

Cotopaxi Media Lengua is still very much alive

Jesse Stewart

University of Saskatchewan

Lucia Gonza Inlago

Sumak Pacha

Gabriela Prado Ayala

Evergreen State College

On a 2022 fieldtrip to Ecuador, we encountered a large community of Media Lengua speakers in the province of Cotopaxi where the language was thought to be dormant. This is the same region where Pieter Muysken had first documented this ‘mixed language’ in the 1970s. However, subsequent fieldwork thereabout by several linguists had failed to turn up the language. This field report provides a brief introduction to Media Lengua, a description of our fieldwork in Cotopaxi, and insights into this variety of Media Lengua.

1. Introduction In the 1970s and 80s, Pieter Muysken documented an intriguing hybrid language in the Ecuadorian province of Cotopaxi, known as Media Lengua (see Muysken 1979; 1980; 1981; 1997). Since his original publications and his seminal 1997 paper on the topic, Media Lengua has become a quintessential example of language mixing in the contact language literature, having been referenced in more than 400 academic papers.¹ This is primarily because of its classification as a “mixed language” (see Meakins 2013; Meakins & Stewart 2022) due to its systematic divisions between lexicon and grammar, where the former is roughly 90% Spanish in origin and the latter is almost entirely Quichua² in origin. The most cited example of Media Lengua comes from Muysken (1997: 365) and is reproduced in example (1) where we have bolded the Spanish origin elements (the morpheme glosses in Media Lengua also correspond to the morphemes in Quichua).

¹ Based on a manual count of citations in Google Scholar (we stopped counting after 400).

² The Quechuan languages spoken in Ecuador are known as ‘Quichua’ or ‘Kichwa’.

- (I) a. ML: *unu fabur-ta pidi-nga-bu bini-xu-ni.*
 one favor-ACC³ ask-NOM-BEN come-PROG-1
 ‘I come to ask a favor.’
- b. Q: *Shuk fabur-da maña-nga-bu shamu-xu-ni.*
- c. Sp: *Vengo para pedir un favor.*

In describing where Media Lengua was encountered, Muysken referenced the town of Salcedo (-1.05°, -78.58°) stating that the villages where it is spoken are socially and geographically located between the “white” world of the urban centers in the valleys and the Indigenous world on the mountain slopes (Muysken 1997: 375). He also provided a simple map reproduced in Figure 1.

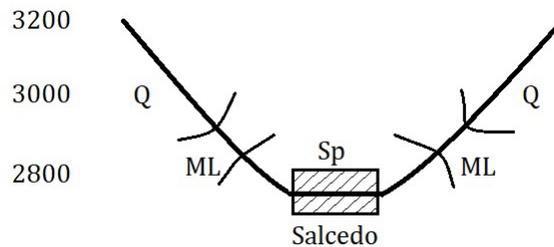


Figure 1. Location of Media Lengua-speaking communities based on Muysken (1997: 375)

Given the novelty of this language with respect to its origin and structure, several linguists have attempted to retrace Muysken’s steps to find speakers but with little to no success. This has led some researchers to be skeptical that the language even existed (see, e.g., Shappeck 2011), while others have concluded that there is ostensibly no active use of the language in this region (Müller 2011; Stewart 2011; Lipski 2019). John Lipski (personal communication) had been to the region a number of times, based on recommendations from Muysken, and only found a handful of older speakers who remember the language. The first and third authors had also spent time

³ ABL = ablative, ACC = accusative, AFF = affirmative marker, CONJ = conjunction, BEN = benefactive, DIM = diminutive, DIR = directional marker, ETC = et cetera, FUT = future, GRND = gerund, INF = infinitive, INS = instrumental marker, INT = interrogative marker, LIM = limitative, LOC = locative, NOM = nominative, PL = plural, POL = polite marker, PROG = progressive, PRT = preterit, PURP = purposive, Q = polar question marker, REFL = reflexive, SS = same-subject, TOP = topic marker.

in the region in 2009 and found no speakers of the language described by Muysken. However, confusingly, many people referred to their Quichua as “Media Lengua” since approximately 40% of their lexicon is of Spanish origin. Yet this is far from the mixed language described by Muysken where an estimated 90% of the lexicon is Spanish in origin. Müller (2011) searched for Media Lengua in the communities of San Andrés de Pilaló and Collana (the latter was also mentioned in Muysken 1997: 373 in a transcription), both located to the west of Salcedo. She stated it was difficult to find Media Lengua in these communities and that it had been superseded by Spanish. The few speakers she did meet were all over the age of forty-five.

