

Spanish as a Pronominal Argument Language:
The Spanish Interlanguage of Mexicano Speakers

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Vernacular second-language acquisition is emerging as an important research site for the study of the universal cognitive foundations of human language (cf. Bickerton 1981; Anderson 1984; and Rutherford 1984). Recent workers have emphasized that the "interlanguages" (Selinker 1972) of adult language learners are, like the developing languages of children, orderly and regular systems, within which linguists may explore the cognitive regularities which constitute core grammar. The present paper examines an interlingual form of Spanish spoken by bilingual speakers of Mexicano (Nahuatl) and Spanish in the communities of the Malinche Volcano region of Puebla and Tlaxcala, Mexico.¹

The precise typological difference between Mexicano and Spanish is not clear. Mexicano appears to be what Jelinek (1984, 1985) and Jelinek and Demers (1985) have called a "pronominal-argument" language. Spanish exhibits the property often called "pro-drop", so that sentences without lexical arguments are possible. Jelinek (1984) has argued that the pro-drop feature of Spanish might be handled within the framework which she has proposed for pronominal-argument languages, with pronouns, when present, being considered as nominal adjuncts.² The study of the

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² Wendy Wilkins (personal communication) has also suggested that Mexican Spanish may be intermediate between the lexical-argument and pronominal-argument types, and should be explored within the pronominal-argument framework. Wilkins and Jelinek point out that "pro-drop" is really a misnomer, if native-

Spanish interlanguage of Mexicano speakers may permit us to clarify these typological questions.

For some speakers the Spanish interlanguage is apparently a pronominal-argument language, presumably as the result of the transfer of this parameter from Mexicano, but with variation on precisely those forms which are diagnostic of the pronominal-argument type. This variation may represent the mixing of the pronominal-argument and lexical-argument systems as speakers learn Spanish. Other bilinguals in the same community appear to speak a "normal" Spanish with lexical-argument, rather than pronominal-argument, properties. This variation shows that, whatever the typological differences between Spanish and Mexicano may be, the two systems can co-exist not only in the bilingual speech community, but within the interlingual grammar itself.

The continuum of argument types proposed by Jelinek (1984, 1985) and Jelinek and Demers (1985) is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Typology of argument types

Full configurational	Pro-Drop	W-type
(e.g. English)	(e.g. Spanish)	(e.g. Warlpiri, O'odham, Lummi, Mexicano)
"Lexical argument"	"Mixed"	"Pronominal argument"

In Jelinek and Demers 1985, the diagnostic properties of pronominal-argument languages are reviewed; these are as follows:

- a. A closed set of person-marking elements uniquely serve as verbal arguments.
- b. Clause types are differentiated by sets of pronominal arguments.

- c. Full nominals are adjuncts.
- d. The noun-verb distinction may be absent.
- e. An ergative split may be present.
- f. The language will exhibit non-configurationality (including free word order and syntactically discontinuous expressions).
- g. There will be no NP-movement rules.
- h. Syntax will be "shallow" -- adjunction, not embedding, will be the principal subordinating device.

The purpose of the present paper is to argue that the interlingual Spanish of some Mexicano-Spanish bilinguals exhibits all of these properties except (d), (e), and some expected aspects of (f) (these are not found in Mexicano³) but that these properties

³ Mexicano, a Uto-Aztecan language also called Nahuatl or Aztec, has pronominal prefixes marking subject, object, and reflexive. The prefixes are required on all verbs, according to the lexical valency of the verb. Nominals, unlike the pronominal argument prefixes, are not marked for nominative or accusative case. Instead they are marked either as "absolute" (which should not be confused with the absolute case of an ergative-absolute system), or marked with locative postpositions or possessive suffixes. Evidence that bilingual speakers of the interlingual Spanish described here are treating lo, the Spanish third-person direct-object clitic, as if it were the Mexicano pronominal-argument marker k(i)-, can be seen in sentences like the following:

- i. No lo me fijé.
NOT IT ME I FIXED
"I didn't realize it."
(Spanish No me lo fijé)

Here, the order of pronominal prefixes matches, not the Spanish order shown in parentheses, but the order of prefixes in a Mexicano verb, where direct object precedes reflexive:

- ii. Amo o-ni-k-mo-fijaroh.
NOT ANTECESSIVE-I-IT-ME-FIXED

(In the Mexicano verb the first-person subject prefix ni- is required, since the subject is not already distinguished. The Spanish form, fije, is of course uniquely inflected for first-person subject, and Mexicano speakers appear to find this an acceptable substitute for the Mexicano prefix).

are realized variably by individual speakers.

