# Spanish as a basically argument indexing language. The case of Colombian Spanish from the Andes

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# Introduction

**Spanish is considered a basically dependent-marking language:**

- A type of language in which arguments are primarily realized through referential phrases (RPs).

- The semantic and syntactic relations with the predicate are marked or flagged on the RPs.

# Pro-drop subjects: a head-marking feature

- **It also has been considered as a double-marking language:**

There can be clauses without a lexical subject, where the person and number features of the verbal inflexion function as the argument (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987; Belloro 2004, 2007; Van Valin 2005, 2013; Kailuwiet 2008), as in (1):

1   *Rompi-ó*                     *el=vaso*
    break-3PST                   ART=glass
     '(He/She) broke the glass'.

# Clitics as arguments

- Some authors (Belloro 2004, 2007; Kailuweit 2008, Van Valin 2013) have proposed that the Spanish accusative and dative clitics also behave like arguments in the absence of the respective RPs, as in (2a), in contrast with (2b):

2    a.    ***Se=la=dio.***
           3DAT=3ACC=give.3PST
           '(He/She) gave it to him/her.'

     b.    *Rogelio*            *dio*       *la=noticia*   *a=Pedro.*
           Rogelio            give.3PST    ART=news   DAT=Pedro
           'Rogelio gave the news to Pedro.'

- We consider the inflexion person features and the object clitic together as a bound-person forms system, i.e., **indexes** (Haspelmath 2013)

# Goal of this paper

- As Spanish remains considered a basically dependent-marking language.

- We revise some structural aspects of Spanish and argue that it is an **argument indexing oriented language,** in Haspelmath (2013) terms, with a hint of flagging on the RPs.

- We also present some aspects of the **Colombian Spanish from the Andes (CSA)**, a variant spoken in Ipiales-Nariño, Colombia, a city in the southwest part of the country, which shows more clearly the true nature of Spanish as an argument indexing language.

# Aspects on revision

- **a) The role of RPs vs. the verbal indexes in the argument projection**. We show that RPs are most frequently not coded; the basic way for the instantiation of the arguments is through the verbal indexes.

- **b) The status of the case system for the RPs**. We argue that there is not a 'strong' flagging system.

- **c) The type of system**. We argue that Spanish has a cross-indexing system (Haspelmath 2013). The indexes are neither pronouns nor agreement markers. Both, indexes and RPs, simultaneously instantiate the argument.

- **d) The clitic system of the CSA.** We show that his variant is ahead in showing the nature of Spanish as an argument indexing language.

# Layout of the presentation.

- **Section 2**. A revision of some structural fact of Spanish.
    2.1.The role of the indexes and the absence of RPs;
    2.2. the 'weakness' of the flagging system on the RPs;
    2.3. the status of indexes in Standard Spanish.

- **Section 3**. Features of the CSA that show true nature of Spanish as an argument indexing oriented language.

- **Section 4**. The status of the RPs.

- **Section 5.** Final remarks.

**2. A revision of some important structural facts of Spanish**.

2.1. The nature of the argument system in Spanish.

# The role of RPs

- In Spanish RPs are assumed to be the arguments in the clause.
- Nevertheless, in real communication they strongly tend not to be coded.

3  a.  *¡Qué*        *bueno*    *que*    *ya=llegaste*!
      EXCL        good    REL    PTL=arrive.2PST
      'Good, (you) have just arrived.'
   b.  *Ábre=me*.
      open.2IMP=1DAT
      'open (the door) for me.'

# The virtual agreement view

- The pervasive idea that the RPs are missing have led to the pro-drop analysis and the assumption that **the verbal inflexion functions as an agreement marker**, which agrees with a non-coded subject RP.

- **The object clitics are considered pronouns**: in the absence of the RPs, they substitute them, as if they were in complementary distribution.

# Subject RPs are most frequently not coded.

- In the ADESSE database (García Miguel 2015),
  **Not subject RPs: 64%**


- In Bogard (2010):

-Mexican Spanish: **73%**

-Colombian Spanish: **70%**

-in Peninsular Spanish: **67%**

The subject RPs are most frequently not coded. The index is the argument.