Since Muysken had first documented Media Lengua in Cotopaxi, another variety was documented by Gómez Rendón (2005) in the Ecuadorian province of Imbabura, two provinces to the north of Cotopaxi. This dialect of Media Lengua has been investigated extensively (see, e.g., Gómez Rendón 2005; 2008; Müller 2011; Stewart 2011; 2013; Jarrín Paredes 2014; Stewart 2014; 2015a; 2015b; Lipski 2016; Gómez Rendón & Jarrín Paredes 2017; Lipski 2017; Stewart 2018a; 2018b; Deibel 2019; Gómez Rendón 2019; Lipski 2019; Deibel 2020a; 2020b; Lipski 2020a; 2020b; Stewart 2020; Stewart et al. 2020; Deibel 2021; Onosson & Stewart 2021a; 2021b; Prado Ayala et al. 2021). In Imbabura, Media Lengua appears to have originated in the community of Pijal (0.17°, -78.19°) and was later adopted in the 1950s by several communities near the town of San Pablo, namely, Angla (0.2°, -78.13°), El Topo (0.21°, -78.15°), and Casco Valenzuela (0.21°, -78.16°). The actual number of Media Lengua speakers in Imbabura is unknown, but based on census data (INEC 2010) from the communities where the language is spoken and the age range of most speakers, we roughly estimate that 343 people could have potentially spoken the language in 2010. We also note that transmission of the language is very limited, if not completely halted, to the younger generations and only those aged forty-five and above currently speak it as of 2022. However, in the San Pablo communities, specifically Angla and Casco Valenzuela, adolescents are still speaking the language (Lipski 2019: 416). Census data from Angla and Casco Valenzuela (INEC 2010) reveal an estimated 861 people who could be potential speakers of Media Lengua. El Topo was not included (with an estimated 307 habitants in 2010) as Media Lengua appears to only be spoken sporadically there. Therefore, we roughly estimate that 1,204 (343 + 861) people were potential speakers of Media Lengua in Imbabura in 2010.

2. Background In 2011, we spoke with a government official in the town of González-Suárez in Imbabura, which functions as an administrative parish for Pijal. He mentioned that several of the common last names in Pijal were of Cotopaxi origin (namely, Chicaiza and Toaquiza). We had made note of this, along with several grammatical and lexical similarities between Imbabura and Cotopaxi Media Lengua and suggested a possible link between the two varieties (see Stewart 2011; 2015b). Yet, due to the lack of historical records and data from Cotopaxi Media Lengua, we had put the pursuit of this idea on pause. Recently, however, we had a renewed interest in the origin story of Media Lengua during a 2022 trip to Ecuador after having Googled the last name Chicaiza for a semi-unrelated matter. To our surprise,

we came across a 2012 blog post (Anonymous 2012) stating that this family had controlled the area of Angamarca and Pujilí in Cotopaxi in the 1700s. Therefore, we decided to travel to these areas and spend some time looking for either a genealogical link or, in the best-case scenario, Media Lengua speakers.

The problem with encountering Media Lengua (and often other mixed languages) is that it is only used internally within its speech communities. Additionally, speakers of Media Lengua are proficient in both source languages and will use them when communicating with outsiders. Moreover, there is currently a strong movement to “purify” Quichua of Spanish loanwords (see, e.g., Wroblewski 2012; Limerick 2020), ranking Media Lengua low in social prestige, thus making speakers even more hesitant to use the language with outsiders. To complicate matters even further, speakers of Media Lengua rarely refer to their language as “Media Lengua,”⁴ while speakers of Quichua often say, derogatorily, that they speak “Media Lengua” due to the sizable number of Spanish loanwords in their language. Consequentially, asking someone if they speak Media Lengua or where people might speak Media Lengua will lead an enthusiastic researcher across the Andes with little to show. All of these factors combined make Media Lengua notoriously difficult to come across.

3. Fieldwork To try and circumvent these issues, the second author of this paper, Lucia Gonza Inlago, a native speaker of Imbabura Media Lengua from Pijal, joined the other authors on this trip. Upon arrival to Pujilí, we went directly to the open-air market with the goal of asking people if they had heard anyone who speaks like Lucia. The first person we spoke with said they speak like that in the community of Yacubamba, located thirty minutes to the south of Pujilí. This was reaffirmed by the second person we spoke to. Yet, instead of going directly there, we had a meeting with a councillor native to the region of Angamarca, who also claimed that Media Lengua was spoken in his community. Thus, we spent the next day in several communities located at nearly 4,000 meters above sea level (MASL) between Zumbahua and Angamarca, namely, Mocata (-1.05°, -78.92°), Pigua Quindigua (-1.06°, 78.89°), and Llalachanchi (-1.08°, -78.88°). Two of the eight consultants whom we spoke with were able to produce Media Lengua-like sentences but struggled to produce the language fluently. The rest either spoke colloquial Quichua with numerous borrowings (as described in §1) but not Media Lengua as spoken by Lucia or described by Muysken.