It is important to show that these properties of Malinche interlingual Spanish are genuinely syntactic, and not the result of odd right-dislocations or topic-comment structures. This is a significant issue, since Schumann (1984) has suggested that the forms of interlanguage which appear in the earliest stages of adult second language acquisition are "non-syntactic" or "pragmatic" languages which will exhibit a high frequency of topic-comment and other "juxtapositional" forms. However, speakers of the pronominal-argument interlanguage do not appear to exhibit such a "basilang". Their speech is fast, fluent, and fully syntactic.⁴ In order to show that it is not likely that their speech is less syntactic than that of first-language speakers of Spanish in the region, I compared four very similar texts, tape recordings of my conversations about the duties of godparents with four women in the town of La Resurrección, Puebla. Two of

There is also evidence that speakers transfer from Mexicano the absence of the possibility that nominals, including pronouns, can be case-marked. This is illustrated in the following example:

- iii. Me mandaba yo su compadrito de Usted.
ME HE SENT I YOUR COMPADRE OF YOU
"Your compadre (speaker's husband) used to send me."

Standard (or even colloquial monolingual) Spanish, of course, would require (iv):

- iv. Me mandaba a mí su compadrito de Usted.
ME HE SENT a ME YOUR COMPADRE OF YOU

This example suggests a case split (although not an ergative split); pronominal arguments have case, while nominal arguments, including pronouns, do not.

⁴ The speed and fluency of interlingual Spanish speakers may be due to the fact that the pronominal-argument variety of Spanish is a variety well-established in the multilingual Malinche communities; Muysken (1984) has suggested that similar community norms for interlanguages are established in Spanish-Quechua bilingual speech communities in the Andean region. Of the 13 bilingual speakers whose Spanish was investigated for this study, only one had studied Spanish in school.

the women were native speakers of Spanish in their early twenties. One of these women spoke some Mexicano. The other two, one aged thirty-five and one in her sixties, were first-language speakers of Mexicano who spoke a pronominal-argument Spanish interlanguage. (A brief sample text from the conversation with the thirty-five year old woman is given in the appendix.) The frequency of topic-comment sentences and incomplete sentences in these texts is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Frequency of "pragmatic" constructions in conversation about godparenthood with four women

	Native Spanish (N=2)	Native Mexicano (N=2)
Total clauses	130	782
Topic/comment	4	26
Incomplete	33	87

The frequency of topic-comment constructions is not significantly different among the two groups of speakers; χ^2 is only 0.14. Spanish speakers have significantly more incomplete sentences than do the Mexicano speakers ($\chi^2 = 19.81$); this may be a manifestation of the well-known tendency of native speakers to be more comfortably "informal" in their usage than non-native speakers. These figures are useful because they are based on very similar conversations. While the number of speakers is small, these results are consistent with a comparison of the total sample of 4 native Spanish speakers with the total sample of 13 Mexicano speakers, speaking Spanish in a variety of contexts; this comparison is shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Frequency of "pragmatic" constructions in total sample

	Spanish speakers (N=4)	Mexicano speakers (N=13)
Total clauses	187	1589
Topic/comment	12	133
Incomplete	36	143

For this larger sample, the difference in topic/comment frequency is again not significant ($X^2 = .61$), but again we find a significantly higher frequency of incomplete sentences in the Spanish usage of native speakers ($X^2 = 20.55$).

First, let us examine the evidence that properties (a), (b), and (c) of a pronominal-argument language are found in the Spanish interlanguage of the Malinche region. For the grammarian of Spanish, the most striking manifestation of pronominal-argument structure in interlingual Spanish is that the clitic lo can cooccur in the same sentence with direct-object nouns and third-person pronouns.⁵ I will argue that this occurs because lo has become a pronominal argument marking "direct object" (and hence marking a two-argument clause type). It need not agree in gender or number with the noun which it coreferences. Although sometimes los appears with plurals, this is by no means invariant. La is extremely rare, and I have found no examples of las. This lack of agreement may be one indication that nouns in the interlanguage are functioning as nominal adjuncts rather than arguments.

The distribution of direct-object clitics in Spanish has been reviewed by Jaeggli (1982). Jaeggli notes the well-known fact that the direct-object clitics lo, la, los, and las are in complementary distribution with direct-object nouns, regardless of their animacy. He finds a variant of this pattern in River Plate Spanish, where direct-object clitics can cooccur with animate nouns if these are preceded by the preposition a. However, in the Spanish interlanguage of the Malinche Volcano, the cooccurrence of the clitic and the nominal is the preferred option, and no preposition is required. These patterns are shown

⁵ While the complementary distribution between the object clitic and the nominal object seems to be retained in all varieties of Spanish which have been reported in the literature, it apparently does not hold for all varieties of Italian, a pro-drop language with many typological similarities with Spanish. Gabriella Albanese (personal communication) reports that colloquial Italian permits the cooccurrence of the clitic and the nominal object.

in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Distribution of cooccurrence of clitic and direct object nominal

	<u>Standard Spanish</u>	<u>River Plate</u>	<u>Spanish Interlanguage</u>
Non-pronominal Inanimate	Impossible	Impossible	Preferred
Animate (specific)	Impossible	Optional (requires <u>a</u>)	Optional (<u>a</u> not needed)
Pronominal	Obligatory	Obligatory	?