# Coding frequency of the IO as a RP

• The dative or indirect object (IO) argument is most frequently absent in ditransitive constructions :

- Vázquez Rozas (1995): **91%** without a RP.
- Aranovich (2011): **83%** without a RP.
- García Miguel (2015): **74%** without a RP.

The clitic is treated like a pronoun that substitutes the RP.

This supposes a scenario where the index and the RP are in complementary distribution.

# Dative cross-indexing constructions.

- The fact that the RP and the index can appear together shows that there is not a system of complementary distribution.

| *Lola* | *regal-ó* | *el=dinero* | ***a=su=hermana*** |
|--------|-----------|-------------|--------------------|
| Lola | give.away-3PST | ART=money | DAT=3POSS=sister |

'Lola gave the money to her sister.'

- There are two standard analysis:
    - The clitic as a non-informative redundant form, the 'superfluous dative'.
    - The index is an agreement marker, just as the subject index is (Company, García Miguel, Bogard, etc.).

- Both approaches take the atypical case as the norm. The data shows that the OI is systematically realized through the index, and then, in some cases, it can be doubled by a RP.

# The preferred way of realization of DO argument in Standard Spanish

- The DO argument is more frequently coded as a RP.

- Vazquez Rozas (1995): **75% of the cases are RPs** vs. 25% of coding through the clitic index.

- **Standard Spanish seems to be a mixed system** where the subject and IO arguments mainly are coded as indexes in the verbal form and the DO is projected as a full RP.

## 2.2. The status of the case marking system in Spanish.

**Spanish does not have a 'strong' case flagging system.** It is not accurate to characterize it as a 'basically' dependent marking language.

# The subject RPs are not flagged

4    a.    ***Enrique***       *jueg-a*       *fútbol*       *todos*       *los=días.*
            Enrique       play.3PRS       football       all       ART.PL=days
            'Enrique plays football everyday.'

     b.    ***La=niña***       *toc-a*       *el=piano*       *por*       *las=mañanas.*
            ART=girl       play-3PRS       ART=piano       PREP       ART.PL=morning
            'The girl plays the piano in the morning.'

     c.    ***Romeo***       *trabaj-a*       *hasta*       *tarde.*
            Romeo       work-3PRS       PREP       late
            'Romeo works late.'

     d.    ***La=tienda***       *qued-a*       *lejos.*
            ART=store       locate-3PRS       far.away
            'The store is far away.'

- Animate (5abc) and inanimate (5d) RPs are not marked;
- RPs with proper names (5ac) or common names (5bd) are not flagged;
- Subject RPs of transitive (5ab) and intransitive (5cd) predicates are unmarked.

# No flagging for the DO

- The prototypical DO, that with an inanimate referent (Comrie,1981), is not flagged.

| 5 | a. | *Enrique* | *jueg-a* | ***fútbol*** | *todos* | *los=días.* |
|---|----|-----------|----------|--------------|---------|-------------|
|   |    | Enrique | play-3PRS | football | all | ART.PL=days |
|   |    | 'Enrique plays football everyday.' | | | | |
|   | b. | *La=niña* | *toc-a* | ***el=piano*** | *por* | *las=mañanas.* |
|   |    | ART=girl | play-3PRS | ART=piano | PREP | ART.PL=morning |
|   |    | 'The girl plays the piano in the morning.' | | | | |

- In Spanish 81% of the DO are inanimate (Vázquez Rozas 1995)
- **So, what evidence for the flagging system exist?**

# First Proof: 'accusative' *a*

- The first proof: the DO arguments appear introduced by the 'accusative' ***a*** with animate RPs (6ac):

| 6 | a. | *Pepe* | *bes-ó* | ***a=Lulú*** |
|---|----|--------|---------|--------------|
|   |    | Pepe   | kiss-3PST | DOM=Lulú   |
|   |    | 'Pepe kissed Lulú' | | |
|   | b. | *Lulú* | *golpe-ó* | ***a=Pepe*** |
|   |    | Lulú   | hit-3PST | DOM=Pepe     |
|   |    | 'Lulú hit Pepe'. | | |
|   | c. | *\*Luisa* | *quem-ó* | ***a=la=casa*** |
|   |    | Luisa  | burn-3PST | DOM=ART=house |
|   |    | 'Luisa burned down the house.' | | |
|   | d. | *\*Ramón* | *rompi-ó* | ***a=el=vaso*** |
|   |    | Ramón  | break-3PST | DOM=ART=glass |
|   |    | 'Ramón broke the glass' | | |