Upon returning to Pujilí, we went directly to Yacubamba (-1.04°, -78.73°), located at 3,400 MASL. After convincing the first people we spoke with that we were not missionaries, they sat down with us and had a great forty-minute-long conversation with Lucia in fluent, native Media Lengua. Two of the five people we spoke with were women, aged twenty-nine and thirty-seven. They stated that almost everyone in the community speaks Media Lengua except for the oldest generation who spoke mostly Quichua, suggesting their parents were likely the first generation to speak Media Lengua in this region. The speakers had also mentioned that their children

⁴ Common names include but are not limited to *Chaupi-shimi*, *Chaupi-lengua*, *Chaupi-Quichua*, *Quichuañol*, *Chapu-shimi* or *yanga-shimi*, *Chaupi-chaupi*, *Tuglín Castellano*, and *Tuglín Quichua*.

understand the language and sometimes attempt to speak it; however, they typically default to Spanish. During our conversation, they stated that Media Lengua was spoken in a number of surrounding communities, namely, Playa, Capilla, Rayoloma, *Tuglín*, Cuturivi Grande, Cuturivi Chico, Cachi Alto, Cachi San Francisco, Macas, Sara Ucsa, Chucu Toro, Rumipungo, and Yanaurco. When asked how they called their language, they replied, “*Tuglín Castellano*” (yet another example of Media Lengua not being called “Media Lengua”).⁵ Census data (INEC 2010) from these communities and from speakers between the ages of fifteen and forty-eight in 2010 suggest that there could be 1,703 potential speakers if all adults (currently aged twenty-seven to sixty in 2022) speak Media Lengua in these communities.

A fully glossed transcript, along with audio of a portion of the conversation (00:01:59 in length), is found in Appendix A. This portion was chosen because both the speaker from Yacubamba (YML) and Lucia (IML) were speaking, which highlights similarities and differences between both Media Lengua varieties. Figure 2 provides a map of southern Cotopaxi and highlights the region and communities that were mentioned by our interviewees.

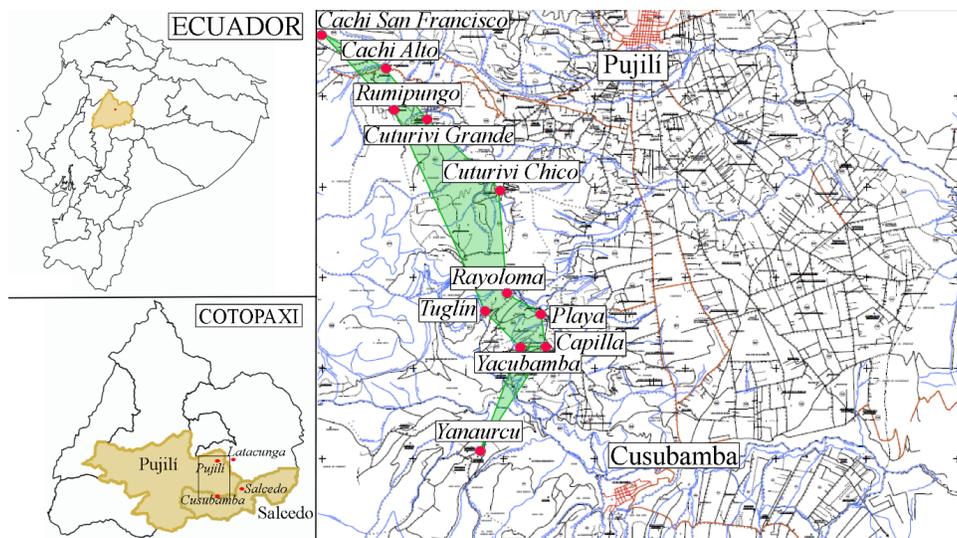


Figure 2. Locations where Cotopaxi Media Lengua is potentially spoken. This map is based on those available through the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (INEC), which is available freely through Creative Commons Licensing, Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0).

⁵ While this paper was under review, John Lipski (Pennsylvania State) made a trip to the region and confirmed (personal communication) that this variety of Media Lengua is spoken in Yanahurco, Capilla, Yacubamba, Tuglín, Rayoloma, La Playa, and, to some extent, Quilajaló. Additionally, Lipski heard speakers refer to Media Lengua as “*Tuglín Quichua*” and “*chaupi chaupi*” to add to the extensive list of names Media Lengua goes by.