Jaeggli argues that the reason that clitics cannot appear with inanimate nominal objects, or with animate nominal objects without a, is because the clitic attracts government (it is the argument), so the nominal would be ungoverned and would be ruled out by the case filter. In the River Plate dialect, the cooccurrence of the nominal and the clitic does not violate the case filter, because the nominal is assigned case by the preposition a. How, then, are we to explain the fact that Malinche interlingual Spanish contains many examples of precisely such a cooccurrence, with no restriction on animacy of nominal and no preposition present? Several such examples are shown in (1-7) below; the adjunct nominal type is given in parentheses.⁶ (These examples, and all others cited here, were uttered extemporaneously in conversation; none were elicited).

1. Lo trae un chiquihuite. (inanimate)
IT HE BRINGS A BASKET
"He brings a basket."
2. Lo compramos la harina. (inanimate)
IT WE BUY THE FLOUR
"We buy the flour."

⁶ While the direct-object nominals in examples (3) and (4) are indicated as "animate specific", in fact they occurred in a discussion of generic behavior. Thus the definite articles -- la novia, etc. -- are marking generic, not specific (or non-specific) animates.

3. Ya lo lleva la novia con el novio. (animate specific)
NOW IT HE TAKES THE BRIDE WITH THE GROOM
"Now he takes the bride with the groom."
4. La mamá lo está mirando la novia. (animate specific)
THE MOTHER IT IS LOOKING AT THE BRIDE
"The mother is looking at the bride."
5. Lo ponen abajo los plátanos. (inanimate specific
IT THEY PUT UNDERNEATH THE BANANAS without number
"They put the bananas underneath." agreement)
6. Lo sabe que ... como los hacen los panes.
IT HE KNOWS HOW THEM THEY MAKE THE BREAD ROLLS
"He knows how they make the bread rolls." (complement)
(inanimate specific with number agreement)
7. No lo saben hablar en castilla. (complement)
NOT IT THEY KNOW TO SPEAK IN SPANISH
"They don't know how to speak Spanish."

If this interlingual Spanish were a lexical-argument language, these examples would require a serious reevaluation of the accounts of case and government given by government-and-binding theory. Alternatively, they might force us to abandon the presumption that interlanguages are orderly realizations of the human language-acquisition capacity. Fortunately, the typological insights of Jelinek and Demers allow us to avoid these unpalatable steps, for these examples are entirely predictable if we assume that we are looking at a pronominal-argument language, where the nominal is in a non-argument position, functioning as an adjunct, and so need not have case.

It is important to note that sentences without lo, but with nominal direct objects, do occur in the usage even of very Mexicano-dominant bilinguals. For instance, the speaker illustrated in the appendix had 34 sentences where lo cooccurred with a direct-object nominal, but also had 13 sentences like (8) and (9), in which only the direct-object nominal appeared (and of course a number of sentences with only lo, as in the second clause in (9), which are also permitted in native Spanish).

8. Vaya, compro dos kilos de (unintelligible).
I MEAN, I BUY TWO KILOS OF (unintelligible)
9. Sí, hacen mole, lo hacen.
YES, THEY MAKE MOLE, IT THEY MAKE

Compare these sentences with (10) and (11), uttered by the same speaker in the same conversation (and see also (6) above, uttered by an elderly woman from the same town):

10. Si de alcanza el dinero, lo compra un medio kilo de, de chito seco.
IF THERE'S ENOUGH MONEY, IT HE BUYS A HALF KILO OF, OF DRIED MEAT
11. Lo hacen molito.
IT THEY MAKE MOLITO (the diminutive of mole)

Sentences like (8) and (9), which do not contain the pronominal argument marker, would not be grammatical in Mexicano, except in the case of a morphologically incorporated nominal. It is possible that (9) may be intended as a "generic" verbal expression like the noun-incorporated construction mol-chihua "to mole-make" (mole is a sauce for meats). However, it is unlikely that (8), with the very definite expression dos kilos de ... as direct object, is intended to function as an incorporated generic noun. This suggests that this speaker has been sufficiently exposed to Spanish syntax to know that sentences without pronominal argument markers appear there, even though sentences with pronominal arguments are still the preferred type in her usage. Only the most Mexicano-dominant bilinguals, like this speaker, exhibit such a preference. Of the sample of 13 first-language speakers of Mexicano, only eight exhibit lo as a pronominal argument marker; for three of these, the diagnostic sentences in which lo cooccurs with a direct-object nominal are very rare, with most sentences exhibiting either only a clitic or only a nominal. In addition, only the most Mexicano-dominant speakers exhibit only the lo form (with los appearing occasionally); more balanced bilinguals exhibit la and las as well, although they experience occasional lapses of gender and number agreement.