- ***a*** does not mark the functional relation between the argument and the predicate. It is not part of a true flagging system (Haspelmath, 2013).
- **It is a differential object marking (DOM).**

# Second proof: Case marking on free pronouns

- Two sets of free pronouns: one for the **A** argument and one for the **U** argument:

7  a.  ***Tú***　　　　　　　*me=salud-aste*　　　　***a=mí***.
　　　2PRO.A　　　　　　1ACC=greet-2PST　　　DOM=1PRO.U
　　　'You greeted me.'

　 b.  ***Yo***　　　　　　　*te=empuj-é*　　　　　***a=ti***.
　　　1PRO.A　　　　　　2ACC=push=1PST　　　DOM=2PRO.U
　　　'I pushed you.'

　 c.  ***Él***　　　　　　　*nos=salud-ó*　　　　***a=nosotros***.
　　　3PRO　　　　　　　1PL.ACC=greet-3PST　　DOM=1PRO.PL
　　　'He greeted us.'

　 d.  ***Nosotros***　　　　*lo=salud-amos*　　　***a=Él***.
　　　1PRO.PL　　　　　　3ACC=greet-1PST.PL　　DOM=3PRO
　　　'We greeted him.'

　 e.  ***Ella***　　　　　　*los=felicit-ó*　　　　***a=ustedes***.
　　　3PRO.F　　　　　　3PL.ACC=congratulate-3PST　DOM=2PRO.PL
　　　'She congratulated them.'

　 f.  ***Ustedes***　　　　*la=regañ-aron*　　　***a=ella***.

　　　2PRO.PL　　　　　3ACC=scold-2PST.PL　　DOM=3PRO.F
　　　'You scolded her.'

- The first and second person pronouns for the A argument are different from the respective U pronouns. But the paradigm is syncretic in all other cases. The only difference is the DOM *a* that appears with the P argument.

# Third proof: The substitution

- The substitution for the so-called 'clitic pronouns' makes 'evident' the difference between accusative and dative RPs:

  8   a.   *Lola*           *regal-ó*            *el=dinero*            ***a=su=hermana***
          Lola             give.away-3PST       ART=money              DAT=3POSS=sister
          'Lola gave the money to her sister.'
      b.   *Lola*           *regal-ó*            ***al=bebé***
          Lola             give.away-3PST       DAT.ART=baby
          'Lola gave the baby away.'
      c.   **Se**=**lo**=regal-ó
          3DAT=3ACC=give.away-3PST
          '(she) gave  him away (to him).'

- In (8b), the DO of (8a), *el dinero* 'the money' is substituted by the accusative index *lo;* the IO *a su hermana* 'to her sister' is substituted by the dative clitic *se*.

- **The substitution is inadequate**: it starts from the view that the RPs are the arguments; This hides the fact that the indexes are the main way in which arguments are coded.

- Standard Spanish should be classified as a mixed language with a 'robust' set of verbal indexes and a not so-robust flagging system (basically, the indirect or dative object).

## 2.3. The status of the Person forms:

**They are neither pronouns nor agreement markers.**

# Three ways in which indexes and RPs co-exist. (Haspelmath 2013):

1) **Indexes with obligatory conominal**, as in German, Russian and English; this is agreement properly;

2) **indexes with impossible conominals**; the index substitutes the RP and is truly pro-nominal. The RP occur without the correspondent index. The system operates in complementary distribution;

3) **Indexes with optional conominals** (cross-indexing), The indexes and the RPs can cooccur, but not obligatorily. It is the most frequent kind of system in the world languages (Haspelmath 2013).

# Spanish is a cross-indexing system

- A system where the most basic and frequent case is the one where the arguments (subject and IO) are coded through indexes and then, they can optionally be accompanied by RPs.

- The indexes are the arguments in both scenarios; the RPs, when present, double the indexes and not the other way round.