4. Insights Based on our interviews, Media Lengua from Yacubamba (henceforth Yacubamba Media Lengua) is clearly mutually intelligible with Imbabura Media Lengua. Neither Lucia or the interviewees were aware of the others' variety before meeting, yet neither asked for clarification or repetition throughout the entire forty minutes that they spoke. While both parties were keenly aware of the others' accent (as was briefly discussed in the interview) and several morphemes differed substantially (e.g., *-pa* vs. *-bo* for the benefactive marker), communication was not hindered in the slightest.

The manner in which relexification seems to have occurred and the overall grammatical structure⁶ of the language spoken in Yacubamba appears to be quite similar to that described in Muysken (1997) while also having many aspects in common with Imbabura Media Lengua (for a general overview of the differences and similarities between Salcedo and Imbabura Media Lengua, see Stewart 2011). However, one question that we would like to discuss, but not answer, is whether this is the same Media Lengua that Muysken had encountered in the 1970s (henceforth referred to as Salcedo Media Lengua) or a separate, independent manifestation.

Based on the statements from the interviewees in Yacubamba, it appears that the older generations do not speak the language, which places the first generation of speakers at around the ages of fifty to sixty in 2022 (born between 1950 and 1960). This would mean that they would have been in their teens or twenties when Muysken had first come across the language. Yet he had placed the origins of Salcedo Media Lengua between 1920 and 1940 (Muysken 1997: 374) as he encountered the same situation in 1975 as we did in 2022; the middle generation spoke Media Lengua, and the older generations were mostly Quichua-speaking. However, it is quite possible that Salcedo Media Lengua was passed down through a smaller handful of yet-to-be-identified older individuals who subsequently expanded the speaker base into what it is today in the region.

Phonologically, both Salcedo Media Lengua and Imbabura Media Lengua are more conservative than Yacubamba Media Lengua. For example, the accusative marker (*-ta*) is produced as [ta] and the plural marker (*-kuna*) is produced as [kuna], whereas Yacubamba Media Lengua speakers produce [da] and [guna] respectively, which matches the Quichua variety currently spoken in the region. This could simply be a case of Yacubamba Media Lengua being influenced by Quichua or a simple case of phonological regularization as the majority of stop consonants in both varieties of Cotopaxi Media Lengua's functional morphology are voiced (e.g., *pi* [bi] 'locative', *manta* [munda] 'ablative', *ka* [ga] 'topic', *kaman* [gaman] 'terminative', *pak* [bo] 'benefactive').

Yacubamba Media Lengua also appears to differ in several ways from Salcedo Media Lengua and Imbabura Media Lengua – most notably the lack of intervocalic

⁶ By relexification, we refer to “a process involving the relabeling of lexical entries from one language to another... that does not maintain synonymic or near-synonymic pairs from each language” (Meakins & Stewart 2022: 325–326). By grammatical structure, we refer to systemic elements of the language (e.g., phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics) as opposed to its lexicon.

calic voicing (e.g., *casa* [kasa] ‘house’, *cosinana* [kosinana] ‘cook’, *sina* [sina] ‘say’, *asina* [asina] ‘do/make’). Compare these examples with Salcedo Media Lengua: *kaza* [kaza] ‘house’, *kuzina* [kuzina] ‘cook’, *zina* [zina] ‘say’, *azina* [azina] ‘do/make’ (Muysken 1997); and with Imbabura Media Lengua: *catsa* [kaza] ‘house’, *cotsnana* [koznana] ‘cook’, *tsina* [zina] ‘say’, *atsina* [azina] ‘do/make’ (Stewart et al. 2020). Additionally, [x] (<h>) is conserved in several Spanish origin words in both Salcedo and Imbabura Media Lengua but has since been dropped in modern-day Spanish (e.g., *habas* [xaβas] ‘fava beans’, *hacha* [xaʃa] ‘axe’). The word *abas* ‘fava beans’ was said three times during the interviews in Yacubamba; however, the [x] was never produced, suggesting it might have been dropped in this variety as well (further data are needed to confirm this).