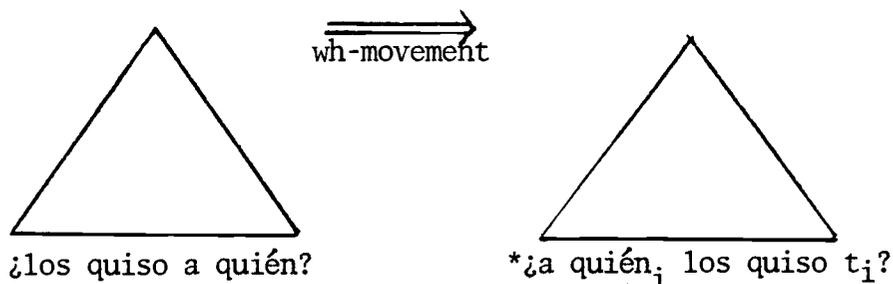
The presence of this variation suggests that the possibility of cooccurrence of object clitics and nominal objects, versus the impossibility of such a cooccurrence, may not be a profound difference of the type which Chomsky (1981) has called "parametric". Instead, the acquisition of the rule of complementary distribution by speakers is, at least if we are to attend to surface evidence, a rather gradual procedure. Speakers apparently go through a period when their usage permits constructions derived from more than one systemic type. It may be that the new types of sentences appear first as fixed expressions; however, my materials do not really support such a conclusion. Example (8), for instance, is not a likely candidate for interpretation as a fixed expression, especially in the presence of (10).

Second, let us examine the evidence for the presence in Malinche interlingual Spanish of property (g), the absence of NP movement. Jaeggli (1982) has made several proposals to account for the constraints on movement in Spanish. First, he argues that sentences which contain wh-words standing for direct objects can not contain clitics, because in such a case, following the arguments reviewed above, the clitic is the argument and absorbs government. The wh-form direct object is base-generated following the verb; it is moved to sentence-initial position, leaving a trace. Such a sentence is not permissible, however, because the trace of the wh-moved direct object would be ungoverned, in violation of the Empty Category Principle (Chomsky 1981). However, in Malinche interlingual Spanish we can find examples of sentences which appear to violate this constraint; such an example is seen in (12), which native speakers of Spanish in Tucson find bizarrely ungrammatical, and in (13). In Figure 3, the derivation of (12) is shown as if it were a lexical-argument type of sentence; the trace is ungoverned because, under Jaeggli's arguments reviewed above, los is the argument.

12. A quién los quiso? (animate, indefinite)
TO WHOM THEM DOES SHE LOVE
"Whom does she love?"

13. No me acuerdo qué año ya lo llevo.
 NOT TO ME I REMEMBER WHAT YEAR NOW IT I CARRY
 "I don't remember how old I am".

Figure 3. Derivation of (12) in a lexical-argument Spanish



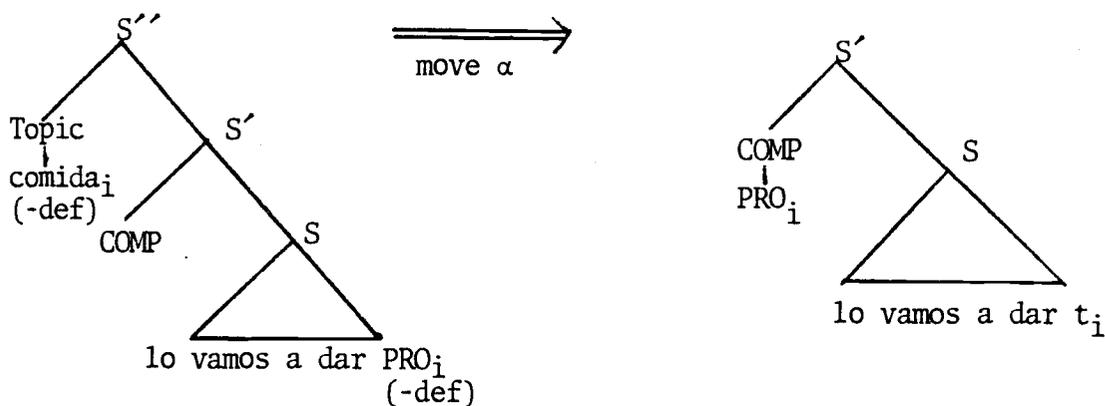
As shown above, in a lexical-argument language the wh-word quién would be base-generated after the verb, as a direct object. But in Jelinek and Demers' account of a pronominal-argument system, the wh-word is an adjunct, and thus questions of word order and movement do not arise. Since there is no movement that would leave the ungoverned trace after quiso, the sentence is not in violation of Jaeggli's generalizations for native lexical-argument Spanish. (In fact a quién sounds almost exactly like Mexicano aquin, the question word for animates, which is also an indefinite animate nominal meaning "someone". Kenneth C. Hill and I (Hill and Hill 1986) have shown that Malinche bilinguals often take advantage of such phonological coincidences to bridge the differences between Spanish and Mexicano.)