# Indexes are not agreement markers, nor pronouns

- Agreement implies the obligatory co-presence of a RP and an index. In Spanish, the more frequently absent RPs cannot be the controller of the verbal indexes.

- The indexes are neither pronouns (Van Valin 2013). They do not substitute anything: they typically are present and not necessarily have to have and antecedent in the discourse context.

- First and second person forms, the most common ones, never substitute for anything; they are deictic forms (Haspelmath 2013).

# Clitics are not nominals.

- Indexes are not pronouns: they can cooccur with free pronouns (9a). But free pronouns cannot cooccur with RPs (9b).

- RPs and pronouns behave alike: they are nominals; and they behave differently from the indexes, which are not nominals (Haspelmath 2013).

9    a.    ***Lo=v-i***           ***a=él***
           3ACC=see.1PST        DOM=3PRO.M
           'I saw him.'
    b.    *\*V-i*           *a=ella*      *María*
           see.1PST          DOM=3PRO.F    María
           'I saw her Mary.'

# **Indexes are not pronouns**.

- Spanish indexes can cross-indexed indefinite (10a) and generic elements (10b):

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | a. | *¿**Lo**=v-iste*? | ***un**=**señor*** | *pas-ó* | *por* | *ahí*. |
| | | 3ACC=see-2PST | INDF=sir | pass-3PST | PREP | there |
| | | 'Did you see him? Some guy just passed by.' | | | | |
| | b. | *Quier-en* | ***a**=**alguien*** | *que* | *construy-a* | *casas* |
| | | want-3PST.PL | DOM=PRO.INDF | REL | build-3PRS.SBJV | houses |
| | | ***lo**=contratar-ían* | *de* | *inmediato* | | |
| | | 3ACC=hire-3IMPF.PL | PREP | right.now | | |
| | | 'They want someone to build houses, they would hire him immediately.' | | | | |

- As Van Valin (2013) states: true pronouns should only be able to cross-reference definite RPs, since pronouns are themselves definite (Austin and Bresnan 1996).

# 3. The Colombian Spanish from the Andes (CSA): A singular variant that shows the hidden structure of Spanish.

## 3.1. A three indexes robust system. The DO clitic function.

# The basic way of realization of the DO argument in the CSA.

- The basic way for the coding of the DO argument is also as a clitic index, as in (11), as it is also in other variants, as in the Argentinian Spanish (AS):

  11  a.  *La=Flor*                          *me=**lo-s**=di-o*
          ART=Flor                          1DAT=3ACC-PL=give-3PST
          'Flor gave them to me' (showing some candies in her hand).'
      b.  *Pél-a=**las**,*                   *por=favor-ito*
          Peel-2IMP=3ACC.F                 PREP=please-DIM
          'Peel them, please!' (pointing to a sack of potatoes).
      c.  *¿Dónde*                           ***lo**=compr-aste*              *el=vestido?*
          Where                            3ACC=buy-2PST                    ART=dress
          'Where did you buy it, the dress?'
      d.  *Pás-a=me=**lo***                  *un=vaso*                 *de*          *agua*
          pass-2IMP=1DAT=3ACC    INDF=glass                PREP          water
          'Give me it, a glass of water.'

- In (11a) and (11b) the DO clitic appears without a RP and without any discourse antecedent, as can happen in any other Spanish variant.
- In (11c) and (11d), along with the clitic a cross-indexed RP is also coded.
- There is not frequency data, but this construction is pretty common; "the normal way to saying it", in the opinion of some habitants of the region.

# The DO index and the accusative doubling

- In the CSA, the accusative index is coded in the presence or absence of the coreferential RP.

- The index is the argument and the RP, when coded, doubles it.

- The accusative doubling is present in most Spanish variants; it is a grammatical feature of the language. The difference lies in the frequency in which the phenomenon is present in each variant (See Belloro 2012).

# The accusative doubled construction in Standard Spanish

- **It is very restricted in most pragmatic contexts**:

(12)  a.? *Préstamelo el disco*.                                (**topic DO**)
        'Lend it to me, the record.'
     b. ??*Aproveché y **las** compré **las papas** en el mercado*.          (**new, anchored DO**)
        'I got the chance and bought them in the market, the potatoes.'
     c. *\*La vi **una bicicleta** que estaba en la Puerta*.              (**new, non-anchored DO**)
        'I saw it at the front door, the bike.'
     d. *\*Lo contratarían **a alguien** que sí pudiera hacer ese trabajo*.  (**generic OD**)
        'they would hire him, someone who could do the job.'