Lexically, there were several consistent Quichua-origin words used in Yacubamba Media Lengua that are not found in Imbabura and not documented by Muysken for Salcedo Media Lengua. These include *fiti fiti* ‘just a little bit/few’, *cutin* ‘again/instead’, and *ñaupa* ‘before’, whereas in Imbabura, one finds *poquitogu* ‘just a little bit/few’, *vuelta* ‘again/instead’, and *mas antes* ‘before’. Grammatically, the speakers whom we interviewed in Yacubamba occasionally made use of a third-person plural inflection *-nguna* as in *no quiringuna* ‘they don’t want’, whereas speakers of Imbabura Media Lengua do not differentiate between third-person singular and plural, making use of the former for both persons as in *no quirin* ‘he/she doesn’t want’ and ‘they don’t want’. The latter also appears to be the case in Salcedo Media Lengua based on Muysken’s glosses in his 1997 paper (see the bolded glosses in example (2)). This parallel between Imbabura Media Lengua and Salcedo Media Lengua may in part be due to the fact that *-naku*, a reciprocal marker indicating ‘togetherness’, carries plural undertones and only appears with plural subjects, thus making additional plural marking redundant. Note that in example (2), Muysken actually glosses *naku* as a plural, though this is not how it is typically interpreted nowadays.

- (2) *todabia no byen aprendi-naku-n porke eskwela-bi anda-naku-n*
 still not well learn-PL-3 because school-LOC go-PL-3
 ‘They don’t learn well yet because they don’t go to school.’
 (Adapted from Muysken 1997: 401)

An interesting strategy for purpose marking was also noted in Yacubamba Media Lengua that is not observed in the other varieties. In addition to marking same-subject purposive on a verb with *-ngapa* as found in Imbabura (see Appendix A, line 12) or *-ngabo* as found in Yacubamba (see Appendix A, line 11), speakers in Yacubamba can also nominalize the verb then add the benefactive marker *-bo*. In the word *comingayllabo* (see Appendix A, line 13), the verb in third person (*comi-nga*) is nominalized with *-y*, followed by the limitative marker *-lla*, and concludes with the benefactive marker *-bo*, translating to ‘just for food’ instead of ‘to eat’ (*comingabo*). This structure appears to be ungrammatical in Imbabura (**comingayllapa*) according to the second author of this paper.

However, there are also several similarities across the three varieties of Media

Lengua that are difficult to write off as independent innovations in each region. Table 1 contains a sample of such similarities.

Table 2. Similarities across Media Lengua varieties spoken in Yacubamba, Salcedo, and Imbabura with cognates in Unified Quichua and English

| Yacubamba | Salcedo | Imbabura | U. Quichua | English | Notes |
|------------|-----------|------------|--------------|----------|---|
| d'ai-munda | ahi-munda | d'ai-manta | chay-manta | then, so | Double ablative: frozen 'd' in Y & I from Sp. <i>de</i> + Quichua ablative -m[au]n[td]a |
| d'entra- | d'intra- | d'entra- | yayku- | enter | Frozen 'd' from Sp. <i>de</i> |
| mio | miu | mio | ñuka-pak | my | Strong possessive forms from Sp. |
| vos | bos | vos | kan | you | From Sp. 2 nd person pronoun <i>vos</i> rather than <i>tú</i> . |
| demas | dimas | demas | yalli/ akcha | too much | Extensive use of Sp. <i>demás</i> instead of Sp. <i>demasiado</i> |
| arshto | -- | arshto | achka | a lot | Extensive use of Sp. <i>harto</i> instead of Sp. <i>mucho</i> , <i>bastante</i> |
| si- | zi- | zi- | ni- | say | Frequent use of the reduced form of <i>de[zs]ina</i> from Sp. <i>decir</i> 'say' |

Note: I = Imbabura; Sp. = Spanish; U. Quichua = Unified Quichua; Y = Yacubamba.

5. Concluding remarks Regarding the origin story of Media Lengua, meeting the speakers from Yacubamba complicates matters even further given that the dates of its estimated genesis do not coincide with those from either Salcedo or Imbabura. Additionally, there are a number of minor phonological and grammatical differences that set the Yacubamba variety apart from the others. However, at the same time, there are numerous similarities across all three varieties that are difficult to explain away as chance innovations.

What is certain is that this variety opens doors for new linguistic-related research in the region in a number of communities that have been reported to speak

Media Lengua by our interviewees. All of the communities are accessible by taxi from either Salcedo or Pujilí, and the participants whom both we and Lipski have spoken with have seem interested in documentation projects.

Finally, we would like to conclude that while finding an awake and active language that researchers had thought went dormant is good news in a century of hyperglobalization and accelerated language loss, transmission to the younger generations does not appear to be adequate. This means that much like Media Lengua in Pijal, Media Lengua in Cotopaxi may not remain awake for much longer.