Jaeggli takes up a second interesting restriction on movement in Spanish, the different constraints on topicalization and left-dislocation. Topicalization, without the clitic, is permitted only with indefinites, while left-dislocation, with the clitic, is permitted only with definites. Jaeggli explains the difference in movement possibilities between definite and indefinite nominals by suggesting that an ungoverned trace is left in the case of a left-dislocation of a definite. Malinche interlingual Spanish, however, permits constructions which appear to be left-dislocations of indefinite nominals. These are illustrated in (14) and (15) below. The tree diagrams in Figure 4 show a

Jaeggli-style analysis of (14), with the left-dislocated noun comida "food", uttered by a speaker who was generalizing about the duties of a parent toward a new godparent. This example is definitely not a topicalization; there is no intonation break between comida and the remainder of the sentence. (Nor is there such a break between plátano and lo in (15).) Example (14) would clearly be ruled out by Jaeggli's account, and the existence of this and many similar examples would require a major reevaluation of the theory of government and of the Empty Category Principle, or, as noted above, of the principle that interlanguages are rule-governed phenomena.

14. Comida lo vamos a dar. (inanimate, indefinite)
 FOOD IT WE ARE GOING TO GIVE
 "We are going to give food."
15. Sandía o plátano lo meten. (inanimate, indefinite)
 WATERMELON OR BANANA IT THEY PUT IN
 "They put in watermelon or banana."

Figure 4. Derivation of (14) in a lexical-argument Spanish



Again, the theory of the properties of pronominal-argument languages allows us to avoid the major theoretical revision required if we assume that this interlingual Spanish is a lexical-argument language. For such examples are entirely comprehensible if we are looking not at left-dislocation, a process which occurs in lexical-argument languages, but simply at the output of free word order for the nominal adjuncts. Example (14) in an SVO lexical-argument language would have comida base-generated after

the verb, since it is a direct object. Left-dislocation would then leave PRO, and the movement of PRO to COMP (as in Figure 4) would leave an ungoverned trace. But Jelinek and Demers (1985) have proposed that in a pronominal-argument language there need not be movement, so the adjunct comida simply originates in initial position. If this is the case, then there is no PRO, and no ungoverned trace left behind by the movement of PRO to COMP.

The presence of sentences like (12) through (15) is evidence for underlying free word order (which may suggest property (f), nonconfigurationality) in interlingual Spanish. However, surface word order exhibits a verb-initial preference, replicating the preference in Mexicano (Hill and Hill 1986). Word order frequencies for nominals in Spanish text recorded from the speaker whose usage is given in the appendix is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Surface word order in Spanish of a Mexican-dominant woman

VS	VO	SV	OV	VOS	SVO	OVS
29	49	22	30	1	3	1

(NOTE: 14 SV examples had first-person subjects; only 3 VS examples were first-person subjects. First person pronouns are highly "topicalizable" (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974), which suggests that some SV examples may be somewhat like topicalized sentences, even though they do not have the topic-comment intonation contour, or intervening adverbial material, which constitute clear evidence of a topic-comment construction.)

Word order in Mexican Spanish may be relatively free. Although most scholars have held that Spanish is an SVO language, Givón (1983:33) has suggested that word order in Latin American Spanish is pragmatically controlled, with a tendency, in the colloquial language, toward a rigid preverbal subject. If Givón's account is correct, then Spanish would provide no rigid template to which speakers would have to accommodate, and verb-initial organization along Mexicano lines could be preserved in the interlanguage.

There is no evidence for discontinuous constituency of the

type found in Warlpiri, Latin, or other Uto-Aztecan languages such as Tohonno O'odham (Papago), either in the Spanish interlanguage, or in Mexicano itself. Andrews (1975) has pointed out that in Classical Mexicano a noun could be shifted away from its modifier, but that such constructions required a special marker, as shown in (16), from his discussion. In (16) the constituent miec cuauhtli "many eagles" has been split; cuauhtli "eagle" then must be marked with the adjunctor in. Example (17) shows the unmarked order, which does not require in.

16. Quil miec yaomiquiz in cuauhtli.
 IT IS SAID MANY WILL-DIE-IN-WAR in EAGLE
 "It is said that many who are eagle knights will die in battle" (Andrews 1975:277).

17. Quil miec cuahtli yaomiquiz.
 IT IS SAID MANY EAGLE WILL-DIE-IN-WAR

In addition to the properties illustrated above, interlingual Spanish in the Malinche region may also exhibit another diagnostic feature of a pronominal-argument language, what Jelinek and Demers (1985) have called "shallow" syntax. One surface feature which may point toward an absence of embedding is that interlingual Spanish doesn't seem to have complementizers, either in noun complements (such as relative clauses) or verb complements such as factives. If the process of subordination is adjunction, not embedding, the absence of such elements would be predicted.