- The construction is not favored when the DO is topical (12a); it is very odd when the referent is new but anchored (12b);  it is ungrammatical when the DO is new and non-anchored (12c) or has a generic interpretation (12d).

# The doubled construction in the CSA and the Argentinian Spanish (AS)

In the CSA and AS (see Belloro 2012) it is much more unrestricted: be it in the case of topical or situationally anchored referents, and in the case of new and generic DOs.

(13)  a. *Préstamelo el disco*.                                                (**topic DO**)
       'Lend it to me, the record.'
   b. *Aproveché y **las** compré **las papas** en el mercado*.        (**new, anchored DO**)
       'I got the chance and bought them in the market, the potatoes.'
   c. ***La** vi **una bicicleta** que estaba en la Puerta*.              (**new, non-anchored DO**)
       'I saw it at the front door, the bike.'
   d. ***Lo** contratarían **a alguien** que sí pudiera hacer ese trabajo*.  (**generic OD**)
        'they would hire him, someone who could do the job.'

# The accessibility of the accusative doubling construction in pragmatic contexts.

| **Standard Spanish system** | **CSFA and AS system (as reported in Belloro 2012).** |
|---|---|
| 1 V + DO clitic + 0 (situationally anchored) | V + DO clitic + 0 (Situationally anchored) |
| 2 V + DO clitic + 0 (topic), | V + OD clitic + 0 (topic) |
| 3 V + DO clitic + Pro (topic) | V + OD clitic + Pro (topic) |
| 4 *V + 0 + Pro (topic) | *V + 0 + Pro (topic) |
| **5 ?V + DO clitic + RP (Topic)** | **V + DO clitic + RP (Topic)** |
| 6 V + 0 + RP (New) | V + 0 + RP (New) |
| **7 *V + DO clitic + RP (New)** | **V + DO clitic + RP (New-indefinite)** |
| 8 *V + DO clitic + 0 (New, no anchored) | *V + DO clitic + 0 (New, no anchored) |
| 9 - V + 0 + RP (Generic) | V + 0 + RP (Generic) |
| **10 *V + DO clitic + RP (Generic)** | **V + DO clitic + RP (Generic)** |

The main differential contexts (in bold ): a) in the case of a topical DO, b) in the presence of a new, non-anchored and indefinite DO, and c) in the case of a generic DO. All these contexts allow the doubling construction in the CSA and AS, but not in the Standard variants.

# Pragmatic neutrality of the doubled construction in the CSA.

- The typical DO is inanimate and represents new information (Comrie 1981).

- The pragmatic neutrality, especially in the case of new and generic DO context, which are typically inanimate, is behind the normality and frequency of the construction in colloquial communication.

- There is, in the CSA, a 'natural' propensity for the syntactic realization of the DO as a clitic index, alone or in doubled constructions, vs. a relative minor appearance of RPs alone.

# More contexts for the clitic doubling in The CSA.

- It shows up in marked constructions as impersonal ones, like in (14a) and in relative clauses, like in (14b):

14 a. *Y*      *ahí*      *se=**los**=quedar-án*      ***eso-s=dinero-s***
    and      there      REFL=3ACC.PL=keep-3FUT.PL     DEM.M.PL=money-PL
    'And there they will keep them, those bills.'
   b. ***Estos=carros***     ***que***      ***los**=mir-amos*      *aquí*
     DEM.P.PL=cars     REL      ART.PL=watch-1PRS.PL      here
     'These cars, we watch them here.'

- The presence of the clitic is pervasive across different syntactic constructions, as well as it is in different pragmatic contexts.

# 'Erosion' of the referential features

- The clitics indexes does not necessarily agree with the RPs, as can be seen in (15a) for the accusative clitic and in (15b) for the dative one.