Appendix A

IML *Aquipica que granogocunatata cultivanguichi?*

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1 | aki-pi-ka | ke | grano-go-kuna-ta-ta | kultiβa-ngiŋi? |
| | here-LOC-TOP | what | grain-DIM-PL-ACC-INT | cultivate-2PL |
| | 'What grains do you cultivate here?' | | | |

YML *Aquibiga abas, papadatan, cebadadatan, albrejasdatan, cebollasdatan, mashuhuama; asi algunos granogunada asinchi. Casi la mayoria antigu granogunaga perdishca ya fiti fitihuaylla tenenchi. Granogunada no queriendo perdirchir todito grano antigugunada.*

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 2 | aki-bi-ga | abas | papa-da-tan | sɛbada-da-tan | albrɛxas-da-tan |
| | here-LOC-TOP | fava | potato-ACC-CONJ | barely-ACC-CONJ | beans-ACC-CONJ |
| 3 | sɛβɔzas-da-tan | maβwa-ma | asi | algunɔs | grano-guna-da |
| | onion-ACC-CONJ | mashua-ETC | like | a few | grain-PL-ACC |
| 4 | asi-nŋi | kasi | la majoria | antigo | grano-guna-da |
| | make-1PL | almost | the majority | ancient | grain-PL-ACC |
| 5 | pɛrdi-βka | ya | fiti fiti-wa-i-za | tɛne-nŋi | grano-guna-da |
| | loose-PRT | already | few few-DIM-NOM-LIM | have-1PL | grain-PL-ACC |
| 6 | no | kɛr-iɛndo | pɛrdi-nŋi-r | tɔdito | grano |
| | no | want-GRND | loose-1PL-INF | all | grain |

16 sɔlo nɔsotrɔs ya kɔmi-nga-i-za-βo sɛmbra-nɟi
just we already eat-3-NOM-LIM-BEN plant-1PL

17 aki fiti fiti-wa-i-za
here few few-DIM-NOM-LIM

‘Just to eat them at home. We only plant a little bit, as I don’t sell a lot. We don’t plant them to bring to the plaza. We just plant these to eat ourselves, here it’s just a little bit.’

IML *Amas de agricultura quetapish otro trabajota atsinguihu?*

18 amas de agricultura qe-ta-pish otro trabaxo-ta azi-ngi-ɟu
beyond agriculture what-INT-CONJ other work-ACC do-2-Q

Beyond agriculture, what other type of work do you do?

YML *Amas de agriculturaga aveces negocioda tenenchi fiti fitihua.*

19 amas de agricultura-ga aβeβeβ neɟosio-da teɛ-nɟi fiti fiti-wa
beyond agriculture-TOP sometimes business-ACC have-1PL few few-DIM

‘Beyond agriculture, sometimes we have some small businesses.’

IML *Que negociota tenengui?*

20 ke neɟosio-ta teɛ-ngi
what business-ACC have-2

‘What type of businesses?’

YML *Negocio... ropahuadatan vendenchi, tiendadash teninchi asi esegohuan aquibi asi salinchi fiti fitihua ayudarish huahuago estudio.*

21 neɟosio zɔpa-wa-da-tan beɛde-nɟi tienda-da-f teɛ-nɟi
business clothing-DIM-ACC-CONJ sell-1PL store-ACC-CONJ have-1PL

22 asi eβe-go-wan aki-bi asi sali-nɟi
like that this-DIM-INS here-LOC like that get ahead-1PL

23 fiti fiti-wa aiuda-ri-f wawa-go eɟstudio
few few-DIM help-REFL-CONJ child-DIM study

‘For business... we sell clothes, we have stores as well, with these, we get ahead enough to help our kids study.’

IML *Aqui comunidallapitachu negociota tenengui?*

24 aki kɔmunidad-3a-pi-ta-tʃu neɣosio-ta tɛne-ŋgi
 here community-LIM-LOC-ACC-Q business-ACC have-2
 ‘You have these businesses right here in the community?’

YML *Aah aah, aqui comunidallabidan teneni abi localta aveces arrendanchi. No casa propioda tenisha arrendisha tenenchi.*

25 a a: aki kɔmunidad-3a-bi-dan tɛne-ni ai
 uh uh here community-LIM-LOC-CONJ have-1 there

26 lɔkal-ta aβeβeβ azenda-nʃi no kasa
 store-ACC sometimes rent-1PL no house

27 pɔpio-da tɛni-ʃa azendi-ʃa tɛne-nʃi
 own-ACC have-2 rent-1.FUT have-1PL
 ‘Yes, right here in the community; I have a store over there that we rent out sometimes.
 We don’t have our own house, so we rent.’

IML *Buɛnoma capan, bueno.*

28 buenɔ-ma ka-pa-n buenɔ
 good-AFF be-POL-3 good
 ‘That’s good.’