The absence of relative pronouns in relative clauses is illustrated in examples (18) through (23) below. The location in which the relative pronoun would be found in native Spanish is marked by an underline; the relative clauses are enclosed in square brackets (discussions of relative clauses in the Mexicano of the Malinche region is presented in Hill and Hill 1986).

18. Que dispensen en momento [___ tenemos] que nos falta.
 MAY YOU EXCUSE AT THE MOMENT ___ WE HAVE WHAT IS LACKING TO US
 "Please excuse in this moment which we have what is lacking to us."
 (Here que in que nos falta is being used like Mexicano tlen,

an indefinite inanimate nominal.)

19. Luego le da sus ps, [___ aqui nosotros tenemos costumbre
THEN HER GIVES HER WELL ___ HERE WE HAVE THE CUSTOM ___
lo llevan] este sus trastes.
THEY TAKE IT UH HER DISHES
"Then he gives her, well, what we here have the custom of
taking, that is her dishes."
(This is a preposed relative clause, common in Mexicano.)
20. Hay algunos [___ vienen [___ no se pueden]].
THERE ARE SOME ___ COME ___ ARE NOT ABLE
"There are some who come who are not able."
21. [___ Lo lleva] es cualquier persona.
___ IT BRINGS IS ANY PERSON
"He who brings it is any person."
(Note the "headless" relative clause, common in Mexicano.
Jelinek (1985) shows why "headless" relatives are
characteristic of pronominal argument languages.)
22. El señor aquí es [___ siempre viene a dormir] es como si
THE MAN HERE IS ___ ALWAYS COMES TO SLEEP IS AS IF HE
fuera mi padre.
WERE MY FATHER
"The man here who always comes to sleep is like a father to
me."
23. Igual lo compra su ropa, es [___ la novia lo va a
THE SAME IT BUYS HER CLOTHES IS ___ THE BRIDE IT GOING TO
llevar pa que se va a casar].
WEAR TO GET MARRIED
"In the same way he buys her clothes, which the bride is
going to wear in order to get married."
- (22) and (23) show es being used as an adjunction marker,
parallel to Mexicano in. Native Mexicano has no copula, and the
fact that Mexicano-dominant bilinguals do not thoroughly under-
stand the functions of the copula is illustrated by bizarre
combinations of fixed expressions which involve the copula, as
shown in (24) and (25).
24. Puro mexicano, aunque sea ya están grandes.
NOTHING BUT M., EVEN THOUGH IT BE NOW THEY ARE GROWN UP
"It's nothing but Mexicano, even though they might be
adults."
25. Les cuiden como si fuera es nuestro padre.
THEM HE CARED FOR AS IF HE WERE IS OUR FATHER
"He took care of them as if he were our father."

Examples of relative clauses with no relative pronoun appear in the usage only of Mexicano-dominant bilinguals, who display the following pattern:

- A. Reduced relatives (without relative pronoun que), or relatives marked with es or de, appear with nominal heads (quantifiers such as todos or hartos may appear with que).
- B. Pronominal heads appear with que.
- C. If there is no head, or if the head is a quantifier, the relative can be marked with lo que.

Examples of relative clauses with de, pronouns with que, and lo que are shown in (26) through (28).

26. Lo va Usted a llevar flor pero no más de se necesistan.
IT YOU WILL TAKE FLOWERS BUT JUST WHAT THEY NEED
"You will take flowers but just what is needed."
27. Los demás lo que necesita lo compramos aparte.
THE REST WHICH IS NEEDED IT WE BUY SEPARATELY
"As for the rest which is needed we buy it separately."
28. El que tiene más, ps lo llevan.
HE WHO HAS MORE, WELL IT THEY TAKE
"As for he who has more, well they take it."

More balanced bilinguals have que categorically with nominal heads, as in (29). Such speakers also often exhibit relative pronouns (either que or the Mexicano indefinite nominal tlen) in Mexicano as well (cf. Hill and Hill 1986).

29. A lo mejor sabe la sentencia que tenemos.
PERHAPS YOU KNOW THE SENTENCE THAT WE HAVE

Among Mexicano-dominant interlingual speakers verb complements also can lack complement markers, as shown in (30) through (32).

30. Ya lo compra el chiquihuite para ____ lo lleva con su
NOW IT HE BUYS THE BASKET FOR ____ IT HE TAKES WITH THE
papa del ahijado.
FATHER OF THE GODSON
"Now he buys the basket in order to take it with the father of the godson."

31. Nos hacen el favor ___ nos invita a la casa.
 US THEY DO THE FAVOR ___ US HE INVITES TO THE HOUSE
 "They do us the favor of inviting us to the house."
32. Aquí acostumbramos ___ lo compran un bulto y medio de
 harina.
 HERE WE ARE ACCUSTOMED ___ IT THEY BUY A BAG AND A HALF OF
 FLOUR
 "Here we have the custom that they buy a bag and a half of
 flour."