15 a. **Lo**=*traj-eron*            **las**=**papas**            *a=la=casa*
     3ACC.M.SG=bring-3PST.PL     ART.PL=potatoes         LOC=ART=house
     'They brought them to the house, the potatoes.'

    b. **Le**=*vend-en*             **a**=**otras**=**persona-s**        *que*
     3DAT.SG=sell-3PRS.PL       DAT=INDF=person-PL       REL
     *no=labor-aron*             *nunca.*
     NEG=work-3PST.PL          never
     'They sell to other persons who have not worked.'

- This process of 'erosion' of the number and gender features is common to most Spanish variants, but it is more advanced in the CSA. This is another indication that the clitics are not functioning as pronouns nor as agreement markers.

# Another intermission Summary

The CSA is a RP-doubling language (as opposed to 'clitic-doubling'). This means that the three major direct arguments receive indexing coding on the verb and can optionally appear doubled by an RP or conominal.

# Erosion of the case flagging system in the CSA.

- It is also the case that the CSA is a little more 'advanced' than other variants in the erosion of the flagging system for the RPs.

- We have attested two syntactic behaviors that expose this, namely:

# The dropping of the *a* flag of the IO

- The only one true evidence of a flagging system in Spanish is the dative *a* marker. In most variants it is obligatory, both in postverbal position -(16b)- and in dislocation constructions -(16d)-. But in the CSA, it does not need to appear in these two contexts, as (16c) and (16d) show:

16  a.  *Alicia*               *le=regal-ó*                                   *un=disco*       *Javier*
    Alicia                  3DAT=give-3PST                       INDF=record     Javier
    'Alicia gave Javier a record as a gift.' (**Standard Spanish**)
   b.  *\*(Ø)Javier*             *le=regal-ó*                                   *un=disco*       *Alicia*
    Javier                  3DAT=give-3PST                       INDF=record     Alicia
    '(to) Javier, Alicia gave a record as a gift.'
   c.  *Le=pag-a*             *sus=trabajador-es*
    3DAT=pay-3PRS    3POSS.PL=employee-PL
    '(She) pays (to) her employees.'       (**CSA**)
   d.  *(Ø)Usted*             *le=voy=a=operar*                              *la=car-ita.*
    2PRO                   3DAT=go.AUX.1PRS=PREP=have.surgery    ART=face-DIM
    '(to) You, I'm going to do a facial surgery.'

- This is another indication that the argument system does not rely in the RPs flagging, but in the verbal indexes.

# The dative index cross-referred by oblique RPs

- The dative **a** marking, which counts as a type of direct case, can be substituted by the preposition *para* 'for':

  17  a.  *Ya=no=**nos**=d-a*        *espacio-s*    ***para***        ***nosotros***.
              PTL=NEG=REFL=give-3PRS    space-PL    for        1PRO.PL
              'She is not given (us) space for us.'
      b.  ***Para***            ***ellos***      ***les**=v-a=a=salir*
              For            3PRO.PL      3DAT.PL=go-3PRS=PREP=go.out
              *más*            *costoso*
              More           expensive
              'For them, it is going to be more expensive.'

- *Para* is a preposition with more content than *a*. This shows that the argument marking system does not necessarily rely in a non-predicative type of case flagging.

# Applicative constructions, another indexing characteristic of the CSA.

- Applicative constructions are a characteristic strategy of head-marking languages (Yasugi 2012:07). The verbal indexation of the applied participant seems to be an obligatory feature of these constructions.

- The CSA has developed an applicative construction through the grammaticalization of the verbal form ***dar*** 'give' as an applicative marker (Ibañez, Ortiz and Mora, in process), in what is called an applicative periphrastic construction (Creissels 2010):

18    a.    *La=Flojas*               ***le=dio***             *cocinando*
                     ART=Flojas           3DAT=give.AUX.APP.3PST    cook.GRD
                     *un=pastel*            *a=su=mamá*
                     INDF=cake             DAT.O=3POSS=mother
                     'La Flojas cook a cake instead of her mother.'
       b.    ***Da=me***                 *hablando*               *con*    *el=patrón*
                     give.AUX.APP.3PST=1DAT    talk.GRD                 COM    ART=employer
                     'Please, talk to the employer instead of me.'