References

- Anonymous. 2012. Documentos y breve historia sobre la historia familiar de los CHICAIZA. *Ancestros Chicaiza, October 11*. (<https://chicaizahistorico.blogspot.com/2012/10/documentos-y-breve-historia-la-historia.html>) (Accessed 2022-03-10.)
- Deibel, Isabel. 2019. Adpositions in Media Lengua: Quichua or Spanish? – Evidence of a lexical-functional split. *Journal of Language Contact* 12(2). 404–439. [doi:10.1163/19552629-01202006](https://doi.org/10.1163/19552629-01202006)
- Deibel, Isabel. 2020a. *Language representations in the presences of a lexical-functional split: An experimental approach targeting the Quichua-Media Lengua-Spanish interface*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University. (Doctoral dissertation.)

- Deibel, Isabel. 2020b. The contribution of grammar and lexicon to language switching costs: Examining contact-induced languages and their implications for theories of language representation. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 23(5). 1–16. doi:10.1017/S1366728919000865
- Deibel, Isabel. 2021. VO vs. OV: What conditions word order variation in Media Lengua? In Mazzoli, Maria & Eeva Sippola (eds.), *New perspectives on mixed languages: From core to fringe* (Language Contact and Bilingualism), vol. 18, 157–188. Bremen, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9781501511257-006
- Gómez Rendón, Jorge. 2005. La media lengua de Imbabura. In Olbertz, Hella & Pieter Muysken (eds.), *Encuentros y conflictos: Bilingüismo y contacto de lenguas en el mundo andino*, 39–58. Madrid: Iberoamericana.
- Gómez Rendón, Jorge. 2008. *Mestizaje lingüístico en los Andes: Génesis y estructura de una lengua mixta*. Quito: Abya-Yala.
- Gómez Rendón, Jorge. 2019. La media lengua: Una revisión de los supuestos teóricos. In Madero Konrad, Maribel (ed.), *Contacto lingüístico y contexto social*, 23–47. Mexico City, Mexico: Centro de Lingüística Hispánica.
- Gómez Rendón, Jorge & Gabriela Jarrín Paredes. 2017. Una nueva mirada al mestizaje lingüístico en los Andes Septentrionales. *Letras* 58(94). 46–77.
- INEC - Instituto Nacional de Estadística Censos. 2010. Base de datos - censo de población y vivienda 2010. Census. Quito: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos. (<https://www.ecuadorencifras.gob.ec/base-de-datos-censo-de-poblacion-y-vivienda-2010/>) (Accessed 2022-04-11.)
- Jarrín Paredes, Elena Gabriela. 2014. *Esteriotipos lingüísticos en relación al kichwa y a la media lengua en las comunidades de Angla, Casco Valenzuela, El Topo y Ucsba de La Parroquia San Pablo Del Lago, Cantón Otavalo, Provincia de Imbabura*. Quito: Pontificia Universidad Católica Del Ecuador. (Master's thesis.)
- Limerick, Nicholas. 2020. Speaking for a state: Standardized Kichwa greetings and conundrums of commensuration in intercultural Ecuador. *Signs and Society* 8(2). 185–219. doi:10.1086/708164
- Lipski, John. 2016. Language switching constraints: More than syntax? Data from Media Lengua. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 20(4). 722–746. doi:10.1017/S1366728916000468
- Lipski, John. 2017. Ecuadoran Media Lengua: More than a “half”-language? *International Journal of American Linguistics* 83(2). 233–262.
- Lipski, John. 2019. Reconstructing the life-cycle of a mixed language: An exploration of Ecuadoran Media Lengua. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 24(2). 410–436. doi:10.1177/1367006919842668
- Lipski, John. 2020a. Can a bilingual lexicon be sustained by phonotactics alone? Evidence from Ecuadoran Quichua and Media Lengua. *The Mental Lexicon* 15(2). 330–365. doi:10.1075/ml.19024.lip
- Lipski, John. 2020b. Pronouns, interrogatives, and (Quichua-Media Lengua) code-switching: The eyes have it. *Languages* 5(11). 1–13. doi:10.3390/languages5020011