Note that these complement clauses exhibit finite, fully inflected verbs, rather than the non-finite verbs of the subordinated verb complements of native Spanish. This phenomenon also is strongly suggestive of adjoined, rather than embedded, sentential modifiers. Such tensed verbs appear in interlingual Spanish even in idioms with tener que and haber que "have to", as in (33):

33. Tiene aunque no más que la goce.
 HE HAS ALTHOUGH NO MORE THAT IT HE ENJOYS
 "He must enjoy it even though there is no more."
 (Spanish Tiene ... que gozarla)

Verb-complement adjuncts, with no complement marker and fully inflected verbs such as those shown above, can vary with structures which exhibit complement markers. Examples (34) and (35) were uttered within a few sentences of each other by the same speaker; (35) shows the complement marker que. (Note also that the verb ver "to see" here means "to call"; this is a loan-translation of Mexicano mottilia "to call by a relationship term, be in a relationship with"; it literally means "to see respectfully".)

34. Sí, yo veo ___ son primos.
 YES, I SEE ___ THEY ARE COUSINS
 "Yes, I call them cousins."
35. Entonces yo veo que son mis primos.
 THEN I SEE THAT THEY ARE MY COUSINS
 "Then I call them my cousins; see them as my cousins."

Other interesting manifestations suggestive of "shallow" syntax in interlingual Spanish in the Malinche region are

adverbial clauses which in Spanish would be headed with cuando "when", aunque "although", etc., which are simply adjoined without the adverb. This is also the characteristic technique for forming such clauses in Mexicano. However, some Spanish adverbs have been borrowed into Mexicano, and Mexicano elements have been calqued on these and acquired new functions (Hill and Hill 1986); thus both Mexicano and interlingual Spanish exhibit some variation, and example (37) contains both types of clauses. The position where the adverb would occur in native Spanish is marked with an underline.

36. Ya ___ viene otra vez ya le entrega el padrino un, vaya
 NOW ___ HE COMES AGAIN NOW HE GIVES THE GODFATHER A, I MEAN
 su chiquihuite.
 HIS BASKET
 "Now when he comes again then he gives the godfather a, I
 mean his basket."

37. Ya cuando sale la misa pues ___ llegan, le dan de
 NOW WHEN HE LEAVES THE MASS WELL ___ THEY ARRIVE THEY GIVE
 comer.
 HIM A MEAL
 "Now when he leaves the mass, well when they arrive, they
 give him a meal."

In recent years, students of second-language acquisition have urged that a variety of learning strategies are exploited by adult language learners. In particular, they have suggested that earlier literature placed far too much emphasis on language transfer (or "interference"), and too little on such strategies as simplification (particularly the use of a "pragmatic" register) and overgeneralization of properties of the target language. The properties of the Spanish interlanguage of the Malinche region, however, appear to yield most productively to analysis in terms of transfer. I have shown above that Jelinek's and Jelinek and Demers' outline of the pronominal-argument language type allows us to account for features of this interlanguage that would require fundamental revisions in the theory of core grammar, or require us to assume that the interlanguage is a manifestation of linguistic disorder, if they were proper-

ties of a lexical-argument language. The pronominal-argument model explains the simultaneous presence in the Spanish interlanguage of a variety of properties which would otherwise not be clearly connected. While a number of the properties noted above might possibly be accounted for in terms of simplification or overgeneralization, only an explanation in terms of transfer of the pronominal-argument parameter allows a unified explanation of all the properties reviewed. There is considerable counter-evidence for an analysis in terms of "simplification"; if such a process means an approximation to the "pragmatic" language suggested by Givón (1979), as proposed by Schumann (1984), then Malinche learners of Spanish are clearly not exploiting it. Indeed their language is if anything less pragmatic than that of native speakers of Spanish who live among them, as evidenced by the data on incomplete sentences. From this evidence we must conclude that transfer, at least in this case, is an extremely important strategy for adult learners of a second language.

In addition to providing evidence for the importance of transfer as a second-language acquisition strategy, the data presented above are strong evidence for the proposals made by Jelinek (1984), that pronominal-argument languages are not accounted for within the government-and-binding framework. The interlanguage examples are particularly telling, since the lexical material reviewed above is entirely familiar. Clearly, however, the syntactic treatment of these materials by speakers is not easily handled within a government-and-binding account of Spanish syntax, such as that of Jaeggli (1982). The example adds additional data to suggest that government-and-binding theory is not an account of the universal properties of human language, but should be considered as restricted to languages of the lexical-argument type.