# 4. THE STATUS OF THE RPs IN SPANISH.

# 3 ways in which cross-reference systems are traditionally analyzed (Haspelmath 2013)

- **a) The 'virtual agreement' view:** the indexes are agreement markers, while the 'absent' **RPs are the controlling arguments.**

- This is the non-explicit analysis over which the whole Hispanic Linguistics tradition have been built up.

- Given the notorious function of the index system and the notorious absence of RPs, it seems there is no reason for such analysis other than to emulate perspectives coming from other traditions.

# b) The bound-argument view.

- The indexes function as pronouns and fully instantiate the verbal arguments; When the **conominals are present they are adjuncts or appositions** (Jelinek 1984; Baker 1996).

- But there is no solid prove for considering the RPs as adjuncts: they do not necessarily behave differently as RPs in other non-indexing languages (Siewierska 2001), and they do not behave like adjuncts (Van Valin 2013).

# c) The dual nature view

- **The indexes function as both agreement markers and pronouns:** the RPs when present are the arguments and the indexes are agreement markers; when the RPs are not present, the indexes are the arguments (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987).

- This is the RRG analysis (Van Valin 2013:119) for the case of languages like Croatian, (and Spanish), which are basically considered dependent marking languages.

- This analysis **does not suit Spanish,** as it is argument indexing oriented. If there is an analysis that does start from this consideration and does not force a 'dual nature' for the indexes as agreement markers, then that analysis would be preferable.

# d) The RRG perspective on the Status of RPs

- **The RRG analysis (Van Valin 2005, 2013)**: The RPs are not adjuncts in the periphery; neither they are in the Pre-Detached and Post-Detached positions (PrDP and PoDP) or the Pre-Core and Post-Core Slots (PrCS and PoCS).

- **PrDP and PoDP** imply dislocated elements with the presence of intonation breaks; WH expressions cannot occur in these positions. Standard cross-referred RPs are not preceded by intonation brakes - hence, they are not dislocated -, and can be substituted by WH words.

- **The PrCS and PoCS, are ruled out as hosts**:  There can only be one element in only one of these positions per clause: in cross-reference languages two or three RPs can simultaneously appear doubling the verbal indexes.

# The RRG perspective on the Status of RPs

- In this scenario, Van Valin (2013) proposes that the RPs should be placed in what he terms the Extra-Core Slot (ECS), a clause internal but core external position, as a way of avoiding the constraint that precludes the instantiation of the referent of an argument more than once per core.

# A fifth type of analysis for cross-indexing systems. Our proposal.

- It combines aspects of Van Valin (2013), Haspelmath (2013) and Pensalfini (2004).

- The CSA has the basic structure that Van Valin (2013) proposes for head-marking languages: Inside the layered structure of the word, the indexes are the arguments in the core of the verbal word, which is coextensive with the core of the clause.

# Our proposal II.

- In the consideration that there is nothing against the distributed expression of meaning (Haspelmath 2013:224), we propose that the arguments are expressed simultaneously in two different forms: the indexes and the RPs.

- Following Pensalfini (2004) claim that all major word classes have two components, we posit that the indexes are the projection of the syntactic and semantic component, whereas the RPs are the instantiation of the referential (or encyclopedic) identity of the arguments.

# Our proposal III

- In this scenario, we propose that the indexes, as syntactic forms, can occupy the core of the word without violating the principle of lexical integrity;