- Meakins, Felicity. 2013. Mixed languages. In Bakker, Peter & Yaron Matras (eds.), *Contact languages: A comprehensive guide* (Language Contact and Bilingualism), vol. 6, 159–228. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Meakins, Felicity & Jesse Stewart. 2022. Mixed languages. In Mufwene, Salikoko & Anna Maria Escobar (eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of language contact* (Multilingualism in Population Structure), vol. 2, 310–343. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, Andrea. 2011. *La media lengua en comunidades semi-rurales del Ecuador: Uso y significado social de una lengua mixta bilingüe*. Zürich: Universität Zürich. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Muysken, Pieter. 1979. La mezcla de quechua y castellano: El caso de la “media lengua” en el Ecuador. *Lexis* 3(1). 41–56. [doi:10.18800/lexis.197901.002](https://doi.org/10.18800/lexis.197901.002)
- Muysken, Pieter. 1980. Sources for the study of Amerindian contact vernaculars in Ecuador. *Amsterdam Creole Studies* 3. 66–82.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1981. Halfway between Quechua and Spanish: The case for relexification. In Highfield, Arnold R. & Albert Valdman (eds.), *Historicity and variation in Creole studies*, 52–78. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1997. Media Lengua. In Thomason, Sarah (ed.), *Contact languages: A wider perspective*, 365–426. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Onosson, Sky & Jesse Stewart. 2021a. A multi-method approach to correlate identification in acoustic data: The case of Media Lengua. *Laboratory Phonology: Journal of the Association for Laboratory Phonology* 12(1). 1–30. [doi:10.5334/labphon.291](https://doi.org/10.5334/labphon.291)
- Onosson, Sky & Jesse Stewart. 2021b. The effects of language contact on non-native vowel sequences in lexical borrowings: The case of Media Lengua. *Language and Speech PaPE 2019 Special Issue*, 1–30. [doi:10.1177/00238309211014911](https://doi.org/10.1177/00238309211014911)
- Prado Ayala, Gabriela, Lucia Gonza Inlago, & Jesse Stewart. 2021. *Recetacunaca Yopa Comunidadmanta*, 1st edn. Lexington, KT: Lulu. (<https://www.lulu.com/en/ca/shop/jesse-stewart-and-lucia-gonza-inlago-and-gabriela-prado-ayala/recetacunaca-yopa-comunidadmanta/hardcover/product-zn7pgz.html?page=1&pageSize=4>) (Accessed 2022-04-10.)
- Shappeck, Marco. 2011. *Quichua-Spanish language contact in Salcedo, Ecuador: Revisiting Media Lengua syncretic language practices*. Urbana: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. (Doctoral dissertation.)
- Stewart, Jesse. 2011. *A brief descriptive grammar of Pijal Media Lengua and an acoustic vowel space analysis of Pijal Media Lengua and Imbabura Quichua*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba. (Master’s thesis.)
- Stewart, Jesse. 2013. *Stories and traditions from Pijal: Told in Media Lengua*, 1st edn. Charleston: CreateSpace.
- Stewart, Jesse. 2014. A comparative analysis of Media Lengua and Quichua vowel production. *Phonetica* 71(3). 159–182. [doi:10.1159/000369629](https://doi.org/10.1159/000369629)
- Stewart, Jesse. 2015a. Intonation patterns in Pijal Media Lengua. *Journal of Language Contact* 8(2). 223–262. [doi:10.1163/19552629-00802003](https://doi.org/10.1163/19552629-00802003)

- Stewart, Jesse. 2015b. Production and perception of stop consonants in Spanish, Quichua, and Media Lengua. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba. (Doctoral dissertation.) (<http://hdl.handle.net/1993/30822>)
- Stewart, Jesse. 2018a. Voice onset time production in Ecuadorian Spanish, Quichua, and Media Lengua. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 48(2). 173–197. doi:10.1017/S002510031700024X
- Stewart, Jesse. 2018b. Vowel perception by native Media Lengua, Quichua, and Spanish speakers. *Journal of Phonetics* 71. 177–193. doi:10.1016/j.wocn.2018.08.005
- Stewart, Jesse. 2020. A preliminary, descriptive survey of rhotic and approximant fricativization in Northern Ecuadorian Andean Spanish varieties, Quichua, and Media Lengua. In Rao, Rajiv (ed.), *Spanish phonetics and phonology in contact: Studies from Africa, the Americas, and Spain* (Issues in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics Series), vol. 28, 103–140. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/iuhl.28.05ste
- Stewart, Jesse, Gabriela Prado Ayala, & Lucia Gonza Inlago. 2020. Media Lengua dictionary. *Dictionaria* 12. 1–3216. doi:10.5281/zenodo.4147099
- Wroblewski, Michael. 2012. Amazonian Kichwa Proper: Ethnolinguistic domain in Pan-Indian Ecuador. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 22(1). 64–86. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1395.2012.01134.x

Jesse Stewart
stewart.jesse@usask.ca

 orcid.org/0000-0001-8678-7884