A close study of this and similar situations might allow us to specify more closely what may constitute "parametric" differences between human languages; Chomsky's (1981) brief discussion of the concept of "parameter" seems to endow these

with a somewhat absolute property (he speaks of them as being "set" in language acquisition), and thus would suggest that interlanguages in which there is variation across parameters would be unlikely, in much the same way that it would be unlikely that I could edit the current text, typed in WordStar, in WordPerfect and expect comprehensible output. The difference between the lexical-argument and the pronominal-argument type of language might be considered a good candidate for a "parametric" difference (indeed, Jelinek calls it the "argument-type parameter"), yet the data presented here suggest variation across diagnostic features of the two types for single speakers. Unfortunately, these data can be no more than suggestive on this point. They are largely the product of serendipity; in a study which emphasized Mexicano, I occasionally spoke Spanish with people. Thus I do not have longitudinal data for individuals, and I do not have systematic biographical data on the acquisition of Spanish for any speakers. At least one speaker among those who exhibit pronominal-argument Spanish claims to have learned the language only within the last two or three years before I taped the examples discussed here, and this claim is consistent with my knowledge of her. I first met this thirty-five-year-old woman in 1974, when she was 31; at that time she seemed unwilling to speak Spanish. When I interviewed her in 1978, the interview yielded the results shown in the conversational fragment in the appendix, and I noticed that she often spoke in Spanish to her young children (almost certainly this was one of the reasons she had begun to speak Spanish; local people believe it is important to expose children to Spanish to prepare them for school). However, other speakers who exhibit the pronominal argument type of Spanish apparently have retained such a usage for many years. One such speaker is my ritual kinsman and closest friend on the Malinche Volcano, and the father of our principal field assistant. His Spanish has continued over the ten years of our acquaintance in very much the same mold; he clearly prefers to speak Mexicano, and his Spanish is of the pronominal-argument type.

I do have the impression that bilingual Spanish in the Malinche region which is dominantly pronominal-argument permits more constructions of the other argument type than does the dominantly lexical-argument type, in which aberrant "pronominal-argument" constructions such as cooccurrence of lo and a nominal object are extremely rare. However, careful restudy and longitudinal data on "intermediate" usages will be required to determine whether the lexical-argument package always tends towards categoriality, or whether there might be a substantial body of intermediate speakers who vary irregularly among the several diagnostic indices, and what properties of the language-acquisition experience, or social identities of speakers, may make for different types of speakers.

Finally, it seems likely that Spanish is more vulnerable to conversion into a pronominal-argument language in bilingual usage than might be other Western languages such as English. Spanish is, of course, a pro-drop language, so sentences without lexical arguments are already possible. As noted above, it has been argued that Mexican Spanish has relatively free word order. All that is then required for pronominal-argument status is that the cooccurrence of direct-object clitics and direct-object nominals be permitted. In terms of the account of government and the case filter within the government-and-binding theory of universal grammar, this would have to be a very major step; sentences exhibiting such a cooccurrence would violate the case filter and should be very bizarre for listeners. However, it is very easy for Malinche interlanguage speakers to utter such sentences, and they are very easy to understand (I didn't even notice them until I began to look closely at the materials, and native speakers of Spanish in the region never mention clitic-nominal cooccurrence among the many stereotypes they have of Mexicano bilingual Spanish). It may be that the escape clause is that listeners interpret the nominal adjuncts as right-dislocated elements, topics, and the like, in spite of the counterevidence offered by intonation contours and timing. Only the most extreme cases,

such as example (12) above, seem to disturb the native speakers of Spanish to whom I have shown this material. The fact that it is easy for Mexicano speakers to treat Spanish as a pronominal-argument language, and easy for Spanish speakers to understand them when they do so, clearly has important implications for our understanding of the typological status of Spanish.

Appendix

Sample passage (Josefina Potrero, La Resurrección, age 35)

Sí. También le dan los vaya, el muchacho su
YES ALSO TO HIM THEY GIVE THEM THAT IS THE LAD HIS
ropa. Su traje lo compra (Sí), y su rosario, su, también su
CLOTHES HIS SUIT IT HE BUYS (YES) AND HIS ROSARY HIS ALSO HIS

cerita lo compran el padrino. (Ahh.) Nada mas ese, y ese. Si.
CANDLE IT THEY BUY THE GODFATHER (AHH) JUST THAT AND THAT YES

Ya lo compra el chiquihuite para lo lleva con su papá
THEN IT HE BUYS THE BASKET FOR IT HE CARRIES WITH HIS FATHER

de, del ahijado, y ahí llega le entrega
OF THE GODSON, AND THERE WHEN HE ARRIVES TO HIM THEY HAND IT OVER

al su papa -- de vaya su los dos, su papá y mamá
TO HIS FATHER -- OF I MEAN HIS THE TWO, HIS FATHER AND MOTHER

los reciben el chiquihuite, y ya le dan de comer
THEM THEY RECEIVE THE BASKET, AND THEN THEY GIVE THEM A MEAL

"Yes. Also they give him them, I mean the boy his clothes. They buy his suit (Yes) and his rosary, his, also the godfather buys his candle. (Ahh.) Nothing more than that, and that. Yes. Then he buys the basket in order to take it with the father of the godson, and there when he arrives he hands it over to his father, I mean his two parents, his father and his mother, they receive the basket, and then they give them a meal."

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