWINGS PER LEVEL OF BILINGUALISM (types)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>1588</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET</td>
<td>3127</td>
<td>2518</td>
<td>3542</td>
<td>9187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3865</td>
<td>3280</td>
<td>3630</td>
<td>10775</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors 0.359 0.304 0.337

degrees of freedom 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>49.78</td>
<td>160.57</td>
<td>373.46</td>
<td>583.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET</td>
<td>8.60</td>
<td>27.75</td>
<td>64.55</td>
<td>100.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>58.38</td>
<td>188.32</td>
<td>438.01</td>
<td>684.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TARGET</td>
<td>80.9%</td>
<td>76.8%</td>
<td>97.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVG WGT</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AV. WGT 0.81 0.77 0.98
### TABLE 10.27: GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF CODESWITCHING PER LEVEL OF BILINGUALISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>1349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>470</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>1765</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors 0.181 0.266 0.553
degrees of freedom 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOT significant at the 0.5 % level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INCIPIENT</th>
<th>COMPOUND</th>
<th>COORDINATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SWITCHES</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOKENS</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>59.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.WGT</td>
<td>78.1%</td>
<td>79.4%</td>
<td>74.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.WGT</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>53.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOUN</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>ADJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCIPIENT</td>
<td>1307</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPOUND</td>
<td>1252</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORDINATE</td>
<td>1295</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3854</td>
<td>1154</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors 0.692 0.207 0.092 0.009
degrees of freedom 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>MADV</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCIPIENT</td>
<td>8.02</td>
<td>15.91</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>9.65</td>
<td>34.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPOUND</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORDINATE</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>9.93</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>7.93</td>
<td>25.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14.34</td>
<td>26.19</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>17.58</td>
<td>60.77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5 % level
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>MADV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCIPIENT</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74.9%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPOUND</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68.9%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORDINATE</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
<td>41.6%</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64.6%</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV. WGT</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOUN</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>MADV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCIPIENT</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPOUND</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORDINATE</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Factors 0.657 0.188 0.142 0.013

degrees of freedom 6

Chi2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>MADV</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCIPIENT</td>
<td>6.12</td>
<td>8.21</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>22.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPOUND</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORDINATE</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>8.40</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td>13.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9.22</td>
<td>16.61</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>9.13</td>
<td>39.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIGNIFICANT at the 0.5% level
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>ADJ</th>
<th>MADV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCIPIENT</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>72.5%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPOUND</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COORDINATE</td>
<td>30.5%</td>
<td>39.9%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.WGT</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>