- But as they do not have referential information, there is nothing against the instantiation in the core of the clause of another form carrying the Referential load, without violating the constraint on the instantiation of referents more than once per core.
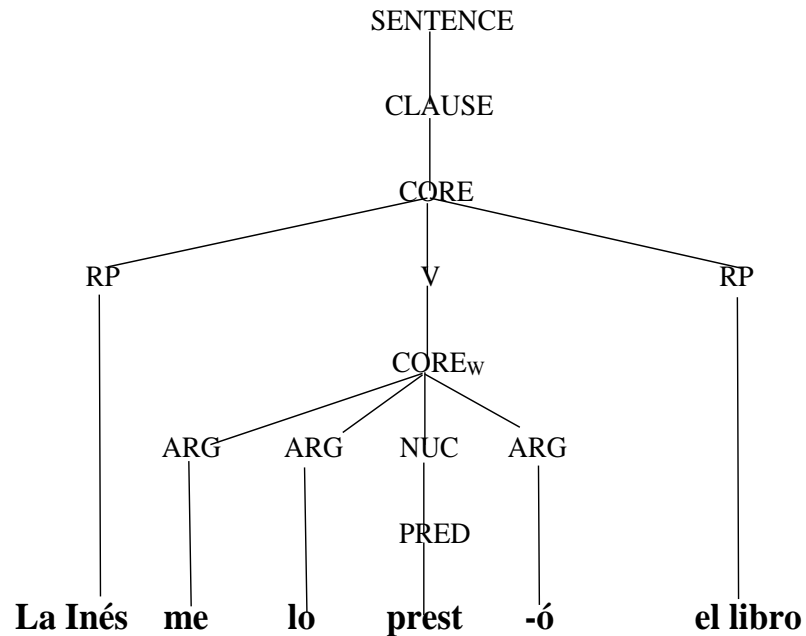
# RRG Representations
## '(He/She) lent it to me'
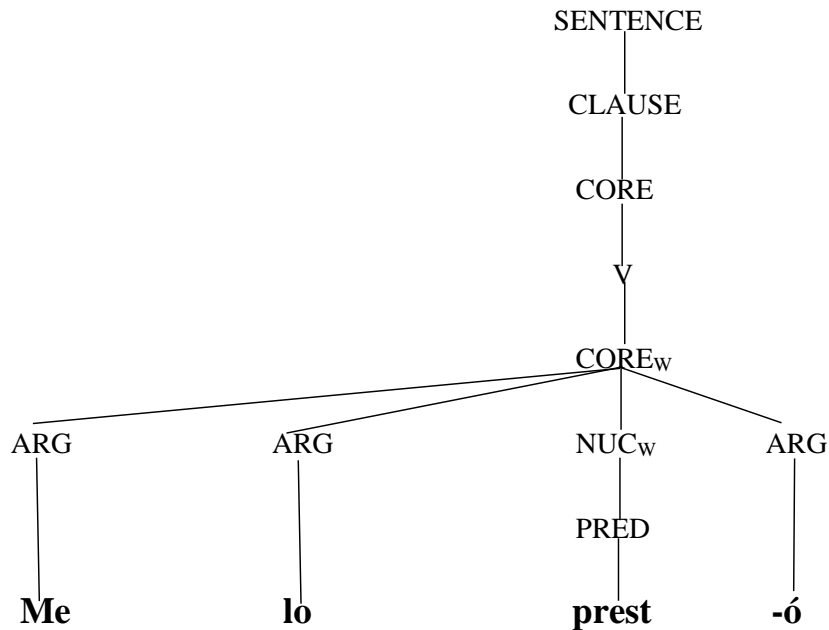
# RRG Representations
## 'Inés lent me the book'

```
                        SENTENCE
                           |
                        CLAUSE
                           |
                         CORE
              _____/ | _____
             /             |             \
            RP             V             RP
            |              |              |
            |            COREw            |
            |       ___/ | | \___         |
            |      /    /  |  \   \        |
            |    ARG  ARG NUC  ARG         |
            |     |    |   |    |          |
            |     |    |  PRED  |          |
            |     |    |   |    |          |
        La Inés  me   lo prest  -ó     el libro
```

# Advantages of the proposal.

- This analysis has one clear advantage over the one in Van Valin (2005, 2013): on this, there is not any indication of what the behavioral properties of RPs in the ECS are. Are they different from RPs in the core? How are they different?

- RPs in Spanish seem to behave as arguments, so they should be arguments, but only in semantic and referential terms.

- The analysis we propose here neatly captures this fact, and at the same time does not impose a structural difference between RPs in the core and RPs in the ECS, for which there is not an empirical prove.

# 5. CONCLUSIONS.

- We have shown that in Spanish, both in the Standard variant, and particularly in the CSA, but also, in the AS, the main and basic way for **the argument realization is through the verbal indexes**.

- We also have argued that the **flagging system is not that 'robust'** and that **the argument** distinctions **relies in the indexes**.

- In Conclusion, **Spanish** should be considered as a basically **argument indexing language**.

# ¡Gracias!